



RAJPUT NOBILITY UNDER JAHANGIR AND SHAH JAHAN

ABSTRACT

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QAMRE ALAM

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PROF. AFZAL HUSAIN

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ABSTRACT

Rajput Nobility Under Jahangir and Shahjahan

The nobility of Babur basically comprised of people of Central Asian origin popularly called Turanis with the exception of few Khurasanis who joined him after the collapse of the Timuride Kingdom of Hirat. The studies of the nobility of early Mughal period (of Babaur and Humayun's reign) have shown that due to the predominance of the Turanis in the nobility it became difficult for them to establish a strong centralized monarchy. After his reconquest of Qandhar and Kabul Humayun brought about significant changes not only in the composition of his nobility but also in his attitude toward them. We also find that the attitude of his nobles also underwent a great change, but before the effect of these changes could take a shape Humayun died, leaving young Akbar to deal with these and several other problems with which the Empire was faced. Hence, the nobility that Akbar inherited too comprised mainly of Turanis. Some Iranis have joined Humayun's service in Iran but with the exception of few such as Bairam Khan and Mirza Nijat they held minor positions in the imperial government. Turani nobles held almost all the important offices and military commands. During the period of the regency of Bairam Khan and even after his dismissal the Turani nobility defied imperial authority and in a way opposed every attempt of the emperor to establish his hold over the apparatus of the imperial government. However, he was not ready to tolerate any longer the irresponsible and disloyal attitude of his nobles. Therefore, to tighten his grip on them he introduced several administrative reforms and also appointed men of his own choice on crucial administrative positions. The Turani nobles considered these changes as an assault on their prerogatives that they considered were granted to them by an age-old tradition preserved in *Tura-i Chengezi*. They believed that if some strong steps were not

taken at this stage the nobles (Turani nobles) would lose their privileged position and in the long run *Tura-i- Chengezi* will also cease to exist. Therefore, they violently reacted by unfurling the banner of revolts against Mughal imperial authority.

Some modern historians are of the view that Rajputs and *Shaikhzadas* (Indian Muslims) were admitted in the nobility by Akbar to counter the Turani nobility, as at that time he was not strong enough to take action against them. But in an alleged conversation between Shah Tahmasp of Persia and Humayun when the latter was in exile in Persia, the Shah advised Humayun to establish kinship ties with Rajputs and a reference in *Akbarnama* where Abul Fazal writes that on his return to India, Humayun, "in order to soothe the mind of the *Zamindars*, entered into matrimonial relations with them", clearly indicate that in the aristocratic circles a thinking had developed that for the expansion and consolidation of the Mughal Empire in India the local chiefs (*Zamindars*) should not only be admitted in imperial service but be given important position among the ruling elites. The author of *Maasir-i Rahimi* writes that Bairam Khan after becoming *wakil-us sultanat* of Akbar took keen interest in establishing friendly relations with the Rajputs. Whether it was at the initiative of Bairam Khan or because of his own family problems Raja Bhar Mal, the Kachhwaha chief of the state of Amber visited the court of Akbar in his second regnal year and by his bold actions so greatly impressed the young emperor that he is said to have remarked, "We'll rear you." However, no great progress was made in respect of admitting Rajputs or any other local elements during the period of the regency of Bairam Khan. But after the dismissal of Bairam Khan when Akbar took the reins of government in his hands he decided to admit Rajputs and *Shaikhzadas* (Indian Muslims) in his ruling class. The Emperor also entered into matrimonial relations with both the Rajputs and Indian Muslims. The Kachhwahas of Ambers were the first to join Mughal service but thereafter almost all other prominent Rajput

chiefs with the exception of Sisodias of Mewar also joined imperial service. The Emperor accorded them the status of loyal subordinates and friends. They were not only given command of the important military campaigns but were also appointed on important administrative duties. They have very significant presence in the nobility both numerically as well as in total *mansabs*, awarded during Akbar's reign. The Rajputs also held charge of a number of provinces during his rule. Akbar extended matrimonial relations with the Rajputs by tying royal Princes more closely with them. Thus the eldest son Salim was married in 1584 to the daughter of Bhagwant Das. Shortly afterwards Salim was also married to the daughter of Mota Raja Udai Singh. A little later Daniyal was married to the daughter of Rao Raimal son of Rao Maldeo. Broadly the same policy was followed by his successors with some little changes here and there.

Although the study of Mughal nobility had attracted a good deal of attention of scholars and some excellent studies analysing in detail the role of the nobility in the reign of Aurangzeb and later Mughals have long been published but barring few monographs and research papers on the lives of important Rajput nobles and houses, no comprehensive study on the Rajput chieftancies and nobility, particularly their role and position at Mughal court so far had been made for the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan. The present study is a humble attempt in this direction. The thesis is divided into seven chapters including introduction and conclusion.

In the first chapter we have discussed the role of Kachhwahas of Amber during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan including the events of the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan. We have started our discussion with the admission of Kachhwahas in the Mughal nobility during Akbar's early years. As this was the beginning of the admission of Rajputs in the imperial service we have pointed out the features of this alliance and the unique position that the

Kachhwahas enjoyed in Akbar's reign. Thereafter, we have discussed the career of Kachhwah nobles during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan and have specifically discussed the circumstances which led to slight decline in their fortunes in the time of Jahangir. We have explained that the decline suffered by them was mainly because of Man Singh's role during the accession crisis at the time of Akbar's death and the revolt of Khusrau. We have also shown that Jahangir was hostile only towards Man Singh and his relations with other Kachhwahas nobles remained quite friendly. During the revolt of Khurram and Mahabat Khan *coup* the Kachhwaha nobles remained loyal to Jahangir. The position of Kachhwahas considerably improved during the reign of Shahjahan. He had complete confidence in them and Mirza Raja Jai Singh was raised to the rank of 7000/7000 and appointed governor of the *subas* of Akbarabad in 1631(temporary) and Deccan in 1645. We have also discuss the role of Jai Singh during the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan. The career other prominent Kachhwaha nobles of the reigns of Jahangir and Shajahan have also been discussed with particular reference to the ranks and offices given to them.

The second chapter is devoted to the study of the Rathors of Marwar. The Rathors also joined Mughal service quite early during Akbar's reign but due to rebellion of Chandra Sen they could not attain very high position during his reign. However during the reign of Jahangir they were able to considerably improve their position because Jahangir was unhappy with the Kachhwahs and wanted to give importance to other houses of Rajputana. Besides that Jahangir also had matrimonial relations with Marwar and like Akbar (who gave prominent position to Kachhwahs) he too wanted to give more importance to the relations of his Rathor wife. Consequently the number of Rathors in the nobility increased. Some of them were also given high ranks and deputed to serve in important military campaigns. But they were able to really achieve high status during Shahjahan's reign. One of the important reasons for this seems to have been

Shahjahan's personal relationship with the family. Shahjahan's mother Manmati was a princess of Marwar. Raja Jaswant Singh was rapidly promoted to the rank of 7000/7000 as a mark of very special favour. Later on he was also appointed governor of two provinces (in 1645 Agra and in 1657 Malwa). The table of Rathor nobles of the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan given in the chapter clearly indicate that numerical strength as well as total ranks of Rathore nobles considerably increased during this period. We have also discussed the role of Jaswant Singh and other Rathore nobles in the war of succession.

In the third chapter the role of Hadas of Bundi had been examined. In this chapter also we have started our discussion with their admission in imperial service in the time of Akbar. But during his reign the Hadas were able to get neither higher ranks nor important administrative duties due to the revolts of Rao Duda. The family however, got important position in the time of Jahangir and Rao Ratan Hada (Sarbuland Rai) was given independent charge of Mughal Deccan. During the reign of Shahjahan also Hadas remained quite important in the Mughal nobility; however after the death of Rao Ratan Hada to avoid war of succession the chieftaincy was divided into two independent states of Bundi and Kota under the subordination of the Mughals. Although the Haras remained quite influential at the Mughal court and were deputed to service in almost all the important military campaigns but their presence in the nobility was never very large. In the closing section of the chapter we have discussed their role in the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan.

Fourth chapter of the thesis is devoted to the study of Rathors of Bikaner. Akbar was very kind to its chief Rai Rai Singh; he received very high rank, which was next only to the Kachhwahas of Amber. However, Rai Rai Singh rebelled during the early years of Jahangir's reign and due that for a brief period he was out of favour. But on his persistent pleadings he was pardoned and

confirmed to his previous position. In 1612 after the death of Rai Rai Singh Dalip was made the ruler of Bikaner. But he rebelled in the following year. An army was sent against him; he was defeated and awarded capital punishment. The action taken against Dalip was very harsh but Rao Sur Singh the newly appointed chief remained a favourite of Jahangir and thereafter his son and successor Rao Karan also maintained his position in the reign of Shahjahan. We have discussed their role in the war of succession also. The table of Rathor nobles of Bikaner (of the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan) given in appendix will show that their numerical strength was never very large.

In the fifth chapter we have discussed the career of the chiefs of Mewar. In this chapter also we have started our discussion from the time of Akbar, briefly narrating the events of Mughal - Mewar relations, specially pointing out that although Rana Pratap and his son Rana Amar Singh continued to defy Mughal imperial authority but certain members of his family and few Sisodia Samants joined imperial service. During the reign of Jahangir in his sixth regnal year Rana Amar Singh offered to accept the subordination of the Mughals provided he was excused from personal presence. Jahangir immediately accepted these terms and peace was established although Rana Pratap had also offered to submit on the same terms but Akbar in his arrogance had rejected his request and an unnecessary war continued for a long time. After the settlement Jahangir established very cordial relation with Mewar. Kunwar Karan was raised to the rank of 5000 and other members of the family were also given ranks and other marks of favour. However, Sisodias were the only Rajputs who openly supported Khurram in his rebellion against his father Jahangir. Rana Karan also came out openly to support the candidature of Khurram after Jahangir's death. After the accession of Shahjahan the Sisodias considerably improved their position at the Mughal court because of two reasons. Firstly, Rana Karan had personal relations with Khurram from the days of his princehood; as a matter of fact the settlement

between Mewar and the Mughals was reached with his efforts and secondly the Rana had openly supported him during his revolt and even allowed his brother Kunwar Bhim to join his army in his campaigns. The relations of Shahjahan with Mewar however got strained when he came to know that the Rana was repairing the fort of Chittor in utter disregard of the settlement of 1615. Therefore, an army under the command of Saadullah Khan was sent to Chittor and while still the negotiations were in progress the newly constructed and repaired structures of the fort were completely destroyed. The Rana accepted the humiliating terms of the treaty and continued to serve but he became extremely unhappy with Shahjahan. He also established close contact with Aurangzeb and from the very beginning of the war of succession he openly sided with Aurangzeb. We have also briefly discussed the career of other members of the family of the Rana and also other Sisodia nobles who were in imperial service. Table of Sisodia nobles of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan's reign have also been provided.

In the above chapters we have provided information about the policy of the Mughal Emperors towards five prominent houses of Rajputana representing the clans of Kachhwahas, Rathors (of Marwar and Bikaner), Hadas and Sisodias. We have given details of the admission of the chiefs and their sons and other relations in Mughal service during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan along with their *mansabs* and appointments. In each chapter the career and achievements of such other Rajput nobles who were not related to the family of chieftains but were admitted in service had also been discussed. The *mansabs* and appointments given to them have also been recorded in our discussion. On the basis of the information collected in the above chapters we have prepared lists of Rajput noble along with their *mansabs* and appointments of the reign of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. A clan wise list of all the Rajput nobles of the same period have also been prepared and appended in the present study.

On the basis of the information given in the chapters and statistical information provided in the appendices one may conclude that after the admission of Rajputs in the imperial service under Akbar, who greatly favoured them by assigning high ranks and important offices; it became the basic policy of the Mughal rulers to follow friendly relation with them and to keep them in good humour high ranks and important offices should also be assigned to them. Our information further confirms that from Akbar's time to the closing years of Shahjahan's reign, Rajputs continued to have very substantial presence in the nobility. The suggestion made by some modern historians on the basis of few contemporary accounts that Jahangir was hostile towards Rajputs is not wholly true. Jahangir no doubt was hostile to Man Singh because of his active participation in the conspiracy to supersede him with Khusrau, but with other members of the Kachhwaha clan he maintained cordial relations. Besides that he established friendly relations with the Rana of Mewar on the same terms and conditions, which were earlier rejected by Akbar. The numeral strength of the Rajput nobles throughout this period was below only to Irani and Turani nobles with whom the Mughal emperors had very personal relationship. All other local elements in the nobility including Indian Muslims were far below to their strength. Both Jahangir and Shahjahan like Akbar also had very good relations with Rajput nobles in general but they have their own favourite Rajput nobles and clans who were now given more prominence at court.



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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH-202 002

Dated 27/3/09.....

Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **Rajput Nobility under Jahangir and Shah Jahan** submitted for the award of degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** embodies original research work carried out by **Qamre Alam** and is suitable for submission to the examiners for evaluation.


(Prof. Afzal Husain)
Supervisor

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(QAMREALAM)

ABBREVIATIONS

Used in the tables
and Appendix

<i>A.N.</i>	<i>Akbarnama</i>	Abul Fazl, <i>Akbarnama</i>
	<i>Ain</i>	<i>Aini-i-Akbari</i>
	Bhimsen	<i>Nushka-i-Dilkusha</i>
	<i>Hukumat ri Bahi</i>	<i>Jodhpur Hukumat ri Bahi</i>
<i>I.J.</i>	<i>I.H.C.</i>	Indian History Congress
	<i>Iqbalnama</i>	<i>Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri</i>
	Inayat Khan	<i>Shahjahan Nama</i> of Inayat Khan
	Lahori	<i>Badshah Nama</i> of Abdul Hamid Lahori
	<i>M.U.</i>	<i>Maasir-ul-Umara</i>
	<i>Nainsi Khyat</i>	<i>Munhat Nainsi ri Khyat</i>
	Qazwini	<i>Badshah Nama</i> of Qazwini
	Salih	<i>Amal-i-Salih</i>
	<i>T.U.</i>	<i>Tazkirat-ul-Umara</i>
	Tod	<i>Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan</i> of James Tod
	<i>Tuzuk</i>	<i>Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri</i>
	<i>Tabaqat</i>	<i>Tabaqat-e-Akbari</i>
	<i>U.H.</i>	<i>Umra-i-Hunood</i>
	<i>Vigat</i>	<i>Munhat Nainsi, Marwar ri Pargana ri Vigat</i>
<i>V.V.</i>	<i>Vir vinod</i>	<i>Vir vinod</i> , Kavi raj Shyamal Das
	Waris	Muhammad Waris's <i>Badshah Nama</i>
<i>Z.K.</i>	<i>Z.Khawarin</i>	<i>Zakhirat-ul-Khawarin</i>

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INTRODUCTION

The term nobility generally denote the class of persons who were officers of the king as well as superior class in the political order. However, the Mughal nobility was the creation of the emperor as there was no scientific way of recruitment of the nobles. It was he alone who could admit in service any one of his subjects. But as the character of the monarchy very much depended on the relation of the Emperor with his ruling class the emperor gave utmost importance to the composition of the nobility. However, as the Mughal Emperors belonged to Central Asia the overwhelming numbers of their nobles were of Turani origin with the exception of few Khurasanis who joined Babur's service after the collapse of the Timuride Kingdom of Hirat¹. The studies of the nobility of early Mughal period (of Babaur and Humayun's reign) have shown that due to the predominance of the Turanis in the nobility it became difficult for them to establish a strong centralized monarchy². We find that Babur soon after his victory in the battle of Panipat tried to counter these elements by admitting local elements such as local chiefs, Afghans and Shaikhzadas (Indian Muslims)³. But he died so early that these local elements could not be fully integrated. Consequently Humayun was again faced with the unruly behaviour of the Turani nobility and one of the important factors of his defeat and expulsion from India was the arrogant and unhelpful attitude of his nobility⁴. During the period of his exile and journey to Iran, Humayun had the worst

¹ For details see, Iqtedar Alam Khan, *The Political Biography of A Mughal noble, Munim Khan Khan-I Khana* (1497-1575), Aligarh, 1973, pp. IX-X

² Ibid, p. XIII

³ Ahsan Raza Khan, 'Babur's settlement of his conquest in Hindustan', *Indian History Congress*, 1967, pp.217-20. See also Afzal Husain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir – A study of Family Groups*, Manohar, 1999, pp.2-4

⁴ S. Nurul Hasan, 'New Light on the relation of early Mughal rulers with their nobility', *Indian History Congress*, 1944

experience of his nobles. Therefore, after his conquest of Qandhar and Kabul and during his struggle with Kamran, Humayun brought about significant changes not only in the composition of his nobility but also in his attitude toward them. We also find that the attitude of his nobles also underwent a great change¹. But before the effect of these changes could take a shape Humayun died, leaving young Akbar to deal with these and several other problems with which the Empire was faced.

The nobility that Akbar inherited from his father Humayun too comprised mainly of Turanis. Some Iranis have joined Humayun's service in Iran but with the exception of few such as Bairam Khan and Mirza Nijat they held minor positions in the imperial government. Turani nobles held almost all the important offices and military commands². At the time of Humayun's death Akbar was very young and therefore Bairam Khan was appointed *Wakil us Saltanat* to run the administration. The period of four years of the regency of Bairam Khan saw a grim struggle between the central authority represented by Bairam Khan and the nobility, which appeared determined to ignore the authority of the central power. Although as consequence of the opposition of a section of the nobles Bairam Khan was dismissed but even after that the situation remained unchanged³. The nobles even now openly defied imperial authority and in a way opposed every attempt of the emperor to establish his hold over the apparatus of the imperial government. On several occasion they ignored the authority of the emperor⁴. But Akbar during those early years of his

¹ Iqtedar Alam Khan, *Mirza Kamran –A Biographical Study*, Bombay, 1964. See also *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir*, pp. 4-7

² *The Political Biography of A Mughal noble, Munim Khan Khan-i Khana*

³ Iqtedar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal court Politics During the Regency of Bairam Khan', *Medieval India – A Miscellany*, Vol. 11, 1972

⁴ *The Political Biography of A Mughal Noble, Munim Khan Khan-i Khana*, pp.59-64.

reign was politically so weak that he could not take stern action against his extremely powerful Turani nobility. However, he was not ready to tolerate any longer the irresponsible and disloyal attitude of his nobles. Therefore, to tighten his grip on them he introduced several administrative reforms and also appointed men of his own choice on crucial administrative positions¹. The Turani nobles considered these changes as an assault on their prerogatives that they considered were granted to them by an age-old tradition preserved in *Tura-i-Chengezi*. They believed that the relations of the emperor with his ruling class should be governed in accordance with provisions of *Tura-i-Chengezi*, which provided hereditary privileges to a large number of nobles². The manner in which the emperor had started taking interest in the affairs of the state and some of the crucial decisions that he took independently made them to think (Turani nobility) that if some strong steps were not taken at this stage the nobles (Turani nobles) would lose their privileged position and in the long run *Tura-i-Chengezi* will also cease to exist.³ Therefore, they violently reacted by unfurling the banner of revolts against Mughal imperial authority.⁴

Some modern historians are of the view that Rajputs and *Shaikzadas* (Indian Muslims) were admitted in the nobility by Akbar to counter the Turani nobility, as at that time he was not strong enough to take action against

¹ *The Political Biography of A Mughal Noble, Munim Khan Khan-i Khana*, pp. 68-74.

² For more details on the provisions of hereditary privilege given to nobles, see Iqtedar Alam Khan, 'The Turk-o-Mongol Theory of Kingship', *Medieval India – A Miscellany*, Vol.II, 1972.

³ For details, see, 'The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble', Introduction, pp.X-XI, XVI-XIX.

⁴ During the period 1562 to 1567 as many as six rebellions led by senior nobles of the empire took place and out of these five were led by senior Turani nobles. For details see, Iqtedar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility of Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1968, pp. 31-32

them¹. But to my mind the reason for the admission of Rajputs in imperial service lay much deeper and it had been hinted in an alleged conversation between Shah Tahmasp of Persia and Humayun when the latter was in exile in Persia. The discussion that took place was as follows:

“The Shah....said to His Majesty “it is surprising that one who has this type of servant as supporters and helpers could not retain his kingdom”. He asked him as to which class of people (in India) constituted clans and were outstanding and brave. His Majesty replied Afghans and Rajputs. The Shah asked if these two groups (*giroh*) were on cordial relations (with each other). He replied in the negative. He (Shah) said, “You cannot now reconcile with the Afghans; you should remove them from military service and divert them to trade and industry. And efforts should be made to establish kinship (*khweshi*) with the Rajputs and to rear them up since without gaining control over the *zamindars*, it is not possible to rule Hind.”²

A reference of similar nature also occurs in *Akbarnama* where in Abul Fazal writes that on his return to India, Humayun, “in order to sooth the mind of the *Zamindars*, entered into matrimonial relations with them. Among these, Jamal Khan, the cousin of Hasan Khan Mewati who was one of the great *Zamindars* of India, came and did homage. He had two beautiful daughters. H.M. himself married the elder sister and gave the younger in marriage to Bairam Khan”. These references clearly indicate that in the aristocratic circles a thinking had developed that for the expansion and consolidation of the Mughal empire in India the local chiefs (*Zamindars*) should not only be admitted in imperial service but be given important position among the ruling elites. The author of *Maasir-i Rahimi* writes that Bairam Khan after becoming *wakil-us*

¹ See, for details For the first time this explanation was given by Satish Chandra in the introduction of his book , Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-40), Aligarh, 1959; Thereafter Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, revised ed. Delhi, 1997 and Iqtedar Alam Khan, ‘The Nobility of Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy’

² *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, Moinul Haq, 3vols, Karanchi, 1966, 1970, 1974,I, pp.103-4

sultanat of Akbar took keen interest in establishing friendly relations with the Rajputs. Whether it was at the initiative of Bairam Khan or because of his own family problems Raja Bhar Mal, the Kachhwaha chief of the state of Amber visited the court of Akbar in his second regnal year and by his bold actions so greatly impressed the young emperor that he is said to have remarked. "We'll rear you."¹

However, no great progress was made in respect of admitting Rajputs or any other local elements during the period of the regency of Bairam Khan. But after the dismissal of Bairam Khan when Akbar took the reins of government in his hands he decided to admit Rajputs and *Shaikhzadas* (Indian Muslims) in his ruling class. The emperor also entered into matrimonial relations with both the Rajputs and Indian Muslims. The Kachhwahas of Ambers were the first to join Mughal service but thereafter almost all other prominent Rajput chiefs with the exception of Sisodias of Mewar also joined imperial service. The emperor accorded them the status of loyal subordinates and friends. They were not only given command of the important military campaigns but were also appointed on important administrative duties. They have very significant presence in the nobility both numerically as well as in total *mansabs*, awarded during Akbar's reign.² The Rajputs also held charge of a number of provinces during his rule.³ Akbar extended matrimonial relations with the Rajputs by tying royal princes more closely with them. Thus the eldest son Salim was married in 1584 to the daughter of Bhagwan Das. Shortly afterwards Salim was also married to the daughter of Mota Raja Udai Singh. A little later Daniyal was married to the

¹ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Agha Ahmad Ali, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 3 vols. Reprint, 1977, II, p.45

² In the nobility of Akbar Rajputs were about 17 % of the total number of nobles. See, *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.191

³ For details see, Afzal Husain, 'Provincial Governors under Akbar', *Indian History Congress*, 1970.

daughter of Rao Raimal son of Rao Maldeo.¹ Apparently this was an attempt to ensure close cordial relations of the Rajputs with Mughal imperial family. It seems that the emperor considered that by establishing close family ties with them, the Mughal Empire will become more acceptable to Indian people and further their close cooperation would help him to establish a strong centralised state in India.

However, during the closing years of Akbar's reign their appeared a crisis in their relation with Salim (Jahangir) as a consequence of Raja Man Singh's active role in the conspiracy to enthrone Khusru at the time of Akbar's serious illness and at the time of Khusrau's revolt. Jahangir completely lost confidence in him, although his rank was not reduced but he was not given independent charge of a *suba* or a military command for the rest of his life. Due to that even the contemporaries believed that Jahangir was hostile towards Rajputs,² despite the fact that he established friendly relations with the Sisodias by agreeing to accept those proposals, which Akbar had refused earlier. We have also discussed the role of Rajput houses during the revolt of Khurram, Mahabat Khan's *coup* and in the crisis following the death of Jahangir. Similarly the role of Rajput houses in the important developments of Shahjahan's reign (such as the revolts of Jhujhar Singh Bundela and Khan Jahan Lodi, Deccan, Balkh Badkshshan and Qandhar campaigns, Mewar crisis and the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan) has also been examined. We have also analysed the imperial policy towards different Rajput

¹ For details of imperial Marriages, see, Afzal Husain, 'Marriages Among Mughal Nobles as an Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration', *Indian History Congress*, 1972.

² Mirza Aziz Koka in a *Arzdasht* addressed to Jahangir charged him of deliberately ingoring Rajput's and Turani's and unduly promoting Iranis and Indian Muslims at their expense. See, "*The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*", pp.217-220, Hawkins also made similar remarks but only about Rajputs. Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, ed. William Foster, London, 1927, pp.106-7

houses in the light of his personal relations as well as award of mansabs and appointment given to them.

Though the study of Mughal - Rajput relations has attracted great deal of attention from scholars and in almost all the works on political history of Mughal Empire as well as in the studies on Mughal nobility¹, some of these aspects have been discussed but barring few monographs and research papers on the lives of important Rajput nobles and houses², no comprehensive study on the Rajput chieftancies and nobility, particularly their role and position at Mughal court so far has been made of the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan.

The present study is an attempt in this direction; however its scope is limited to the study of the imperial policy towards chieftains of the Kachhwahas of Amber, Rathors of Bikner and Marwar, Hadas of Bundi and Sisodias of Mewar of Ajmer *suba* as illustrative of general norms and circumstances. We have concentrated our study on the chiefs mainly because the Mughal Emperors themselves gave their utmost attention only towards them. However, some other Rajputs too were admitted in imperial service but very few among them were able to get really important position at the court. Therefore, realising that such a study might be one sided, we have also included these other Rajputs in our study. We also feel that a study of this kind must necessarily begin from the

¹ Some of the important works published in recent years are as follows: Satish Chandra's *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-40)*, M. Athar Ali's "*The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*", Afzal Husain "*The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir – A Study of Family Groups*", Firdaus Anwar's "*The Mughal Nobility under Shahjahan*", R.K. Saxena's "*Rajpur Nobility (A Study of 18th Century Rajputana)*", Rifaqat Ali Khan's, "*Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir*", V.S. Bhargava "*Marwar and the Mughals*", R.S. Mathur's, "*Relations of Hadas with Mughal Emperor*", A.F. Pinhey, "*History of Mewar*", G.N. Sharma, "*Mewar and the Mughals*", R.V. Somani, "*History of Mewar*", Jadunath Sarkar, "*History of Jaipur*", G.D. Sharma, "*Rajput Polity, A Study of Politics and Administration of the State of Marwar*".

² For example, Rajiv Narain Prasad, "Raja Man Singh of Amber".

time of Akbar (during whose reign the Rajputs were admitted in service) since to understand the complex problem of the Rajput nobility of the later period a survey of their position during the earlier period is an essential pre-requisite. Therefore we have briefly discussed the situation in Akbar's time in every chapter.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters including introduction and conclusion. After the introduction, the next five chapters (chapter second to six) are devoted to the study of chieftaincies mentioned above. To illustrate the context of these problems we have prepared detailed political biographies of the chieftains starting from the reign of Akbar to the end of Shahjahan's reign including the events of the war of succession among his sons. While writing about the rulers of the chieftaincies we have specially taken note of all the developments that have taken place in their relations with the imperial court. We have discussed the career and achievements of the chiefs at the Mughal court (particularly mentioning appointments, award of *mansabs*, promotions etc.) in the form of a historical narrative. Besides the career of the rulers of the chieftaincies, we have also discussed the account of all other relations of the chiefs who were admitted in the imperial service. Several Rajputs not related to the chiefs but of the same clan were also admitted in imperial service. Some of them were given higher ranks, important administrative responsibilities and military commands. At the end of each chapter we have briefly discussed the career of these Rajput nobles also. To substantiate our point of view we have also given clan wise tabulated information, about numerical strength, *mansabs* and appointments of Rajput nobles in a given year. The tables have been prepared on the basis of list Rajput nobles of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan's reign provided in two appendices.

In the preparation of the thesis we have used almost all the available Persian sources in print as well as in manuscript. Besides that we have also used a number *farmans* of Jahangir and Shahjahan, *nishans*, and *hasbul hukm* issued by princes, and also *arzdasht* of Rajput nobles. These documents are available in archives, *Vir Vinod* and also in a calendar of Mughal Documents in two Volumes published by Dr S.I. Tirmizi. We have also consulted European travel accounts and used them with utmost care. We have a number of *Rajasthani* sources available for our period. As these were quite useful for our study I have extensively used them. We have also consulted all the available articles and books published in English, Hindi and Urdu on the theme connected in any way with our topic.

CHAPTER-I

THE KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

The Kachhwaha clan of the Rajputs of Amber were one of the most important components of the Mughal nobility. The ruling chief of this principality Raja Bharamal Kachhwaha was the first Rajput ruler who accepted the subordination of Emperor Akbar and also offered him his daughter in marriage. In turn they were rewarded with high *mansabs* and important administrative offices in Mughal administration. Several members of the family such as Raja Bharamal, Bhagwant Das, Man Singh, Jagannath, Bhao Singh and Jai Singh were held in high esteem by the Mughal rulers.

Amber was a small state in the north-eastern plain of Rajputana and upto 1528 the rulers were practically feudatories of the Sisodias of Mewar.¹ However, after the death of Rana Sangram, they became almost independent but the rulers of Marwar and the Muslim officers posted at Ajmer and Nagore continued to harass them.² On the eve of the Mughal conquest of India, Amber was ruled by Prithvi Raj Kachhwahas. It seems that close relations between the Kachhwahas and the imperial Mughals were established quite early because Abul Fazl writes that during Humayun's reign Raja Puranmal, the Kachhwaha

¹ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama* ed. Agha Ahmad Ali, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 3 vols. Reprint, 1977, III, p.173; Kavi Raj Shyamal Das, *Vir Vinod*, 4 Parts 1886. II, pp.1272-73; For more details see, Rajiv Narain Prasad, *Raja Man Singh of Amber*, Calcutta, World Press, 1966, p.1-20; Afzal Husain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir – a study of family groups*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1999, p.80; Ahsan Raza Khan, *Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1977, p.102-3; Kunwar Razaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, Delhi University Press, New Delhi, 1976.

² *Munhot Nainsi Ra Khyat*, 3 parts ed. the Rajasthan Prachavidya Pratishthan, Jodhpur, 1960. II, p.13; R.N Prasad, pp.4-6

chiefs fought against Mirzas and sacrificed his life for the Mughal cause.¹ However, the friendly relation between the Mughals and Kachhwahas failed to last for a long period, on account of the defeat of Humayun at the hands of Sher Shah and later his expulsion from India.

After the death of Puranmal, family feuds on account of disputes in succession led to considerable decline in the fortune of the Kachhwahas. However, Bharamal succeeded in occupying the gaddi of Amber in 1547.² But he remained under constant pressure of Haji Khan, the Sur governor of Ajmer, Mewat and Nagore who in alliance with Askaran the legal claimant of the gaddi of Amber, threatened his rule of Amber. As Bharamal was in no position to offer military resistance to the combined army of Haji Khan and Askaran, he entered into matrimonial alliance by offering his daughter to Haji Khan.³ Haji Khan now recognised him as the ruler of Amber.⁴ In spite of that he sought Mughal alliance very eagerly. The opportunity came in 1556 when Haji Khan attacked Narnaul which was under Majnun Khan Qaqshal.⁵ Bharamal took advantage of the situation and captured the fort. He sent Majnun Khan to the court and later on handed over the fort to Tardi Beg, when he came to chastise Haji Khan.⁶ This favourable attitude of Bharamal came to the knowledge of Akbar from Majnun Khan and shortly after the second battle of Panipat

¹ *Akbarnama* III, p.606; But Ranbir Singh writes that Puran Mal was killed in the battle of Anaseri against Hindal in 1534. Ranbir Singh, *History of Shaikhawat*, p.14

² *Marwar Ri Pargana Ri Vigat*, ed. Fateh Singh 2 Volume, Jodhpur 1968, I, pp.43-45; *Akbarnama*, III, p.606

³ *Khayat* II, p.13; *Virvinod* II, pp.1276-77; Satish Chandra, *Mughal religious policies, the Rajputs and the Deccan*, NewDelhi, 1993, p.17

⁴ *Virvinod* II, pp.1276-77

⁵ He was a Mughal officer appointed by Humayun. *Akbarnama*, II, p.20

⁶ *Akbarnama* II, p.20,22; *Virvinod* II, p.1277

(5Nov.1556)¹ Bharmal was summoned to the court, where he was received favours and also awarded dress of honour.² Abul Fazl gives an interesting description of the events. He writes:

‘On one day when robes of honour had been presented to the Rajah and to his sons and other relatives and they had been brought to the court to receive their dismissal, H.M. was mounted on a mast elephant which in its intoxication was rushing in every direction. People were all going to one side. Once it ran towards the Rajputs, but as they held fast to their loyalty they remained standing. This steadiness pleased the lofty glance of H.M. the Shihanshah, and he made inquiries about the Rajah and said with his mystery interpreting tongue, “we’ll rear you”.’³

It is important to note that for the next five year we have hardly any reference of Mughal Kachhwaha contact in our sources. Possibly Bairam Khan who at that time was at the helm of affairs took no interest in this direction. Bharamal however, continued to have problems because of his disputed succession; Suja son of Puranmal now sought the help of Mirza Sharfuddin, the Mughal governor of Ajmer and Nagore to secure his father’s gaddi. Subsequently the joint armies of Mirza Sharfuddin and Suja marched against Bharamal in 1561 and forced him to pay a fixed amount annually and handover his son Jagannath, his nephew Raj Singh son of Askaran and Khanjar Singh son of Jagmal as hostage for its regular payment.⁴ But Sharfuddin Mirza and his allie Suja, it appears were not satisfied with the outcome of the campaign. From *Akbarnama* it appears that Sharfuddin was preparing to launch an attack to further humiliate him.⁵ Bharamal now decided to seek help from his Mughal friends Chaghtai Khan and Majnun Khan Qaqshal. About this time Akbar was

¹ *Akbarnama* II, p.45; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Shahnawaz Khan edited Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib.Ind. Calcutta, 1888, III, pp.111-13

² *Akbarnama* II, p.45; *M.U.*III, pp.111-13

³ *Akbarnama*, II, p.45

⁴ *Akbarnama* II, p.155-56; *M.U.*II, pp.112-13; *Virvinod* II, p.1277

⁵ *Akbarnama* II, p.155-56

on his first visit to Ajmer; we are told that at Kalavali, Chaghtai Khan brought to the notice of the Emperor that Bharamal the head of the Kachhwahas, a large and distinguished clan of Rajputs, was facing great hardship because of Mirza Sharfuddin's harsh dealings.¹ The Raja had to flee his country and had taken shelter in the folds of the hills. The Emperor was also informed that the Raja was most loyal to the Mughal cause and had visited Delhi to offer his obedience in the beginning of his reign and was now waiting for his mercy. The Emperor accepted the representation and asked him to bring the Raja to his presence. In the meantime the imperial camp reached Deosa. The entire population of the village fled in panic considering it to be another campaign of Sharfuddin.² By the evening when it became clear that the Emperor himself was present in the camp, Jaimal chief of Deosa (the son of Rupsi a brother of Bharmal) came to the presence and offered his submission. The Emperor accepted his homage but insisted that offer of submission will be accepted only if Rupsi personally comes to the presence.³ Shortly afterwards Rupsi also presented himself before Emperor, who immediately exalted him with royal favour.⁴ Next day the camp halted in the village Sanganir. At this station Chaghtai Khan introduced Bharamal together with his relatives and leading men of his clan.⁵ Raja Bhagwant Das, however, was not in this delegation, he was left back to look after the family. Abul Fazl writes that the Emperor was greatly impressed with the "devotion and sincerity in the behaviour of the Raja and his relatives".⁶ The Raja according to Abul Fazal offered his daughter in marriage to Emperor 'to bring himself of the ruck of land holders and make himself one of the

¹ *Akbarnama* II, pp.155-56

² *Akbarnama*, II, pp.155-56

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ibid*, pp.155-56

⁵ *Ibid*, pp.156-57

⁶ *Ibid*, p.155

distinguished ones of the court'.¹ Akbar accepted his request and sent him along with Chaghtai Khan to make arrangement for the marriage.

After their departure, when the camp was pitched at Sambhar, Mirza Sharfuddin presented himself before the Emperor. The Emperor ordered him to free immediately Jagannath, Raj Singh and Khangar the sons and relatives of Bharamal taken hostage by him. The Mirza agreed to surrender them "but put off the time of doing so by subterfuges". Abul Fazl adds that His Majesty thought that the excuses were genuine and waited in expectation of the arrival of the hostages.² After visiting the holy shrine Akbar decided to return to Agra quickly. But Sharfuddin Husain who was given the task of conquering Merta requested the Emperor to go on hunting in that area, which may help him in his task. The Emperor rejected the proposal and proceeded towards Agra with a number of commanders to his assistance. He also issued a "straigent order" for production of hostages. When the camp reached Sambhar the Mirza brought before the Emperor Raj Singh, Jagannath and Khangar. On the same day the marriage was also solemnised and the Emperor stayed for a day for the "holding of marriage feast".³ The following day Emperor marched towards Agra. When he reached Ranthambhore, Raja Bharmal and his children and other relatives were exalted by doing homage and Man Singh was 'exalted by the auspicious ray of His Majesty's glance and was made a permanent servant'. Bharmal also requested the Emperor to visit his house so that the promotion of his family's glory might obtain completion. But as at that moment the Emperor was in a hurry to reach Agra, the request was put off to another time. However, Raja Bhagwant Das and Man Singh and a number of their officers and relatives

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.156-58

² *Ibid*, II, pp.156-58

³ *Ibid*, pp.157-58

accompanied the Emperor and Raja Bharmal was given leave to go to his chieftancy.¹

From the above one may conclude that the submission of Bharmal and marriage of his daughter to the Emperor was not an atrandum one. The nobles who were sympathetic to Bharmal have to work over time to convince Akbar to accept Bharmal's offer of submission. The reasons were obvious. Bharmal had been engaged in brawl with the Mughal officer Mirza Sharfuddin Husain in charge of Ajmer. Sharfuddin was not only a senior noble of the Empire but also a brother-in-law of Akbar. Possibly the reaction of the Emperor might not have been very favourable when Chaghtai Khan appealed for his mercy at Agra. They might have considered to appeal again when the Emperor was on a visit to Ajmer passing through the area where the Kachhwahas lived and the Emperor could personally verify the facts and may ascertain the actual situation prevailing in the area. We find that soon after Akbar started towards Ajmer, representations were made about Bharamal's difficulties. Fortunately for the family, on reaching Deosa as the people of the village have fled and on enquiry Akbar was told about Sharfuddin's atrocities on the inhabitant of the area, the Emperor seems to have agreed to listen to their pleas. As the Emperor's reaction was favourable, first Rupsi submitted and thereafter Bharamal's offer of submission was also accepted and favours were granted to the family.²

This was the beginning of Akbar's alliance with the Rajputs. Basic features of his Rajput policy were clearly laid out: if a Rajput chieftain accepted the subordination of the Mughals his state will not be annexed in the Mughal Empire and his sons and relatives on joining imperial service will be given additional *Jagir* (salary). But personal presence of

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.157-58

² *Ibid*, pp.155-58

the chief was a pre-condition; Bharamal had personally come to the court but before his submission this was made clear in the case of Rupsi. As mentioned above at Deosa, Jaimal came to offer submission on behalf of his father Rupsi. The Emperor refused to accept the offer unless Rupsi personally came to presence. Ultimately Rupsi presented himself and his submission was then accepted.¹ Marriage was not a pre-condition; however, from a remark of Abul Fazl it is clear that by establishing matrimonial relations with the Emperor the status of the chief tremendously improved among the zamindars.²

The Kachhwahas after this alliance immediately gained great benefits. On the one hand the Kachhwaha hostages were released and the hostility of the Mughal officers posted at Ajmer came to an end and on the other hand they also improved financially. Their state remained with them and with the admission of sons and other relatives in Mughal service they got additional *Jagirs*³. In the region of Rajasthan also as a consequence of the alliance their political position improved. At the Mughal court as will be shown briefly in forgoing pages the Kachhwaha considerably enjoyed unique position not only among Rajputs but in the Mughal nobility in general.

Soon after their submission in Mughal service the Kachhwahas with their sincerity gained complete trust of the Emperor. We find them accompanying the Emperor in the campaigns against the rebellion of peasants of Parrokh as early 1562, Khan-i-Zaman 1566 and in the siege of Chittor and Ranthambhore in 1568 and 1569.⁴ They have gained so much confidence of the Emperor that when he proceeded for Gujrat campaign, Raja Bharamal was made *Wazir-i-*

¹ For more details see Afzal Husain, '*Growth of Irani elements in Akbar's nobility*' IHC, 1975, pp.166-79

² *Akbarnama* II, p.157

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 272,264-65,272,517-18,524,536,649-50

⁴ Ibid pp.163-65,265,291,320-21, 337-39; vol. III, p.87

Mutlaq and the defence of Agra was left to him along with Abdullah Sultanpuri.¹ Besides that a number of Kachhwahas such as Bhagwant Das, Man Singh, Madho Singh, Rupsi, Jagannath and Bhupat accompanied him in Gujrat campaign.² Thereafter till the end of Akbar's reign Kachhwahas held high ranks and important offices.³ A reference to the table 'A' given below clearly indicate the high position enjoyed by them at the Mughal court. As a matter of fact no other family group held so many governorship and total *mansab* during Akbar's reign. Their numerical strength was also the highest as compared to the nobles of any other family group.

Table A

	1596	1605
Total Mansab	15300	30100/14870
Governorship	4	1
Numerical strength	11	12

During the closing years of Akbar's reign problem relating to the succession arose owing to his serious illness. The nobles were sharply divided on this issue, although Salim was the only son of Akbar who had survived. But some of the senior nobles like Aziz Koka and Man Singh apparently not being very sure of maintain their position in the event of Salim's succession, conspired to enthrone Khusrau (son of Salim) who was a nephew of Man Singh

¹ Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Abdul Qadir Badauni, ed. Ali ahmad, Bib.Ind.Calcutta, 1865-68,p.151, cited by A.R. Khan, p.104; *Akbarnama*, II, pp.339, 373, III, pp.19,35, 43

² For details of Gujrat campaign see, *Akbarnama*, II, pp.370-73; III, pp.4-6,10-19,31,43-56; *M.U.*II, PP.129-31, 160-65, 174,282

³ For administrative appointments see, *Akbarnama* III, pp.80, 336-37, 353, 372, 375-77, 397, 404-5, 466-69, 470-73, 492, 511, 520-21, 525, 570, 641, 650, 821; *M.U.*,II,pp.129-31, 160-65, 174,28; AFzal Husain, 'Provincial governor under Akbar', *IHC*, 1970.

and son-in-law of Mirza Aziz Koka.¹ Although the conspiracy failed but the events clearly indicated that Man Singh and the Kachhwahas nobles have become one with leading Turani noble Mirza Aziz Koka and shared the anxiety about their future careers so intensely that they decided to take the decision of imperial succession on their own.² The conspiracy however failed and through the intervention of Shaikh Farid, Man Singh and Mirza Aziz along with Khusrau presented themselves before Salim.³ They were given dresses of honour and confirmed to their old assignments. These decisions were taken before Akbar's death and formal coronation of Jahangir. But after Akbar's death Mirza Aziz and Man Singh again got panicked. Man Singh along with Khusrau came out of the fort and took up residence at Dhandhupura. He came out of the fort in such a hurry that he could not carry with him Rs. 10, 00000 which he had taken out from the royal treasury for Sultan Khusrau and stored in heaps in the *Khas- o- am*.⁴ Jahangir further made a commitment by clearly mentioning in his 11 article of his 12 regulations issued immediately after his accession when he says:

“I gave a general order that the rank and *jagirs* held by my fathers servants will remain unchanged. Later the *mansabs* were increased according to each one 's circumstances but not less than 20 percent to 300 to 400 percent”.⁵

As a matter of fact these commitment were implemented in actual practice.

¹ *Iqbalnama- i-Jahangiri*, Mutamid Khan, ed., Maulana Muhammad Rafi, Allahabad, 1931, p.230; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Jahangir*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1864, p.7,26,73,78 (Ram Singh Udawat and Rai Sal Darbari were supporter of Jahangir. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Moinul Haq, 3vols., Karanchi, 1966,1970,1974, p.81, 240) *M.U.I*, pp.319-35; II, p.168;

² *Tuzuk* p.7; *Z.Khawanin*, I, pp.82-83

³ *Tuzuk*, pp.6-7; Afzal Husain, p.186

⁴ *Z.Khawanin* I, p.83

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.4-5; Afzal Husain p.186

Mirza Aziz who remained in the fort to make preparation for the last rites of Emperor was also in constant touch with Man Singh. He sent his women to Raja's house and requested him to provide beasts of burden to carry treasure. It seems both of them have prepared to go to Bengal. However, the next day Raja Man Singh along with Khusrau came to offer congratulation to the Emperor on his assumption of Kingship.¹ The Emperor again bestowed robes of honour and permitted him to leave for Bengal. Khusrau however, preferred to remain at court.² Shortly afterwards Bhao Singh son of Man Singh, the most capable of his sons was promoted from his original rank to 1500.³ Madho Singh brother's son of Man Singh and Maha Singh grand son of Man Singh were also promoted to the rank of 3000/2000⁴ and 2000/300,⁵ respectively. Raja Jagannath another senior Kachhwaha noble holding rank of 5000 was granted robe of honour.⁶

From the above it appears that Jahangir no doubt was unhappy with Man Singh and in his memoris he express his feelings openly but at the same time he also mentions that he overlooked his past misdeeds and granted him favour. In his memoirs he writes:

“Though as in consequence of certain of his acts he had no expectation of this favour towards himself, I dignified him with a *charqab* (vest without sleeves) as a robe of honour, a jewelled sword and one of my own horses and sent him off to his province.”⁷

But after the accession he tried to maintain normal relation with the Kachhwahas including Man Singh. The situation however, changed after Khusrau's revolt. He now completely lost confidence not only in Man Singh but

¹ *Z.Khawanin* I, p.83

² *Tuzuk*, p.7; *Iqbalnama* 512; *Z.Khawanin* I, p.83

³ *Tuzuk* p.10; *Akbarnama*, III, p.837

⁴ *Akbarnama* III, p.820; *Tuzuk* p.7; *Z.Khawanin* p.163,221

⁵ *Akbarnama* III, p.839; *Tuzuk* p.8; *M.U.II*, p.174; *Z.Khawanin* p.272

⁶ *Akbarnama* III, p.786; *Tuzuk* p.7

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.7-8

in almost all senior Akbari nobles.¹ We find that soon after Khusrau's revolt Man Singh was summoned to court and in his place Qutbuddin Khan was appointed governor of Bengal.² He left Bengal for the court but stayed at Rohtas, despite repeated orders to reach immediately to court.³ He came back to court only after Rohtas was assigned to Kishwar Khan in 1608.⁴ In his memoirs at this time Jahangir expresses his great displeasure, he writes "He also like Khan-i-Azam is one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this state".⁵ He adds "what they have done to me and what has happened to them from me, God the knower of secrets knows; possibly no one could mention such another case".⁶ But no punishment was given to them. He himself gives the reasons by mentioning, "as he was one of those who had been favoured by my father I did not parade his offences before his face but with royal condescension promoted him."⁷ Not only that on his arrival Man Singh presented an offering of 100 elephants which was accepted and the Emperor himself presented him a horse which Shah Abbas had specially sent for the Emperor.⁸ In the same year Jahangir married Man Singh's grand daughter (daughter of Jagat Singh) and dispatched him to the Deccan campaign to serve under Abdur Rahim Khan i

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.25

² *Tuzuk*, p.101; *Z.Khawanin* p.84

³ *Tuzuk*, p.65

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.65; Afzal Husain p.97; But R.P.Tripathi stated that Man Singh was transferred from Bengal to Bihar.(Tripathi p.368); It is not true because at the same time Jahangir Quli Khan was governor of Bihar.(cf. Afzal Husain, pp.90-94); Inayat Ali Zaidi on the basis of Hawkins's account writes that due to delay Jahangir got so angry with him that his *mansab* was reduced from 7000/6000 to 5000. But it was presumption of Hawkins because when he was presented before the Emperor, then he stood in the line of Panj Hajari *mansabdar* and Jahangir in his memoirs had not recorded any curtailment in his *mansab*. (cf. Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign' *IHC*, 1975 p.181)

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.65

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid* p.65,67

Khana.¹ The appointment of Man Singh in a subordinate position was a clear indication of Emeror's displeasure as well as lack of confidence in him. It was also a personal humiliation for Man Singh because he was not only one of the senior most nobles of the Empire but ever since 1586 he had been holding important positions independently.² However, the Emperor maintained normal courtesies of Mughal court culture. On ceremonial occasions he was presented elephants, horses, dresses of honour and jeweled swords.³ What ever references we get about Man Singh indicate that he was reconciled to his position and performed his duties efficiently and loyally during his stay in the Deccan. He even asked Abdur Rahim Khan-i- Khanan to complete the conquest of the Deccan as soon as possible.⁴ A passage in *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* indicate that he tried his best to establish cordial relations with the other military commanders posted in the Deccan and the commanders too responded in the same manner.⁵ Farid writes:

“during the governship and Khan-i-Jahan Lodi the Raja and fifteen other *panj hazari* mansabdars had gone to Balaghat with Khan i Jahan. Raja Man Singh one day got up in the Diwan and said in all humility, “ if I were a Muslim, I would have every day taken one meal with you for among you all I am most senior in age. Now you please accept the equivalent in money of a *pan* leave from me. Khan-i-Jahan, Mirza Rustam, Amirul Umara Asaf Khan and others all with great willingness accepted the offer”.⁶

Man Singh remained posted in Deccan until his death in 1614 at Elichpur

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.68,71; *Z.Khawanin* p.109; While it was not valid according to Hindu marriage between a widower and niece or grand daughter of his deceased wife. (I.Ali.Zaidi, IHC, 1975, p.183)

² *Z.Khawanin* p.109-10;

³ *Tuzuk*, p.71,74; *M.U.*II, pp.166-67

⁴ For Deccan campaign see, *Tuzuk*, p.74,82,88,107; *Z.Khawanin* I, pp.109-110, II, p.75, 175; *M.U.*, II, p.167-68

⁵ *Z.Khawanin* I, p.109

⁶ *Ibid* pp.109-10

(Deccan).¹ Jahangir's attitude towards other Kachhwaha nobles however, was not hostile. At the time of his accession as many as 10 Kachhwaha nobles were in imperial service and all of them were attached with the Mughal expeditions in different parts of the Empire and performed meritorious services.²

As mentioned earlier Bhao Singh was promoted to the rank of 1500 soon after accession.³ He was given further promotion to the rank of 2000/1000 in 1608.⁴ Although, he was not given any further promotion until 1514 but he constantly remained at the court and received favours of the Emperor. In 1514 after the death of Man Singh, Bhao Singh was raised to the rank of 4000/3000⁵ and made the ruler of Amber.⁶ Although, according to established traditions the ruler ship of Amber should have gone to Maha Singh son of Jagat Singh the eldest son of Man Singh.⁷ He was also given the title of "*Mirza*" which was reserved for the Timurid Princes and had not been given to any other Indian chief.⁸ The favours given to him were unusually very high mainly because of Bhao Singh's close personal relationship with Jahangir. In his memoirs Jahangir writes: "from the days when I was a prince he was constantly in my service and by the blessing of my education had reached the high rank of 5000."⁹

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.130; *Z.Khawanin* p.111

² Following Kachhwaha nobles were in imperial service: Raja Man Singh, Bhao Singh son of Man Singh, Maha Singh son of Jagat Singh, Jagannath son of Bhara Mal, Madho Singh son of Bhagwant Das, Raj Singh son of Askaran, Ram Das Kachhwaha, Raisal Darbari, Manohar and Narain Das

³ *Tuzuk*, p.10; *Z.Khawanin*, p.387

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.66; *T.U.*, p.250

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.130

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.130,146; *M.U.*, III, pp.360-61

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p. 130,46

⁸ *Ibid*, pp.130-31

⁹ *Ibid*, p.337

But Maha Singh was also rewarded by granting the territory of Garha in *Inam* and promotion of 500 in his *mansab*.¹ He was also given the title of 'Raja' in the following year.² However, Bhao Singh was not given any appointment until 1619,³ when he was sent to the Deccan, although in 1617 he was promoted to the rank of 5000/3000.⁴ In 1621 Bhao Singh died in the Deccan due to excessive drinking.⁵ After his death as he had left no son, the son of Maha Singh, Jai Singh was given *Tika* and made ruler of Amber.⁶

As mentioned above Maha Singh's claims were disregarded by Jahangir but it is important to note that he still remained loyal to the Emperor and the Emperor too had complete confidence in him. In 1607 he was appointed to suppress Bangash rebels⁷ and in 1610 he was sent against Raja Bikramajit the Zamindar of Bandhu.⁸ Jahangir also married Maha Singh's sister to instill confidence in him.⁹ He was also given promotion in his rank and by 1616 he reached to the rank 4000/3000.¹⁰ In the same year he was sent to the Deccan where he died in the following year (1617).¹¹

Jagannath son of Bharamal another important Akbari noble was also confirmed to his previous rank of 5000¹² and soon afterwards sent to Mewar

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.130; The author of *Maathirul Umara* mentioned the grants of Bandhu as a fief.(*M.U.II*, p.174)

² *Tuzuk*, p.146

³ *Tuzuk*, p.138, 146,161, 195,266, 281

⁴ *Ibid*, p.184

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.337; *Iqbalnama*, p.187; *Z.Khawanin* p.387

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.337

⁷ *Ibid*, p.56

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.85; *M.U.II*, p.174

⁹ *Tuzuk*, p.68,85; *M.U.II*, p.174

¹⁰ *Tuzuk*, p.106,161

¹¹ *Ibid*, 156,186

¹² *Akbarnama III*, p.786; *Tuzuk*, p.7

expedition under Sultan Parwez.¹ It is important to note that when Sultan Parwez, on account of Khusrau's rebellion proceeded to capital with Bagha son of Amar Singh, Jagannath was left there with the whole army to keep a watch over Amar Singh.² But shortly afterwards he was called back and sent along with Muizul Mulk to suppress the rebellion of Rai Rai Singh and Dalpat of Bikaner.³ In 1609 he was promoted to the rank of 5000/3000 and sent to the Deccan along with his son Karam Chand.⁴ In the same year he died.⁵ After his death the fort of Ranthambhor which was held by him was assigned to Ram Das in 1611.⁶ Jagannath had four sons namely Karam Chand, Manrup, Sara and Bala.⁷ After his death Karam Chand who was already in Mughal service was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500 and appointed to serve in the Deccan.⁸ In 1623 he was deputed under Parwez against Khurram.⁹ His other sons Manrup, Sara and Bala were also taken into service but probably they were not given higher rank during Jahangir's reign.¹⁰ Manrup joined Shah Jahan at the time of his rebellion and after his accession raised to the rank of 3000/1000.¹¹ His other

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.7-8, 35; *M.U.I.*, pp.514-16; *Z.Khawanin*, p.219

² *Tuzuk*, p.35; *M.U.I.*, p.515-16

³ *Tuzuk*, p.36,40; *Z.Khawanin*, p.219

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.74-75; *M.U.*, I, pp.515-16; *Z.Khawanin* mentioned him as a *mansabdar* of 3000, obviously it was sawar rank. *Z.Khawanin* p.219

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.74-75; *Z.Khawanin* p.366; *Vir Vinod*, II, p.225

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.98; *Iqbalnama* p.58; *M.U.I.*, pp. 515-16

⁷ *Umrai Hunood* refers only the name of three sons. *Umra-i- Hunood*, Sayeed Ahmad, Abdus Salam collection, Azad library, A.M.U., Aligarh, pp.140-41; From *Tazkirat ul Umara* we come to know that Jagannath had four sons. Kewal Ram, *Tazkirat ul Umara*, B.M., Add.16, 703, tr. Tasleem Ahmad. (*T.U.p.*273,281,293,297)

⁸ *Tuzuk*, pp.174-75; *M.U.I.*, p.516

⁹ *Tuzuk*, p.356,358; *Iqbalnama* p.204

¹⁰ *Z.Khawnin* p.366; *T.U.* P.273, 281, 293, 297; *U.H.* p.141

¹¹ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, two vols., vol.I, part,a and part,b ed. Maulavi Kabiruddin and Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Bib, Ind. Calcutta, 1867-8, 1a, pp.118, 122-23

brothers Sara nd Bala were also given rank of 700¹ and 1000² respectively.

Jahangir also confirmed Madho Singh³ son of Bhagwant Das on his previous rank of 3000/2000.⁴ He was dispatched to serve under Sultan Parwez against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar.⁵ After the death of Madho Singh his son Satarsal was taken into imperial service and at the end of Jahangir's region held the rank of 1500/1000.⁶

Raj Singh son of Askaran another Akbari noble was also confirmed to his previous rank of 4000/3000.⁷ In 1609 he was dispatched to the Deccan where he served till his death in 1615.⁸ After his death his son Ram Das was admitted into service and given the *mansab* of 1000 /400,⁹ but the title of 'Raja' was not conferred. However, after two years (1617) he was granted *Tika* and title of 'Raja' was also conferred on him.¹⁰ He was also promoted to the rank of 1500/700.¹¹ Ram Das remained loyal to Jahangir and fought against Khurram in the battle of Bilochpur. He was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000 after the victory.¹²

¹ T.U. p.281

² Ibid, p. 293

³ Jahangir in his memoirs (p.7) mentioned him as a nephew of Raja Man Singh, but on (p.26) he is reerred as a brother of his wife; who was a daughter of Bhagwant Das.(*Tuzuk* p.26). While *Z.Khawanin* had mentioned him as a brother of Man Singh. (*Z.Khawanin* p.221)

⁴ *Akbarnama* III, p.820; *Tuzuk* p.7; *Z.Khawanin* p.221; *M.U.*III, pp.321-22

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.7

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.26; *M.U.* III, p.321-22; *T.U.* p.266

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.75; *Iqbalnama* p.510

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.148

⁹ *Tuzuk*, p.148,164,207; *M.U.*II, p.170-72

¹⁰ *Tuzuk*, p.164,187

¹¹ Ibid, p.187,207

¹² *Tuzuk*, p.358,360; *Iqbalnama* p.204,584

Ram Das Kachhwaha was one of those Rajput nobles of Akbar's time who openly supported Salim at the time of accession crisis. After succeeding to the throne Jahangir raised him to the rank of 3000 in the very first year of his reign.¹ At the same time when Abhay Ram, Bijay Ram and Shyam Ram sons of Akhayraj son of Bhagwant Das rebelled against Jahangir and fled away to join the camp of Amar Singh of Mewar, Jahangir referred the case to Ram Das.² In the following year he was appointed guardian (*Ataliq*) of Maha Singh grand son of Raja Man Singh and asked to accompany him to suppress the Bangash rebels.³ After returning from there in 1611 he was appointed to the Deccan campaign along with Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang.⁴ At that time of departure he was granted the title of 'Raja' and the fort of Ranthambhore was also given to him.⁵ The campaign did not succeed and they were forced to retreat without achieving the objective. Emperor was highly displeased with all the commanders of the campaign.⁶ He was sent to the Bangash expedition where in the same year he died.⁷ On hearing of his death the Emperor is said to have remarked: "In the religion of Hindus, it is laid down that whoever crosses the Indus and dies, he is doomed to hell. My prayers have been accepted in this regard".⁸

According to Farid Bhakkari, Ram Das was a great favourite of Jahangir, he rose to the rank of 5000 and received the title of Raja Karan.⁹ He had only one son called Dilip Narayan. After the death of his father he was assigned a

¹ *Akbarnama* III, p.837; *Tuzuk*, p.9; *Z. Khawanin*, pp.77,239-40

² *Tuzuk*, p.12; *M.U.*, II, pp.155-57

³ *Tuzuk*, p.53,56,61; *Z.Khawanin*, 241

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.98; *Z.Khawanin* 240; *M.U.* II, p.155-57

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.98,107; *M.U.*II, pp.155-57

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.113; *Z.Khawanin* p.240-41

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.123; *Z.Khawanin* p.240-41

⁸ *Z.Khawanin* 240-41

⁹ *Ibid*

high rank but he died soon.¹

Raisal Darbari son of Raja Soja Darbari was also an important noble of Akbar's reign. However, during the succession crisis he supported the cause of Salim.² As a reward of his loyalty, after ascending the throne Jahangir conferred on him title of Raja, presented him with the flags and promoted to the rank of 3000 from his previous rank of 2500 /1250.³ Soon afterwards he was dispatched to serve under Sultan Perwez against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar. Like many other Rajput nobles, after the completion of Mewar affairs he was also sent to the Deccan campaign where he died after serving for about a decade in 1620.⁴ After his death his sons Girdhar, Dwarkadas and Bhojraj were admitted in service and given *mansabs*.⁵ However, during Jahangir's reign, only Girdhar came to enjoy important position as he was already in the imperial service.⁶ But till 1620 he was not given any important duty, although during the same period he was given promotion in rank and raised to 1200/900.⁷ In 1621 he was also sent to the Deccan campaign and on his return to court in the following year, he was raised to the rank of 2000/1500 and the title of Raja was conferred on him.⁸ There is no reference of his going back to the Deccan, but he was also not present in the battle of Bilochpur. However, when an army was sent in pursuit

¹ *Z.Khawanin* 241; *M.U.* II, pp.156-57

² For details see, *A contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India*, ed. and tr. Brij Narain and S.R. Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, p.32; Delaet, *The Empire of great Mogol*, tr. Holland and Banerjee, Bombay, 1928, p.171; *M.U.*, II, p.168; *Z.Khawanin*, p.366; R.N.Prasad pp.42-44; 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', *IHC*, 1975

³ *Akbarnama* III, p.1215; *Tuzuk*, p.7; *Z.Khawanin* p.110; *T.U.*, p.152; Nizamuddin Ahmad in *Tabakat-i-Akbari* placed him 2000. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, II, p.671

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.7, 156-57; *Z.Khawanin*, 367; *M.U.* II, pp.173-74; Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, ed. William Foster, London, 1927, p.98

⁵ *Z.Khawanin* 367; *M.U.* II, pp.173-74

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.27, 146

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 248, 332

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.356; *T.U.*, p.269

of Khurram under Parwez and Mahabat Khan, Girdhar was also deputed along with several other important nobles.¹ It seems that in the intervening period he went to his *watan* and proceeded towards imperial capital and reached there after the battle of Bilochpur was over. After coming to know of the attack of Khurram on Delhi, Raja Girdhar accompanied Parwez and served bravely in all the campaign against the rebels, particularly in the battle fought against the rebels at Mandu.² In appreciation of his services rendered in the campaigns against the rebels, Jahangir send him a *farman*.³ However, shortly afterwards during the same campaign a trifle led to a bitter fight between Sayid Kabir Barha and Girdhar in which Girdhar was killed while Sayid Kabir was awarded capital punishment.⁴ His son Dwarkadas succeeded to the headship of the family; but his *mansab* had not been recorded by any of our sources.⁵ In the first year of Shahjahan's reign according to Lahori, he held the rank of 1000/800.⁶

Rai Manohar son of Rai Lonkarn was a *mansabdar* of 400/400 under Akbar.⁷ After his accession, Jahangir confirmed him to his previous rank and dispatched him to serve in Mewar under Parwez.⁸ He was promoted to the rank of 1000/600 in 1607⁹ and 1000/800 in 1612¹⁰ and in the same year sent to the

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.360; *Iqbalnama*, pp.201-202

² *Tuzuk*, p.360,367; *Iqbalnama*, pp.204-205

³ Tirmizi S.A.I, *Mughal documents*, 2vols (vol. I, 1526-1627,1989, Vol. II, 1995, 1628-57),Manohar, New Delhi, I, p.124 s.no.267

⁴ *Tuzuk*, 374-75

⁵ *T.U.*, p.259

⁶ Lahori, Ia, p.121

⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. Sayid Ahmad Khan, Delhi, tr. Blockman, I, p.554

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.8

⁹ *Ibid*, p.54

¹⁰ *Tuzuk*, p.112; Farid Bhakkari writes that he attained the rank of an *Amir*. (*Z. Khawanin* p.220;) While *Umrai Hunood* mentioned him as a *mansabdar* of 1500/600.(*U.H.*p.335)

Deccan campaign. He remained posted in the Deccan till his death in 1616.¹ Manohar was succeeded by his son Prithichand with a small mansab of 500/300.² However, after few month he was given the title of Ray and a promotion of 100 *sawars*.³ In 1618 he was again promoted to the rank of 700/450 and sent to Kangra expedition,⁴ where he was killed during siege operations (1620). Jahangir in his memoirs writes that he sacrificed his life in a useless battle with the enemy.⁵ He had two sons namely Tilokchand and Premchand.⁶ They were admitted in the service but probably were not assigned any *mansab*. However, in Lahori's *Badshahnama* during Shah Jahan's first regnal year they held the rank of 800/500 and 600/400 respectively.⁷

Narain Das Kachhwaha son of Raja Khangar was also an important Kachhwaha noble of Jahangir's reign. According to *Vigat* he was raised to the rank of 2000 in 1607⁸ and in the following year dispatched to Mewar campaign alongwith Mahabat Khan.⁹ It seems that he returned to court with Mahabat Khan and in 1614 again accompanied him when he was sent to bring Mirza Aziz Koka to court from Udaipur.¹⁰ During the rebellion of Khurram like other Kachhwaha nobles he was also on the side of the Emperor.¹¹ We have no other information about him except that at the end of Jahangir's reign he held the

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.157; *Z.Khawanin*, p.220; Ranbir Singh in *History of Shaikhawats*, (p.26) writes that Manohar committed suicide after his son Rai Chand's death in the battle of Bangash in 1615.

² *Tuzuk*, p. 157

³ *Ibid*, p.160

⁴ *Ibid*, p.239

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.304

⁶ *Umrai Hunood* p.336

⁷ Lahori *Ib*, p.314

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.70; *Vigat* II, pp.492-93; *T.U* p.305

⁹ *Tuzuk*, pp.69-70; *Iqbalnama*, p.34

¹⁰ *T.U.*, p.304; Afzal Husain, p.167

¹¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.356-60; *Iqbalnama*, pp.204-5

rank of 2000.¹ Jai Singh great grandson of Man Singh was also admitted and enjoyed important position at his court. In 1617 his father Maha Singh died in the Deccan.² Jahangir in his memories writes that:

“On the 10th the sons of Raja Maha Singh came from their *Jagir* and native place (Amber) and waited on me in the neighbourhood of Ranthambhor, making an offering of three elephants and nine horses. Each one of them, according to his condition, received an increase of *mansab*.”³

In the account of the following year Jahangir mentions that he summoned Jai Singh to court and on his arrival he was awarded the *mansab* of 1000/1000.⁴ At that time Jai Singh was only 12 years old. But strangely there is no reference of other sons of Maha Singh.⁵ Soon afterwards he was sent to the Deccan to serve under Sultan Parwez.⁶ In 1618 Jahangir issued him a *farman* asking him to send the news reports regularly to the royal court. He was also assured of royal favours.⁷ In 1621 Bhao Singh his step grand father and ruler of Amber died in the Deccan.⁸ The Emperor now gave him the title of ‘Raja’.⁹ In his memoirs Jahangir writes:

“As he (Raja Bahao Singh) left no son I dignified the grandson of his elder brother, though of tender age with the title of Raja and gave him the *mansab* of 2000/1000. The *pargana* of Amber his native place was assigned to him as *Jagir* according to former custom in order that his family might not be dispersed.”¹⁰

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.370; *Vigat*, II, p.493

² *Tuzuk*, pp.186, 191-92

³ *Ibid*, p.170

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.191-92

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.192-93

⁶ Afzal Husain, p.102

⁷ Tirmizi I, p.107, s.no 213

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.337; *Iqbalnama*, p.187

⁹ *Tuzuk*, p.337

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.337

This was yet another great favour to Jai Singh because earlier Jahangir disregarding the claim of his father Maha Singh as the rightful heir to the gaddi of Amber had given it to Bhao Singh.¹ He was also allowed to visit his *Watan* Amber. While he was at Amber, Khurram whose relation with the Emperor were already strained openly rebelled and marched towards Agra at the head of a large army alongwith certain leading nobles. The situation was extremely serious. The Emperor sent *farmans* to Prince Parwez and other leading nobles of the Empire to hurry immediately to the court to crush the designs of the rebel Prince.² A similar *farman* was also sent to Raja Jai Singh at Amber.³ Raja Jai Singh presented himself before the Emperor at Delhi (March 1623) a few days before the battle of Bilochpur.⁴ However, in the details of the mobilisation of imperial army and in the details of the battle mentioned in the *Tuzuk*, Jai Singh is not referred at all. In the list of prominent nobles who were rewarded after the battle also Jai Singh's name does not figure. However, in the same year sometimes after the battle, he was promoted to the rank of 3000/1400.⁵ and was deputed alongwith several other Rajput nobles to serve under Parwez and Mahabat Khan to pursue Khurram.⁶ After marching from Bilochpur, Khurram proceeded towards Malwa. On the way passing through the haveli of the *Pargana* of Amber, he sent a unit of his troopers and got in plundered.⁷ Hotly chased by the imperial army he took shelter in the fort of Mandu. When Parwez

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.130

² Afzal Husain, pp.171-72

³ 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', *IHC*, 1975, p.186 (Jahangir's *farman* to Jai Singh preserved in Rajasthan state Archives Bikaner, no.1)

⁴ *Tuzuk*, 356,358

⁵ *Tuzuk*, 359; *Iqbalnama*, pp. 201-2

⁶ *Tuzuk*, 360; *Iqbalnama*, pp.201-2

⁷ *Tuzuk*, 357-60; *A contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India*, ed. and tr. Brij Narain and S.R. Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, p.60

and Mahabat Khan approached the fort he came out to fight.¹ In this battle Jai Singh played distinguished role. In appreciation of his service Jahangir issued him a *farman* soon after this battle. However, he was also advised not to take any action against the wishes of Parwez and Mahabat Khan.² After this defeat the rebels were completely demoralised on account of dissension encouraged by Mahabat Khan and the defeat of Abdullah Khan in Gujrat. Forced by circumstances Khurram fled to Golkunda and from there made his way to Orissa and Bengal.³ As soon as the Emperor came to know of Khurram's progress in the eastern region, Parwez and Mahabat Khan were asked to proceed immediately to taken strong action against him. Jai Singh was also dispatched to serve under them.⁴ In the meantime Khurram had marched through Orissa, Bengal and Bihar and laid siege to the fort of Allahabad. But when he came to know of the approach of imperial army, he ordered Abdullah Khan to raise the siege of Allahabad and join him at Hajipur. A hotly contested battle between the imperial army and the rebels was fought at Damdama on the bank of the Tons in which rebels were completely defeated and Kr.Bhim was killed.⁵ Raja Jai Singh who was posted in the vanguard, performed very valuable service.⁶ After the defeat of Khurram Raja Jai Singh returned to the Deccan alongwith Perwez and Mahabat Khan. In March 1625 Jahangir sent a *Khilat* and a horse to Raja Jai Singh.⁷ About the same time political situation at

¹ For details see Afzal Husain, pp.172-73

² Tirmizi I, pp.124-25, s.no.266, 267, 271; 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', IHC,1975 p.186, (*farman* preserved in Rajasthan state Archives Bikaner, no.2)

³ Tuzuk, pp.371-72, 383-84; Afzal Husain, pp.156-57, 173

⁴ *Iqbalnama*, pp.224-28

⁵ *Tuzuk*, 381-82; *Iqbalnama*, pp.232-33; *Z.Khawanin*, pp.122-23; Dutch Chronicle, p.69-70

⁶ *Dutch Chronicle*, pp.69-70; V.S.Bhargava, *Marwar and the Mughal Emperor*, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, NewDelhi, 1966 pp.73-74

⁷ Tirmizi, I, p.127. s.no.277

the court took a new turn; Mahabat Khan's relation with the court were strained and he was summoned to the court and Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was made incharge of the Deccan.¹ But Parwez who was not happy with this replacement and refused to relieve Mahabat Khan. Raja Jai Singh was also not fully agreeable with this replacement. This is clearly born out by Jahangir's *farman* to Raja Jai Singh in which he not only directed him to cooperate with Khan-i-Jahan Lodi but also warned him with dire consequences including resumption of his *Jagirs*.² In another *farman* issued soon after Raja Jai Singh was advised to join Khan-i-Jahan Lodi immediately. These *farmans* clearly show Jai Singh's closeness with Mahabat Khan and his reservations on the appointment of Khan-i-Jahan as a replacement for Mahabat Khan. However, after receiving these orders Jai Singh started to cooperate with Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.³ To secure Raja Jai Singh's support, Jahangir married Prince Dawar Baksh, son of late Prince Khusrau, to the sister of Raja Jai Singh⁴. Apparently, still not very sure of his cooperation to Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, Nurjahan also addressed a *Nishan* to Jai Singh where in, it was stated that Emperor is strongly pleased to know that he had disassociated himself from Mahabat Khan. She further asked him to follow the orders of Khan-i-Jahan and assured him of continued favours.⁵

When Khurram came to know of these developments he also sent him a *Nishan* with the request of his help and cooperation. He also assured him that he

¹ *Iqbalnama*, p.245, 248; Tirmizi I, p.127, s.no.279; Afzal Husain, p.143, 175

² Tirmizi I, pp.127-28, s.no.279, 280, 282; Afzal Husain, p.102; 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', *IHC*, 1975, p.187

³ Tirmizi, I, p.28 s.no.284, 285

⁴ Cf. Inayat ali Zaidi, 'The Rajput chiefs and Prince Shah Jahan revolted', *Islamic culture*, NO.4, October, 1987, p.74

⁵ Tirmizi I, pp.128-29, s.no.286, 287, 288; 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', p.187, *Islamic Culture*, 1987, p.74

will be given the same position that Man singh had enjoyed.¹ But Raja Jai Singh did not change his position. He remained in the Deccan and performed his duties faithfully, particularly in the battle fought with Malik Ambar. In 1626 Nurjahan send Rai Bhan to Raja Jai Singh with a *Khilat* and *Nishan* with assurance of regular favours.² At the same time Jahangir also issued him a *farman*, appreciating his faithful service for the Empire.³ In June 1626 another *farman* was issued to him in which, he was asked to take all possible steps to improve the conditions in the Deccan by suppressing the conspiracy hatched after the death of Malik Ambar.⁴ The Emperor also informed him that he was dispatching Raja Sarang Deo as his personal representative to Ajmer and advised him to act according to his suggestions.⁵ Sometime in March 1526 Mahabat Khan through a *coup* took control of the Emperor.⁶ Mahabat Khan also got a *farman* issued to Raja Jai Singh (by Emperor Jahangir,) where in it was specially mentioned that Mahabat Khan had favourably reported his action (Jai Singh's) in the Deccan, with a view to gain his support and cooperation.⁷ But Jai Singh still remained loyal to the Emperor.

After the dramatic end of the *coup* of Mahabat Khan⁸ it seems Jai Singh applied for leave to visit his *Watan*. But by a *farman* issued on Sep. 6, 1626 the Emperor ordered him not to leave Deccan.⁹ About the same time Nurjahan also

¹ Tirmizi I, p.129, s.no.291; Afzal Husain, p.102; I.A.Zaidi, *Islamic Culture*, 1987, pp.74-75

² Tirmizi I, p.129, s.no.292

³ Tirmizi I, p.130, s.no.295, 297

⁴ Ibid, p.132, s.no.305

⁵ Ibid

⁶ *Iqbalnama*, pp.257-79; Z.Khawanin, pp.134-35; Afzal Husain, pp.176-77

⁷ Afzal Husain, p.178; 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', p.187

⁸ *Iqbalnama*, p.286; For details see Afzal Husain, pp.177-79

⁹ Tirmizi I, p.133, s.no.307; 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', *IHC*, 1975, p.188

issued him a *Nishan* advising him to stay in the Deccan and suppress the rebels. He was further ordered not to do anything contrary to royal orders.¹ From this *Nishan* it also emerges that he wanted to come to the court. It seems that after receiving the *farman* Raja Jai Singh wrote a letter to the Emperor apparently with a request of promotion in *mansab* and *Jagir*, but the actual contents are not known to us.² However, a *farman* issued in May 1627 Jahangir acknowledges that his letter had been received and informed him that he had been promoted to the rank of 4000/3000³ and that the *pargana* of Chahatsu had also been added to his *Jagir*.⁴ It seems that Jai Singh was not allowed to visit his *watan*, mainly because of an apprehension that he might join Mahabat Khan with whom he was very friendly and had shown his displeasure on his transfer as commander of army deputed against Khurram. Probably it had come to the notice of the Emperor that Mahabat Khan had joined Shah Jahan and if Jai Singh also joined him the position of Shahryar could become very weak. On 28 October 1627 Jahangir died at Changiz Hatli near Bhimbhar.⁵ At that time Jai Singh was in Deccan.

The death of Jahangir created a very critical situation for the leading noble of the Empire. With the support of Nurjahan Shahryar her son-in-law crowned himself King at Lahore. Asaf Khan on the other hand along with a number of other influential nobles raised to throne Dawar Baksh son of Prince Khusrav as a escape goat to facilitate the succession of Shah Jahan. Asaf Khan

¹ Tirmizi I, p.133-34, s.no.308, 314

² Tirmizi, p.135, s.no.318

³ Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire, Award of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, OUP, Delhi, 1985 p.88;

⁴ 'The political role of Kachhwaha nobles during Jahangir's reign', *IHC*, 1975, p.188

⁵ *Iqbalnama*, pp.292-93; Lahori I, p.69. But Banarsi Prasad mention that he died at Rajauri on Sunday, October 29, 1627. *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, Banarasi Prasad Saksena, Allahabad, 1958, p.5

also send a secret message through Banarasi to Shah Jahan to hurry immediately to court. However, to Mughal nobles at large, Dawar Bakhsh was a serious contender and the reports that they received clearly showed that he had the support Asaf Khan and other leading nobles of the Empire.¹ Dawar Bakhsh himself started making efforts to get support from every section of the nobles; soon after ascending the throne he issued a *Nishan* to Jai Singh, informing him of the death of Jahangir and his accession with the support of Nurjahan. He was advised to 'Shoulder his responsibilities in right earnest and assured of fulfillment of his ambitions.'² About the same time Khurram also send him a *Nishan*, informing him of his march from Deccan to Agra to ascend the throne.³ Both the Princes sought his support and assured him of favours.⁴ We are not very sure of Jai Singh's reaction on receiving these *Nishans*. However, as he was with Khan-i-Jahan Lodi who had decided to support Dawar Baksh,⁵ Jai Singh along with Raja Gaj Singh and certain other nobles accompanied him up to Mandu apparently supporting Dawar Baksh.⁶ But his attitude changed when he came to know of the arrival of Khurram to Gujrat. Apparently at this stage he decided not to take sides in the succession struggle and proceeded towards Amber.⁷ However, on Shah Jahan's arrival to Ajmer, Jai Singh came from Amber and presented himself before the Prince (Jan.1628).⁸ But he did not accompany him to Agra, and still did not come out openly in his support.

¹ For details regarding succession crisis see, *Iqbalnama*, pp.293-99; Afzal Husain, pp.146- 48; Chapter II of this Thesis.

² Tirmizi I, p.137, s.no.326; Afzal Husain, p.148

³ Tirmizi I, s.no.327

⁴ Ibid, p, 129, s.no.291; p.137, s.no.326

⁵ *Z.Khawanin*, pp.81-82

⁶ *Iqbalnama*, p.300; A.Husain, p.102, 148

⁷ Lahori, Ia, p.76; *M.U.* II, pp.225-26 , III, pp.570-72

⁸ *Iqbalnama* p.300; *M.U.*, III, p.568

However, on his coronation he came to court and attend the ceremony.¹

From the above discussion on the Kachhwahas we may conclude that Jahangir was no doubt extremely unhappy with Man Singh because of his involvement in the conspiracy to supercede him and also of his very cordial relations with Khusrau. He made no secret of his displeasure and had used strong words against him in his memoirs. Not only that, he was also not given any independent charge as he had no confidence in him. However, his rank was not reduced and he continued to receive other courtesies. But his attitude towards other Kachhawaha nobles remained normal. Almost every Kachhwaha noble was confirmed in his previous rank and later on all of them were also given promotions. However, during Jahangir's time an impression had gathered that the Emperor was hostile towards Rajputs. William Hawkins who lived in Agra between 1609 and 1611 writes:

“This King hath diminished his chief captains which were Rasbootes(Rajputs) and Gentiles, and natural Indians and hath preferred Mahmumetans(weak spirited men, void of resolution) in such sort that what this man's father, called Eckbar Padasha got of the Deccan this King Salim Shah, beginneth to loose”.²

Similarly in or about 1613 Mirza Aziz Koka in a letter addressed to Jahangir accused him of ignoring Rajputs and Turanis from his nobility. He writes:

His Majesty Akbar during the fifty years of his reign increased the number of Chaghtais and Rajputs among nobles for these people are not seditious. They know nothing but loyalty. Since your accession, Your Majesty destroyed both groups and had entrusted your entire business

¹ Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, comp. W.E.Begle & Z.A.Desai, New Delhi, 1990, p.19

² Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, ed. William foster, London, 1927, pp.106-7

to Khurasanis and Shaikhzadas who know nothing but hypocrisy and sedition¹.

On the basis of these statements, Jahangir's own adverse comments about Man Singh and the table 'B' given below one may safely conclude that Jahangir was hostile towards Rajputs and particularly towards Kachhwahas.

Table B

	Total No of Rajput nobles	Total Mansab	
		Zat	Sawar
At the death of Akbar	12	30100	14870
After accession of Jahangir	9	29500	14350
In 1615-16	9	23300	14350

However, a careful study of table 'B' and a reference to the account of Kachhwaha nobles discussed above will show that in 1606 the decline occurred only because three Kachhwaha nobles namely Pratap Singh, Sakat Singh and Salhadi were no more in the imperial service. Possibly they died in the intervening period. Similarly by 1616 Raja Man Singh, Jagannath, Madho Singh and Ram Das Kachhwaha were also dead. All these nobles held high ranks. But after their death, unlike Sisodias of Mewar and Rathors of Marwar, their sons could not claim higher ranks as they did not have hereditary territories (*watan*). Thus, in affect after the death of a Kachhwaha noble their son/sons would begin their career with a much lower rank. We actually find that after the death of the

¹ The letter is appended to a manuscript in Cambridge University Library, King college collection, MS 194 (fols.5 b-8b) English translation of this letter is available in *Maktubat-i Khani- i Jahan Muzaffar Khan wa Gowalior Nama*, fol.176-190; For details see, Afzal Husain, pp.217-20

above mentioned nobles their sons got much small ranks.¹ It had also been mentioned that Kachhwahas were not given important position during Jahangir's reign. This suggestion is only partly true, it is a fact that none of the Kachhwaha nobles were given independent charge of a *Suba* but almost all of them were deputed to serve in Mewar and Deccan where large scale military operations were going on. In the time of Akbar also we find that the whole of Kachhwaha clan was posted first in Lahore and Kabul and later on in Bengal.

Similarly his granting the *Tika* to Bhao Singh disregarding the claim of Maha Singh was not an attempt to show any contempt for the Kachhwaha traditions. It was simply a favour granted to an old associate. Jahangir had specifically mentioned this fact in his memoirs.² Jahangir also gave high sounding title of 'Mirza' to so far reserved only for the Timurid Princes.³ In spite of his earlier anger towards Man Singh, Jahangir continued the practice of establishing matrimonial relations with the Kachhwaha house of Bharmal.

The Kachhwahas also on their part remained faithful to Jahangir during the most crucial period of his reign i.e Khurram's revolt and Mahabat Khan *coup*.

However, a general impression of a decline in the fortunes of the Kachhwahas due to the hostility of Jahangir persists. But from the evidence cited above the impression of this 'decline' is only psychological and emanates

¹ Karam Chand son of Jagannath got the mansab of 2000/1500. After the death of Man Singh Bhao Singh was raised to the rank of 4000/3000, Bhao Singh had no son, Satarsal son of Madho singh 1500/1000, Ram Das son of Raj Singh 1000/400, Girdhar son of Rai Sal Darbari 1200/900 Jai Singh son of Maha Singh 1000/1000 and Prithi Chand son of Manohar 500/300. For details see appendix B2

² Jahangir in this connection writes: "from the days when I was a prince he was constantly in my service and by the blessing of my education had reached the high rank of 5000." *Tuzuk*, p.337

³ Ibid, pp.130-31

from the fact of Kachhwaha family's specially Man Singh's close personal relation with Mughal imperial family under Akbar. Kachhwahas appear almost as members of Mughal house hold. Due to his involvement in the conspiracy to enthrone Khusrau and later on due to his sympathetic attitude during Khusrau's rebellion, Jahangir became extremely hostile to him. Although, his rank was not reduced but he lost his unique position at the court. Other Kachhwaha nobles were confirmed in their ranks and were also given promotions time to time but the family could not attain its earlier glory. On the other hand those nobles who came now to enjoy important position held minor ranks in Akbar's time. Actually the loss of social position at the Mughal court was really hurting them as well as their friends.

As mentioned above on the coronation of Shah Jahan, Jai Singh came to the court and attended the coronation ceremony. He was very cordially received by the Emperor and promoted to the *mansab* of 4000/3000.¹ Shortly afterwards he was appointed along with Qasim Khan to suppress the rebellion of Monagers of Mahaban in the Sarkar of Agra.² On his return in the same year (1628), he was sent under the command of Mahabat Khan to punish Nazr Muhammad the ruler of Badakhshan who had launched an attack on Kabul. However, Lashkar Khan the *Subedar* of Kabul successfully repulsed the attack before the arrival of the reinforcement under Mahabat Khan.³ Thereafter, Raja Jai Singh returned to the court along with the imperial army.⁴ About the same time Khan-i-Jahan Lodi one of the senior most nobles of the Empire fled from the court and rebelled. The Emperor immediately appointed Khwaja Abul Hasan alongwith Jai Singh to pursue the rebels, arrest them and bring them court.⁵ The rebels

¹ Lahori, Ia, p.120; Inayat Khan, p.19

² Lahori, Ia, pp.196,204-5

³ Inayat Khan, p.5

⁴ Tirmizi II, p.42; Inayat Khan, p.5

⁵ Lahori Ia, p.275; Inayat Khan, p.9; *Z.Khawanin*, pp.99-101; Tirmizi II, p.43

however, succeeded in escaping to Daulatabad where Nizam Shah received Khan-i-Jahan Lodi warmly and assured him of all possible help.¹ Realising the gravity of the situation Shah Jahan decided to punish both the rebel and the Nizam Shahis. He decided to personally supervise the campaign and proceeded towards Deccan at the head of a large army. Raja Jai Singh was ordered to join the Emperor at Balaghat.² Emperor divided his army into three divisions and the command was given Shaista Khan, Azam Khan and Raja Gaj Singh.³ Raja Jai Singh was promoted to the rank of 4000/4000 and deputed to serve under Shaista Khan.⁴ But shortly thereafter he was transferred to the division of Azam Khan, to lead the vanguard, because Khan - i-Jahan Braha was relieved of the duty due to illness.⁵ During this campaign a large number of Kachhwaha nobles such as Raja Manrup Kachhwaha, Raja Pahad Singh, Chhatra Singh (son of Madho Singh Kachhwaha) and his son Bhim and Anand, Balbhadra Shaikhawat, Raja Girdhar and Dwarkadas son of Girdhar Shaikhawat were also present.⁶ Raja Jai Singh distinguished himself in the battle of Bhaturi (Rajauri) and during the Parenda campaign.⁷ After the successful completion of the campaign, the Emperor issued a *farman* praising the Raja for his loyal service during the war and as reward a *Jagir* worth Rs.37,48820 dams in *Pargana* Deoti Sanchari (a pargana in Sarkar Alwar) was assigned to him.⁸

After the complete victory over the rebel Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and his killing, the Emperor relaunched a campaign against Adilshah of Bijapur (1631)

¹ Lahori Ia, p.289; Inayat Khan, p.51

² Tirmizi II, p.45,s.no.20

³ Lahori Ia, pp.293-96

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.296

⁵ Lahori Ia, pp.356-57; Inayat Khan, p.87; *M.U.* III, pp.569-70

⁶ Lahori, Ia, pp.293-96 ; Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, ed. Raghubir Singh, orient longman, Hyderabad, 1984, p.101

⁷ Lahori, Ia, pp.356-59; *Z.Khawanin*, p.106; *M.U.* III, pp.569-70

⁸ Tirmizi II, p.46, s.no.24

under the command of Asaf Khan. Raja Jai Singh who was still in the Deccan was given the command of the left wing of the army. However, the campaign completely failed due to the great Deccan famine. Raja Jai Singh returned to the court along with imperial forces.¹ During this short campaign Raja Jai Singh distinguished himself by showing great feats of valour. In a *farman* issued to Raja Jai Singh the Emperor had highly appreciated the services rendered by him during the conquest of Gulbarga, Daror, Parenda and Bait forts and the suppression of Randola Khan of Bijapur.² It is important to note that Shah Jahan was so much impressed with the service of Jai Singh that he sent another *farman* in June 1631 informing him about his appointment as the *Subedar* of Akbarabad alongwith the charge of the *Faujdari* of Mathura. An *inam* of 50,20,0000 dams was also given to him.³

It seems that this appointment was temporary in the vacancy of Islam Khan who was transferred to Gujrat because in the following year Safdar Khan was appointed governor of the *Suba* and Jai Singh was given leave to proceed to Amber. While he was in Amber the Emperor sent him a *farman* directing him to look into the case pertaining to Kesri Singh and Kalyan Das who have not allowed Ratan Singh to take possession of the *Jagir* assigned to him in *Pargana* Roshanpur and Naraina in *Suba* Ajmer and killed his agent who had gone there to take charge of the *Jagir*.⁴ However, we do not have any further details on this matter in our sources.

In 1633 Raja Jai Singh returned to Agra and presented himself before the Emperor. A few days after his arrival, during the course of an elephant combat,

¹ Lahori, Ia, pp.489-90

² Inayat Khan, pp.59-61; Tirmizi II, p.47, s.no.25, 26, 28, 29; Shahjahan also sent a Khilat through Khwaja Jahan in appreciation of his service.(Tirmizi II,p.47)

³ Tirmizi II, p.47, s.no.30; A.Ali, *Apparatus*, p.111

⁴ Tirmizi II, p.49, s.no.37

a mad elephant attacked Prince Aurangzeb and threw him from his horse. The nobles who were also watching the fight were struck with terror. Raja Jai Singh who was standing nearby rushed towards the elephant and hit it with his spear so powerfully that it moved away and the Prince was saved.¹ Sometimes after this incident he was sent to the Deccan under Prince Shuja and Mahabat Khan to launch an attack on Parenda. On reaching there (Feb.1634) he was given the command of vanguard.² Although the imperialist were not successful in capturing the fort and raised the siege due to shortage of provisions, but Jai Singh rendered meritorious service.³

Soon afterwards the imperialist forces returned to Burhanpur. In the following year (1635) he was appointed to assist Khan-i-Zaman the *Subedar* of Balaghat and in recognition of his services an increase of 1000 *Zat* was made in his rank, which became 5000/4000.⁴ Afterwards he came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. Shortly thereafter he was again sent to the Deccan along with Khan-i-Dauran Bahadur to punish Shahji Bhonsle, who was creating disorder in and around Daulatabad.⁵ Shahji was hotly pursued and at a place known as Manik Dawa Pass the imperialist captured his 3,000 men and a large amount of war materials. Although, Shahji was not arrested but he was expelled from Mughal territories.⁶ At this juncture Shah Jahan sent a *farman* to Raja Jai Singh directing him to return to Amber as Adil Shah had surrendered and had sent his Wakil for negotiations. He was further asked to attend the royal court on the occasion of Dashehra celebration alongwith his

¹ Lahori, Ia, pp.490-92; *M.U.*, III, pp.570-71

² Lahori, Ib, pp.35-37; *M.U.*, III, pp.570-71

³ For details see, Lahori, Ib, pp.37-46; Inayat Khan, p.183; *M.U.*, III, pp.570-71

⁴ Lahori, Ib, pp.35-36, 63-65, 86; *M.U.*, III, pp.572-73

⁵ Lahori, Ib, pp. 86-90; *M.U.*, III, pp.572-73

⁶ Lahori, Ib, pp.100-104; *M.U.*, III, pp.572-73

contingent.¹ However, he directly came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. He was warmly received and awarded customary robes of honour.²

He was called to the court when the Emperor decided to proceed to the Deccan (Sep. 1635) to supervise the operation against the rebel Juhjhar Singh Bundila and to bring Deccan rulers under subjugation. The Emperor at the head of a large army and a number of *mansabdar* including Jai Singh started from Agra on 21st Sep. 1635 reaching Burhanpur on Jan 1636. He sent a strong worded *farman* to Adil Shah ordering him to immediately submit before the imperial forces.³ But very soon he realised that the Deccanis will surrender only under military pressure. Therefore, he decided to launch a three pronged attack on the Deccanis.⁴ The first army under the command of Khan-i-Dauran and Raja Jai Singh, was dispatched to Kandhar and Nander to Keep an eye on the joint frontiers of the Bijapur and Golkunda and to be ready to march to the relief of threatened points and to reduce Udgir and Ausa. The second under Khan-i-Zaman was ordered to march to Ahmad Nagar, besiege Shahji's Mahals in Chamar Gunda and Ashthi, to reduce the Konkan and to wait for further orders regarding an attack on the Adilshahi country. The third division led by Shayista Khan was ordered to conquer Junnar, the seat of Shahji's power and to occupy Sangarir, Nasik and Trimbek.⁵ Khan-i-Dauran at the head of 20,000 men with Jai Singh and other Rajputs as his vanguard invaded Bijapur and plundering the country. Under the pressure of the imperial army Adil Shahi forces surrendered and a peace settlement was concluded between imperial forces

¹ Tirmizi II, p.57, s.no.67

² Lahori Ib, p.104; *M.U.*, III, pp.572-73

³ Lahori, Ib, pp.104-5, 130, 135-40; *M.U.*, III, pp.572-73

⁴ Lahori, Ib, pp.135-40; For details regarding Deccan campaign see, Lahori, pp.134-220; Saxena, pp.145-47

⁵ Lahori, Ib, pp.200-201; Saxena, pp.146-48

and Sultan of Bijapur.¹ After securing the submission of Bijapur and Golkunda, Shah Jahan departed from Daulatabad, leaving Prince Aurangzeb as the viceroy of the Deccan.² On July 1636 Prince Aurangzeb directed Raja Jai Singh to join Khan-i-Dauran in the siege of the fort of Ausa and Udgir.³ These two forts were still in the control of Adil Shah's officers. The twin forts were captured by the determined efforts of Khan-i-Dauran and Jai Singh.⁴ On receiving the news of the conquest of these forts Shah Jahan send a *farman* to Raja Jai Singh appreciating the services rendered by him in the conquest of Udgir and ordered him to attend the royal court alongwith Khan-i-Dauran after the conquest of Ausa.⁵

After the conquest of Udgir and Ausa, Khan-i-Dauran and Jai Singh proceeded towards Nagpur to bring Kukia Zamindar of Deograh under imperial subjugation. As Jai Singh's efforts to bring Kukia to accept the subordination of the Mughals had failed, the fort of Nagpur was besieged.⁶ Frightened by the onslaught of the imperial army the Kukia came from Deograh, surrendered the fort and offered his submission.⁷ In a *farman* issued in Feb.1637 Shah Jahan praised the efforts of Raja Jai Singh in the conquest of Nagpur fort.⁸ After the successful completion of these conquests Raja Jai Singh returned to the court. He was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 with an increase of 1000 in his *sawar* rank. The *pargana* of Chatsu in the suba of Ajmer was also granted to him.⁹ He also received other marks of imperial favour such as *Khilat*, elephants

¹ Lahori, 1b, pp.208-210

² Lahori, 1b, pp.202-5

³ Lahori, 1b, pp. 217-18; Tirmizi II, p.59, s.no.76; Inayat Khan, p.168

⁴ Lahori, 1b, pp.218-21, 248

⁵ Lahori, 1b, pp.220-21; Tirmizi II, p.59, s.no.78

⁶ Inayat Khan, p.200

⁷ Lahori 1b, pp.230-33; Inayat Khan, p.201

⁸ Tirmizi II, p.59, s.no.79

⁹ Lahori 1b, p.248, 294

and jewelled dagger. After a stay of few days at the court he was granted leave to go to his *watan* and rest for sometime.¹

During his stay at Amber, Jai Singh received two imperial *farmans* ordering him to help *Khalsa* officials and *Jagirdars* who were being harassed by local elements. In the first *farman* dated June 1637 he was ordered to realise revenue from *Khalsa* lands of Hindaun and punish those who were creating obstacles.² In the second *farman* dated Sep.1637 he was asked to punish one Sardul who had forcibly taken possession of the *Jagir* of Yazdani and also to help him to collect revenue from his *Jagir*. Further he was ordered to punish Bhabher's men who have captured land of Geejgarh in Jaipur.³ Shortly afterwards he received another *farman* dated October 1637 ordering him to present himself at Lahore.⁴ As directed he reached Lahore in the month of Feb. 1638 and shortly afterwards was deputed to proceed to Qandhar under the command of Prince Shuja, who was appointed governor of Kabul.⁵

Prince Shuja was ordered to proceed to Qandhar only if the fort was attacked by the Persian ruler.⁶ The Mughals were however, relieved of the pressure for the time being because Shah Safi being engaged in war with Turkey could not launch an attack on Qandhar. Therefore on the orders of the Emperor the officers deputed with him were sent back to the court. Raja Jai Singh presented himself before the Emperor at Rawalpindi who was on his way to Kabul.⁷ The Raja was appointed to look after the upper and lower Bangash

¹ Lahori Ib, p.256

² Tirmizi II, p.61, s.no.83; Hindaun a town in Madhopur district in Rajasthan

³ Ibid, p.61, s.no.86

⁴ Ibid, s.no.87

⁵ Lahori II, pp.23-26, 34-35; *M.U.III*, pp.573-75

⁶ Lahori II, p.49, 52

⁷ Lahori II, pp.110,139, 143-44

country and make arrangement for the regular supply of provisions to the imperial army during its stay at Kabul.¹ While the Emperor was at Kabul the Persians again planned to launch an attack on Qandhar. On receiving this information the Emperor dispatched Prince Dara Shukoh at the head of a large army to defend Qandhar.² The Emperor at the same time ordered Jai Singh to depute Saadat Yar Khan along with his 2000 troopers at Naushera.³ Shortly afterwards Dara Shukoh informed Jai Singh of his arrival at Rawalpindi. He also advised him to stay at his post untill Khan-i-Dauran reached there.⁴ About the sametime Jai Singh presented himself at Nushera and received presents.⁵ As the Qandhar campaign was postponed for the time being Raja Jai Singh alongwith the Emperor returned to Lahore on 15 Aug. 1639 and allowed to go to his *Watan* Amber.

During the period of his stay at Amber Jai Singh received several *farmans* and a few *Nishans* and *letters* directing him to help *Jagirdars* in collection of land revenue, punishing the rebellious officers and such other matters. In a *farman* issued in April 1640 the Emperor ordered him to help Khan-i-Khanan in the collection of land revenue from his *Jagir* in *pargana* Udai of *Sarkar* Agra.⁶ In the month of May of the same year the Emperor issued another *farman* directing him to provide assistance to Sagarmal Karori in the realisation of revenue from *Pargana* Hindaun.⁷ Similarly in Nov. 1640 he was asked to realise the arrears of the revenue outstanding against *Pargana* Chaksa.⁸

¹ Lahori II, pp.142-44

² Ibid, pp.49, 139

³ Tirmizi II, p.64, s.no98

⁴ Ibid, p.65, s.no.99

⁵ Lahori II, pp.145-46; Inayat Khan, p. 256

⁶ Tirmizi II, p.67, s.no.110

⁷ Ibid, p.68, s.no.111

⁸ Ibid, p.68, s.no.115

Shortly afterwards he was directed to help Nahar Singh son of Raj Singh a Kachhwaha noble in the collection of land revenue from *Pargana* Sambhar and Didwana.¹ During the same period he also received a *Nishan* of Dara Shukoh with an order to expel Mohan Das Kachhwaha *Karori* of *Pargana* Toda for his rebellious activities.² In July 1640 he also received a letter from Princes Jahan Ara asking him to verify Hem Singh's identity, (who claimed to be the real son of Satrasal) particularly his parantege and report it back to Sultanus Nisa Begum (wife of Dara Shukoh) so that he (Hem Singh) may be rewarded with a rank.³ In the beginning of the year 1641 Jai Singh was summoned to the court to attend the weighting ceremony (*Tuladan*) of Prince Aurangzeb.⁴ Obeying the imperial order he came to the court and attend the ceremony which was held in Feb.1641. Sometimes afterwards he was sent to Kabul to serve under Murad Bakhsh.⁵ But in the mean time Jagat Singh son of Raja Basu, Zamindar of Mau, Nurpur and Paithan revolted against imperial authority. Therefore, the Emperor dispatched three armies under the command of Syed Khan-i-Jahan, Sayeed Khan and Asalat Khan to attack the enemy from three sides and suppress the rebellion quickly. Prince Murad who was coming back from Kabul along with Jai Singh was given the overall command of the campaign.⁶

After taking over the command of the army Murad launched an attack on Mau, one of the strongest fort of Jagat Singh from two sides; Jai Sihgh and Asalat Khan leading the armies from west. After prolonged siege, the fort was

¹ Tirmizi, II, p.67, s.no.109

² Ibid, p.67, s.no.106

³ Ibid, p.68, s.no.113

⁴ Lahori II, pp.163-65; Tirmizi II, p.68, s.no.116

⁵ Lahori II, pp.164-65; Inayat Khan, p.276; M.U., III, pp.573-75

⁶ Lahori II, pp.224-40; Inayat Khan, p.283; *Z.Khawanin*, 120-21; *M.U.*II, pp. 239-40, III, pp.573-75; Tirmizi II, p.69, s.no.119, 121, 122

stormed and Jai Singh was the first to enter it. Jagat Singh however, succeeded in escaping to Taragarh.¹ In the siege of the fort of Mau, Jai Singh performed meritorious service and while still the operation were in progress the Emperor sent him a *farman* in appreciation of his services.² After the conquest of Mau, fort of Nurpur was also captured and Taragarh was besieged. Jagat Singh now approached sayid Khan-i-Jahan and sued for peace. His request was granted; he came to the presence and offered his obsequence.³ In recognition of his service in the campaign, 1000 *sawar* rank of Mirza Raja was made into *Du-aspa Sih-aspa*.⁴ Farid Bhakkari writes that after the conquest of Mau and Nurpur, Jai Singh married the sister of Jagat Singh who was more than 40 years.⁵ He came to court after the marriage sometimes in March 1642. Shortly thereafter he was dispatched under Prince Dara Shukoh to defend Qandhar from Persian invasion.⁶ But in the meantime Shah Safi died and as the threat of a Persian attack for the time being was over, Jai Singh along with other officers returned to the court and was given leave to visit his *Watan*.⁷

In 1643 when the Emperor Shah Jahan went to Ajmer for pilgrimage, Jai Singh along with his sons Ram Singh and Kirat Singh came to the presence and paraded his 5000 troopers before the Emperor.⁸ After the return of the Emperor, Jai Singh also came back to Amber. Shortly after his return to Amber in the following year (1644) Jai Singh was ordered to proceed to the Deccan and take charge of the province during the absence of Khan-i-Dauran Bahadur Nusrat

¹ Lahori II, pp.261-64; *M.U.*, II, pp.239-40

² Tirmizi II, pp.69-70, s.no.123

³ Lahori II, pp.265-73; *M.U.*, II, pp.239-40

⁴ Lahori, II, p.273; *M.U.* wrongly mentioned the promotion of 2000x2-3h. (*M.U.*, III, p.574)

⁵ *Z.Khawanin*, 122

⁶ Lahori, II, pp.125, 285-93

⁷ *Ibid*, pp.310-17

⁸ Lahori, II, pp.344-49; *M.U.*, II, pp.301-2, III, pp.574-75

Jang who had been summoned to the Court.¹ But Khan-i-Dauran died at Lahore in 1645 and therefore Jai Singh was confirmed as the *Subedar* of the Deccan.² He remained there for about one and half year and distinguished himself as a strong ruler.

While he was serving as *Subedar* of the Deccan, in the region of Trans Oxiana due to a clash between Nazar Muhammad and his son Abdul Aziz, there was total break down of law and order. Having failed to check the growing trouble, Nazar Muhammad invited Shah Jahan to help him in restoring peace and order in the region. Shah Jahan seized the opportunity of realising the dream of recovering his ancestral dominions of Balkh and Badakhshan.³ He summoned leading nobles of the Empire and under the command of Prince Murad a grand army was dispatched to Badakhshan.⁴ Jai Singh was also summoned to Lahore and was handed over 20 lakh of rupees to carry to Kabul for distribution among troopers as their pay.⁵ The Emperor himself reached Kabul and gave detailed instruction about the formation of the army. Jai Singh was given command of the left flank of the army.⁶ The imperial forces occupied Balkh in July 1646. Prince Murad, who had accepted the command reluctantly now pressed for his recall, and even threatened to return to the court leaving the charge in the hands of commanders, if arrangement were not made early.⁷ As is well known Saadullah Khan was sent to Balkh to make alternate arrangements if Murad was not ready to continue.⁸ It seems about the same time Raja Jai

¹ Lahori, II, p.389; *M.U.*, III, pp.574-75

² Lahori, II, p.428; *M.U.*, III, pp.574-75

³ For details see, Inayat Khan, pp.320-25; Saxena, pp.193-95

⁴ Lahori, II, pp.456-57, 483-88, 512-37; Inayat Khan, pp.324-25

⁵ Inayat Khan, p.325

⁶ Lahori, II, pp.530-32

⁷ For details see, Lahori, II, pp.530-55; Saxena, pp.194-201

⁸ Lahori, II, p.556

Singh was also sent back to the Deccan.¹ The situation in Balkh and Badakhshan inspite of arrangement made by Saadullah Khan worsened. Therefore, the Emperor decided to appoint Aurangzeb as the commander of Balkh and Badakhshan.² Along with a large number of leading nobles Jai Singh was also summoned to Lahore and deputed to serve under the Prince. He was further asked to go to Akbarabad and withdraw one crore of rupees and 2, 80,000 gold Mohurs from imperial treasury and bring it to Lahore for the expenditure of Balkh and Badakhshan campaign.³ Alongwith the required cash Jai Singh reached Lahore on 1647. He also presented before the Emperor his 2000 horsemen.⁴ The Emperor promoted his 1000 *sawar* rank to *Du-aspa, Sih-aspa*⁵ and ordered him to proceed to Balkh.⁶ He was also given twenty lakh of rupees to be handed over to Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb for expenses of the campaign.⁷ As he had arrived late and Aurangzeb had already proceeded towards Balkh, the Emperor directed him to stay at Jamrud and proceed to Balkh only after Prince reached there.⁸ As directed he joined Prince Aurangzeb at Balkh and started actively participating in the campaigns against Abdul Aziz and Nazar Muhammad. Although Aurangzeb succeeded in defeating the Uzbeks, but it dawned on him also that it would be almost impossible to keep Balkh and Badakhshan under Mughal administration for long.⁹ Therefore, on his suggestion and on the suggesting of other commanders it was decided to

¹ Lahori, II, pp.583,604,625-28,632,681; Tirmizi II, p.81,s.no.166

² Lahori, II, pp.583, 604, 625-28, 632, 681; Inayat Khan, p.365,376

³ In Inayat Khan's ShahJahannama only 30,000 gold Mohurs are mentioned. (Inayat Khan, p.365, 376 ,382); Tirmizi II, p.81-82,s.no.166,172,185

⁴ Lahori, II, p.683; But Inayat Khan writes that he presented his 10,000 horses. (Inayat Khan, p.384)

⁵ Lahori, II, p.683; Inayat Khan, p.384

⁶ Tirmizi II, p.83, s.no.175

⁷ Lahori, II, p.681; Inayat Khan, p.384

⁸ Tirmizi, II, p.83, s.no.176

⁹ For details see, Inayat Khan, pp.397-99; J.Sarkar, *History of aurangzeb*, vol.1, Chapter,V.

leave Balkh and Badakhshan after handing it over to Nazar Muhammad. After completing the formality of handing over the charge to Qasim Khan Prince Aurangzeb started towards Kabul on 13th Oct 1647.¹ But the return journey too was full of troubles. The Uzbeks and other nomadic tribes hotly pursued the Mughals and made lighting attacks. The situation was so bad that the army had to move in battle formation. Jai Singh who also was accompanied the Prince was given the command of the right wing.²

The imperial forces despite all the precautions that they have taken suffered untold miseries. A large number of Rajput retainers of Jai Singh were also killed from continuous snowfall. After reaching Kabul sometimes in Dec. 1647,³ he received a *farman* of Emperor where in he was ordered to proceed to his *watan* and reequip the losses which he had suffered in men and material during the return journey.⁴

After about a year Jai Singh came to the court at the time of Emperor's birthday celebration(1649). He was given promotion of 1000 du-aspa sih- aspa (5000/5000 (3000 du-aspa sih- aspa)⁵ and was appointed alongwith Prince Aurangzeb on the Qandhar expedition.⁶ But before the armies could assemble and proceeded to Qandhar the Persian captured it. Having come to know of these development the Emperor ordered Aurangzeb and Saadullah Khan to march on to Qandhar without any further delay. The imperial army achieved initial success by capturing Bist, Khunshi (in Sistan), Zamindawar and Shahmir,

¹ Inayat Khan, pp.399-402; Muhammad Waris, *Badshahnama*, two part(part, a and b)--I.O, Etha,329, b,p.7; *M.U.*, III, pp.574-75; Details see, J. Sarkar, I, chapter.V

² Inayat Khan, p.400; Waris p.8; Shahnawas Khan writes that Raja had charge of left wing. (*M.U.*, III, pp.574-75)

³ Inayat Khan, p.402

⁴ Waris, a, pp.18-22; Tirmizi II, p.88, s.no.194

⁵ Waris, a, p.52; *M.U.*III, pp.574-75

⁶ Inayat Khan, pp.414-15, 423; Waris, a, pp.28-33

but they could not capture Qandhar in the face of determined Persian resistance. Faced with shortage of supplies, specially good siege guns and fast approaching winter, the Emperor ordered to abandon the siege and return to Kabul.¹ Although the campaign failed miserably but Jai Singh with his 5000 strong cavalry performed meritorious services,² and after his arrival to the court was given an increase of 1000 *sawar* in his rank and allowed to visit his *watan* for a short holiday.³ He returned to Delhi on 20th March 1650 and participated in the festival of *Nauroz*.⁴ While he was in Delhi he was ordered along with his son Kirat Singh to suppress the rebels of Kama Pahari and Koh Mujahid who were creating disorder between Akbarabad and Shahjahanabad.⁵ Kirat Singh was assigned the rank of 800/800 and the *Pargana* Kama-Pahari and Koh Mujahid were also bestowed on him in *Jagir*.⁶ Raja Jai Singh went to Amber and marched towards Kama-Pahari and Koh Mujahid at the head of 4000 troopers, 6000 musketeers and archers and attacked the rebels. A large number of them were killed and made prisoners. The law and order was restored in the area and road between Agra and Delhi became safe for traffic.⁷ When the Emperor came to know of these development (July 1650), the Raja was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 (40000 du-aspa, sih- aspa) and *pargana* Hal Kaliyana was added in to his *Jgir*.⁸ His son Karamsen was also promoted to the rank of 1000/900 and *Faujdari* of Mewats was conferred on him.⁹

¹ Inayat Khan, pp.423-29; Waris, a, pp.34-36; *M.U.* III, pp.574-75

² Inayat Khan, p.426; But Shahnawaz Khan writes that right wing of the army assigned to him. (*M.U.*, III, pp.574-75)

³ Inayat Khan, pp.442-44

⁴ Ibid, p.447

⁵ Inayat Khan, p.448; Tirmizi II, p.93, s.no.214

⁶ Inayat Khan, p.448; Tirmizi II, p.93, s.no.214

⁷ Inayat Khan, p.449; Waris, a, p.99; Muhammad Salih Kambu, *Amal-i-Salih*, 3 Vols.ed. G.Yazdani, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1923-46, III, p.465; Tirmizi II, p.94, s.no.219

⁸ Waris, b, pp.42-43; *M.U.*, III, pp.574-75

⁹ Waris, a, p. 99, 192, b, pp.42-43; Inayat Khan, p.449; Salih, III, p.465

After the suppression of the rebellion Raja Jai Singh was again given leave to visit his *watan*. While he was in Amber he received a *Nishan* of Dara Shukoh ordering him to extend all possible help to Izzat Khan who had been assigned a *Jagir* in *pargana* Sakha.¹ Shortly afterwards he also received a letter of Jahan Ara Begum (Oct.1651) appreciating the services rendered by him at Kama Pahari.² Soon thereafter he visited the court at Lahore to attend the Tuladan ceremony of the Emperor.³ After the completion of the celebrations he was ordered to proceed to Qandhar campaign under Prince Aurangzeb in 1652. On this occasion he was given the command of the Vanguard.⁴ At the time of the departure the Emperor favoured him with a special robe of honour and a horse with a gilded saddle and an elephant from the royal stable.⁵ In spite of the best efforts the imperial army failed to make any impression on Persians and the Emperor once again ordered the Prince to raise the siege and return to Kabul.⁶ Although, the two successive campaigns on Qandhar had failed and the imperial army suffered heavily both in men and material but Shah Jahan still wanted to make one last attempt to conquer Qandhar. Therefore, he summoned Dara Shukoh to Kabul and ordered him to proceed to Qandhar and conquer it from the Persians.⁷ A large army, a number of high ranking *mansabdar* including Jai Singh were deputed to serve under him.⁸ Dara Shukoh opened the campaign with all seriousness and successfully reached Qandhar and the fort was put to siege.⁹ According to a plan the imperial forces were deputed in the following

¹ Tirmizi, p.95, s.no.221

² Ibid, p.97, s.no.227

³ Tirmizi, II, p.97, s.no.226

⁴ Inayat Khan, pp.462-64; Waris a, pp.60-64; *Adabi Alamgiri*, ed.Abdul Ghafur Chaudhary, two vols., Lahore, 1971,I, pp.9-11

⁵ *M.U.*, III, pp.574-75

⁶ Inayat Khan, p.473; Waris a, pp.64-67, 68-73; Salih, III, pp.149-52

⁷ Inayat Khan ; *M.U.*, III, pp.574-75

⁸ Inayat Khan, pp.478-79; Waris, b,pp.68-73; Tirmizi II, p.98-100, s.no.234, 36, 39

⁹ Inayat Khan, p.479

manner: Prince Dara Shukoh himself took the position behind the Lakkan hill and ordered Rustam Khan to watch the Bist road to prevent reinforcement reaching the besieged. Qulij Khan was posted opposite the Wais Quarn gate and Mahabat Khan was deputed to watch Baba Wali gate. Besides that Jai Singh was given charge of the trenches facing the Mashuri Gate, near the South western corner.¹ As the siege had already protracted for four months and the supply of lead, gun powder and cannon balls were running short in supply, Dara Shukoh became perturbed and thinking that the Persian might take the advantage of their weak position. Therefore, he decided to launch a surprise attack in the dead of the night from every quarter and directed Jai Singh and some other notable *mansabdars* to plant their scaling ladders against the wall of the Sher Haji defenses, and also to rush their soldiers in every direction so that complete confusion could be created among besieged and the imperial army could succeed in capturing the fort in this *millee*.² But unfortunately the whole scheme failed because of lack of preparations. Dara Shukoh made yet another attempt of similar nature but due to lack of cooperation of the commanders the campaign failed and the imperialist suffered heavy losses. Realising the futility of prolonging the siege, Shah Jahan recalled Dara Shukoh and the campaign was abandoned.³

Waris writes that main cause of the failure of the campaign, besides lack of good siege guns, muskets and musketeers was Dara's personal conduct. Waris adds that Dara Shukoh gave undue importance to two of his most favourite commanders Jafar Khan and Izzat Khan and completely ignored other noted commanders. He specially ridiculed Jai Singh and other Rajputs. In his

¹ For details see, Salih, III, pp.159-77; K.Qanungo, *DaraShukoh*, Second edition, Calcutta, 1952, pp.50-53; Saxena pp.232-33; J.Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.108

² Inayat Khan, pp.490-92

³ Ibid, p.493

observations he went to the extent of mentioning that the two earlier campaigns failed because of Jai Singh's incompetence. His ridicule to Rajputs led to a desperate attack on Chihilzina Hill by Raja Rajrup which not only miserably failed but resulted in killing of about 500 Rajput soldiers. This incident and the continued interference of Izzat Khan and Jafar Khan at the instigation of Dara Shukoh further complicated the situation. Jai Singh completely lost the confidence of Dara Shukoh and consequently he was transferred from the important position of guarding the trenches. Other important nobles also did not cooperate with him fully. Therefore, in such circumstances Dara Shukoh's second attempt to surprise the besieged also failed and ultimately the campaign was abandoned.¹ The retreating imperial army was harassed by the Uzbeks and other nomads, but the burnt of the attack of the Uzbeks and nomads was faced by the forces of Jai Singh because his unit was at the tail of the retreating imperial forces.

However, with great difficulty after a month Jai Singh reached Lahore on 22 Nov. 1653.² But on his arrival to the court the Emperor did not receive him favourably. It seems Dara Shukoh's adverse report about his conduct during the campaign, created some misunderstanding. After a short stay at the court he was allowed to proceed to his *watan* without receiving the usual customary gifts and presents. However, in the same year his son Ram Singh was granted promotion of 500 *Zat*.³

During his stay at Amber Jai Singh received several imperial *farmans*

¹ Waris, b, pp.70-81; For more details regarding differences between Dara and Jai Singh, see, Nicolao Manucci, *Storio do Mogor, 1656-1712*, 4 vols., tr. W. Irine, India, Text series, govt. of India, London, 1907-8, I, p.225; Qanungo, chapter, V, pp.53-61; Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, pp.108-9

² Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.109

³ Waris, b, pp.83-84; *History of Jaipur*, p.110

and *Nishans* of Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb in connection with various types of works. In the first order that he received soonafter reaching Amber he was asked to arrange escorts for carrying treasure from Bairath to the court.¹ In the month of September he was ordered to join Saadullah Khan who was dispatched to dismantle the fortification walls of the fort of Chittor, repaired illegally by Rana Raj Singh.² Raja Jai Singh also received several *Nishans* of Dara Shukoh during the same period. From a reading of these documents it appears that Dara Shukoh was trying to re-establish cordial relationship with the Raja and Jai Singh also was too keen for a reconciliation. He also sent a number of *Arzdashts* to Dara Shukoh.³ In one of the *Nishans* Dara Shukoh informed him that the Emperor often speaks very high of him and also considers him as one of his best military commanders of the Empire. The *Nishans* also indicate that Dara Shukoh used to send him elephants and horses as gifts.⁴ Aurangzeb also sent at least two *Nishan* to Jai Singh in 1654.⁵

As mentioned above Jai Singh joined Saadullah Khan and proceeded towards Chittor to demolish the unauthorised repairs of the fort carried out by Rana Raj Singh.⁶ Simultaneously the Emperor also dispatched two emissaries Chandrabhan and Munshiuz Zaman to Chittor, ordering the Rana to dismantle the fortification to avoid hostilities. The royal diplomats were received with due honours and Rana Raj Singh himself met them and agreed to accept the terms of peace.⁷ A study of the *Nishan* issued by Dara Shukoh to Jai Singh and the *farman* issued by Shah Jahan to Raj Singh clearly indicate that Dara Shukoh

¹ Tirmizi, II, p.106, s.no.271

² Ibid, p.107, s.no.275

³ Tirmizi, II, pp.104-105, 107, s.no.259, 262, 263, 273

⁴ Tirmizi, p.105, s.no.262

⁵ Waris, b, pp.90-92; Tirmizi, II, pp.104, 106-7, s.no.260, 272

⁶ Inayat Khan, pp.490-95

⁷ For details regarding terms of peace, see Tirmizi II, p.108, s.no.280

was very keen for a peaceful settlement of the issue and Jai Singh played the most crucial role in making this settlement possible.¹ After the settlement had been reached the unauthorised structures were pulled down peacefully and the imperial troops withdrew from Chittors.² But Raja Jai Singh was ordered to leave Chittor only after deputing three reliable person to conduct the administration of Mandal, Banera and Phulio, the three dependency of Mewar brought under imperial administration after the settlement.³ After staying for about one year in Jan. 1656 he came to court to attend the weighting ceremony of the Emperor.⁴ He remained present at the court during the entire period of Shah Jahan's illness and its repercussions culminating into a war of succession among Shah Jahan's sons.

While he was still at court Murad and Shuja declared themselves as independent sovereigns and marched towards Agra. Aurangzeb was the most ambitious of all his brother, moved more cautiously alongwith Murad and also marched towards Agra. When all efforts to convince the Princes that Emperor was alive and recovering from his illness failed, Dara Shukoh despatched armies to check the advance of the Princes towards Agra.⁵ Raja Jai Singh under the supreme command of Sulaiman Shukoh son of Dara Shukoh was dispatched towards eastern region to check Shah Shuja who was marching rapidly at the head of a large army. The imperialist overtook him at Bahadurpur near Banaras.⁶ But before discussing the events of war between the Shuja and the imperial army under Jai Singh it is important to note that despite efforts being

¹ Tirmizi, II, p.110, 113, s.no.281, 296; Qanungo, p.169, 172

² Waris, b, p.93

³ Tirmizi, II, p.111, s.no.286

⁴ Tirmizi, II, p.113, s.no.296

⁵ For more details on war of succwssion, see Chapter, II.

⁶ Inayat Khan, pp.545-47; Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Bib.Ind.Calcutta, 1885 p.31; Aqil Khan Razi, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* ed..Zafar Husain, Delhi, 1976, pp.111-114

made from both the sides the relation between Jai Singh and Dara Shukoh could not become friendly. Some sort of suspicion against each other remained in their mind, although *Nishans* and *Arzdasht* continued to be exchanged.¹

At the time of departure against Shuja, Mirza Raja was promoted to the rank of 6000/5000 (5000, du-aspa, sih- aspa).² The Emperor also gave him six lakhs of rupees, out of which five lakh were to be distributed among the soldiers.³

We get reference of a large number of *Nishans* and also of a few *farmans* which indicate that the whole campaign was closely monitored by Shah Jahan.⁴ Dara Shukoh was getting information regularly about the movement of Shuja's army which he was passing on to Raja Jai Singh at every stage. He was even informed of the arrival of Shuja at Patna with an army of 14000 and was further instructed to wait at some convenient place for the reinforcement which had been sent to him.⁵ While the armies were making preparation for a war, the Princes were also negotiating for a peaceful solution. In a *Nishan* issued to Raja Jai Singh, Dara writes that on the request of Prince Shuja the Emperor had allowed him to retain Monghyr if he agreed to evacuate the fort. He further adds that a *Nishan* had also been sent to Shuja to this effect.⁶ A *farman* of Shah Jahan (15 Jan.1658) to Jai Singh also mentions about these negotiations.⁷ The negotiation however, failed and the preparations for war were again taken up seriously. The Emperor informed him that Qasim Khan and

¹ Tirmizi II, p.113, 118, s.no.289, 293, 317, 318

² Salih III, p.277; Inayat Khan, p.545; Shahnawaz Khan mentioned him as a *mansabdar* of 7000/7000 at the time of departure. (*M.U.*, III, pp.575-77)

³ Tirmizi, II, p.121, s.no.329

⁴ Tirmizi, II, pp.120-23, 125, s.no.326, 329-30, 336, 340, 343, 350

⁵ Tirmizi, p.121, s.no.330

⁶ Ibid, pp.122-23, s.no.334, 336, 337

⁷ Ibid, p.122, s.no.336

Mahabat Khan were being dispatched for his help. A sum of twelve lakh rupees was also sent through Rai Singh to be distributed in the army.¹

In the meantime Dara Shukoh again wrote him a letter directing him to march towards Patna slowly so that Diler Khan who had been dispatched to help him could also join him.² He was further asked to take a decision himself at the time of the war whether the Prince be chased out of the Empire or be arrested.³ Finally he informed him that the Emperor was confident that the Raja will succeed in expelling the rebels from the Empire or kill them as was done by Raja Man Singh in the case of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.⁴ Nadira Bano Begum, wife of Dara Shukoh also issued a *Nishan* and directed the Raja to make all out efforts to achieve victory over the enemy. She further informed him that Rs.50,000 have been granted to him by way of reward by the Emperor for his bravery and loyalty.⁵

As mentioned above, the negotiations having failed, a battle was fought between the imperial army under the command of Sulaiman Shukoh and Raja Jai Singh and Prince Shuja at Bahadurpur near Banaras on 24 feb.1658. Prince Shuja was defeated and forced to flee.⁶ Being hotly pursued by the imperial forces, Shuja proceeded towards Monghyr and with the help of local chiefs strengthened the defences of the fort.⁷ When the news of the victory at Bahadurpur reached the court (31 March 1658), Shah Jahan on the recommendation of Dara Shukoh bestowed lavish honours on Jai Singh. He was promoted to the *mansab* of 7000/6000 (5000, du-aspa, sih- aspa) and ordered to

¹ Tirmizi, II, p.123, s.no.340, 343

² Ibid, s.no.339

³ Ibid, p.124, s.no.345

⁴ Tirmizi, II, pp.123-24, s.no.344

⁵ Ibid, pp.122, s.no.338

⁶ Inayat Khan, pp.547-48

⁷ Ibid, pp.547-48

proceed further and conquer the fort of Patna.¹ Shah Jahan also promised rewards for all those officers who rendered valuable service in the campaign. He further asked him to pursue the enemy and expel them out of the boundaries of Mughal Empire.² Dara Shukoh also send him a *Nishan* after this victory, highly praising him for his unique contribution in defeating the rebels. He described it as “the greatest victory ever achieved in India during the last hundred years.” He also asked the Raja to chase the enemy upto Garhi and inflict on him a crushing defeat.³ Although the Raja had achieved a great victory and his services were duly recognised by both the Emperor and Dara Shukoh but a section of the nobles hostile to him complained that Shuja was able to escape safely from the battle field because of Raja’s connivance. It seems that Shah Jahan also gave same credence to these malicious accusations.⁴ Raja was much grieved and wrote a letter to Shah Jahan openly expressing his anger against those who had spread this canard. Raja Jai Singh’s complaints were taken seriously by the Emperor and to dispel his anguish the Emperor issued a *farman* clearly pointing out that there was no merit in the charges that Shuja escaped because of Raja’s negligence.⁵ Nadira Begum also sent him a *Nishan* admiring his sincerity, devotion to service and assured him that he should entertain no fears in his mind on this score.⁶

The defeat at Bahadurpur considerably weakened the position of Shah Shuja. Although he escaped from the battle field but he lost much of his war material. Besides that the imperial army was still there getting ready to pursue

¹ Inayat Khan, p.548; Salih III, p.279; But Tirmizi records him as he raised to 7000/7000(5000x2-3h) Tirmizi, II, pp.124-25, s.no.346, 352

² Tirmizi, II, pp.125-26, s.no.355, 359

³ Ibid, pp.124-25, s.no.347, 348, 352, 353

⁴ Tirmizi, II, p.7; Qanungo, p.258

⁵ Tirmizi, II, p.128, s.no.367

⁶ Ibid, p.7

him. He had fortified himself in Monghyr, but he did not consider himself quite safe there. Hard pressed as he was, he opened negotiations with the court for a settlement.¹ From the study of a *farman* of Shah Jahan addressed to Raja Jai Singh (7 April 1658) it may be inferred that Shuja was offered *Suba* of Orissa for his maintenance provided he surrendered Bengal, Monghyr and Mohi.² From the later events it becomes quite clear that the negotiations failed and the imperial army again launched an offensive against him and he was forced to vacate Monghyr.

However, Shuja continued to offer resistance in some form in the *Suba* of Bihar. Shah Jahan was getting anxious because of the delay and therefore on 27th April he send another *farman* to Jai Singh ordering him to inform Shuja that his request for the grant of Bengal and Orissa could be considered favourably if he sends his appology through her elder daughter.³

While these negotiations were going on, the Emperor was informed of the defeat of imperial army at Dharmat.⁴ It was a great set back for the Emperor as well as for Dara Shukoh. After receiving this message, Shah Jahan on the same day issued a *farman* to Raja Jai Singh informing him of the success of the combined army of Aurangzeb and Murad and the defeat of the royal army in the neighbourhood of Ujjain. Therefore, in the changed situation the Emperor asked him to immediately come to his presence.⁵ The Emperor further ordered him to arrange a truce with Prince Shuja by offering him terriorties of Bengal, Orissa and part of Bihar on condition that he returns to his capital Raj Mahal.⁶ But as

¹ Tirmizi, II, pp.124-25, s.no.347, 348, 352, 353

² Ibid, p.129, s.no.368

³ Tirmizi, II, p.130, s.no.373, 374

⁴ *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, p.16; Inayat Khan, pp.548-49

⁵ Tirmizi, II, p.131, s.no.379; Inayat Khan, p.548

⁶ Inayat Khan, p.548

the settlement with Shuja could not materialise early, the departure of Jai Singh and Sulaiman Shukoh also got delayed. The Emperor and Dara Shukoh were so desparatly waiting for his arrival that both of them sent him repeated letters.¹ In these letters he was informed that Emperor was gretly pleased with his services and he had been raised to the rank of 7000 /7000 in considration of the meritorious services rendered by him in the conquest of Monghyr.² His presence at the court was urgently required to meet the combined army of Aurangzeb and Murad. He was therefore, asked to come to court as early as possible.³ Sulaiman Shukoh and Jai Singh after receiving the information about the defeat of imperial forces at Dharmat started towards Agra.

On the way also Shahjahan regularly send him *farmans* informing him about the latest development at the court and the situation of the army.⁴ When he reached Kara, he came to know of the defeat of Dara at Samugarh and his flight to Lahore.⁵ About the same time, Shah Jahan also informed him that Dara Shukoh having been defeated had fled towards Lahore along with his two sons. He also asked him to get him released from Akbarabad fort, where he had been confined. He further informed him that his sons Ram Singh and Kirat Singh have gone back to their *watan* safely.⁶ Prince Dara Shukoh also send him a *Nishan* with almost the same information.¹ The reactions of the Raja to all these letters and developments that have taken place are not known to us because neither these have been mentioned by any contemporary work nor any of his *Arzdashts* have been found. However, a study of the *farmans* and *Nishans* sent to him during his campaign against Shuja and the later event clearly indicate

¹ Tirmizi, II, pp.131-32, s.no.377, 381, 382, 383, 386, 388

² Ibid, p.132, s.no.384

³ Ibid, p.133, s.no.389

⁴ Tirmizi, II, pp.134-35, s.no.391, 392, 393, 397

⁵ Inayat Khan, p.551

⁶ Tirmizi, II, p.135, s.no.398

that the Emperor and Dara Shukoh were not quite sure of Jai Singh's attitude in the campaign and therefore both of them made desperate attempts (by writing him letters) to ensure that he not only remains loyal but also fully cooperates with Sulaiman Shukoh in the campaign. On the other hand Jai Singh, although he remained throughout with Sulaiman Shukoh, he did not show much concern about the outcome of the campaign. He might have adopted this attitude because of following reasons.

Jai Singh's relations with Dara Shukoh were far from friendly ever since the Qandhar campaign; even during this campaign Jai Singh was accused apparently by Dara's favourites of helping Shuja to escape from the battle field. Jai Singh may also have not taken kindly, the regular monitoring of the campaign by Dara Shukoh showing lack of confidence in him and his qualities of leadership. However, it seems that Shah Jahan still had confidence in him and so also Jai Singh and probably because of that the Emperor used to send him *farmans* directly and until the outcome of the fateful battle of Samugarh, in spite of his reservation with Dara Shukoh he remained loyal to the imperial cause. A close study of the *farmans* issued to him indicated that Shah Jahan continued to have great confidence in him. We find that soon after the defeat of Dara Shukoh and his flight, Shah Jahan asked him to get him released from Akbarabad, a sign of complete confidence in him.² But Raja Jai Singh's attitude completely change after Dara's defeat at Samugarh; he seems to have come to the conclusion that Shah Jahan now had no role to play in the changed situation and he apparently become more anxious about his own future. Incidentally during the same period Jai Singh received several *Manshurs* of Aurangzeb informing him of his victory over Dara Shukoh and his flight. He

¹ Tirmizi, II, p.136, s.no.402, 404

² Tirmizi, II, p.135, s.no.398

was further informed that a *Manshur* at the hands of poet Mukat was being sent him with a desire that he should now proceeded to his *watan* and also keep himself aloof from the politics of the Princes.¹ But shortly thereafter Aurangzeb send him a *Khilat* alongwith the orders of the assignment of Malpura and Malarna in *Jagir*. He was also directed to proceed immediately to Shahjahanabad which was being plunderd by Dara Shukoh.² Sometimes after receiving the above mentioned communication Jai Singh finally decided to leave Shah Jahan and join Aurangzeb and leaving Sulaiman Shukoh at Kara proceeded towards Delhi.³ However, he marched towards Delhi quite slowly possibly waiting for the final out come of the war with Dara. He met Aurangzeb who was marching against Dara, after his coronation at Delhi on the bank of Sutlej at Roper.⁴ Jai Singh was warmly received and was immediately given charge of the advance guard of his forces.⁵ When the armies reached Multan, Aurangzeb was informed that Shuja was marching towards Delhi at the head of a large army. Unnerved with this message, Aurangzeb leaving the charge of pursuing Dara in the hands of Jai Singh and other military commanders, haistly returned to Delhi.⁶

Hotly pursued by Jai Singh, Dara Shukoh, left Multan and took shelter at Uch. But feeling insecure he fled towards Sehwan and from there to Thatta. Jai Singh and other commanders closely followed him,⁷ but after his departure to Gujrat where Shahnawaz Khan the governor of the *suba* warmly received him,

¹ Tirmizi, pp.136, 139-40, s.no.406, 415, 416, 418, 419

² Tirmizi, II, p.140, s.no.418

³ Inayat Khan, p.555

⁴ Inayat Khan, p.555; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, pp.35-36

⁵ Inayat Khan, pp.555-56

⁶ Inayat Khan, p.556; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.36

⁷ Inayat Khan, p.556; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.36, 40-41

the officers including Jai Singh decided to return to the capital.¹ This decision might have been taken as discussed elsewhere because of Jaswant Singh's hostile attitude towards Aurangzeb.² Meanwhile Aurangzeb himself was forced to move towards Ajmer to deal with Jaswant Singh who was now mediating with Dara Shukoh.³

Considering this development as a serious challenge to his own position Aurangzeb directed Jai Singh to negotiate with Jaswant Singh on his behalf promising that he will be given back his past position if he returned to his service.⁴ With this assurance, Jai Singh succeeded in winning Jaswant Singh away from Dara Shukoh. In the battle fought at Deorai, Jaswant Singh did not join Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb succeeded in completely defeating him.⁵ Jai Singh also played an important role in this battle⁶ and was deputed alongwith Bahadur Khan to pursue Dara Shukoh who had escaped from the battle field.⁷ Dara Shukoh was arrested at Dodhar by Malik Jiwan a local *Zamindar*.⁸ As soon as Jai Singh came to know of the arrest of Dara Shukoh, he went personally to Dodhar and took him under his custody and proceeded to Delhi. The Raja presented himself at the court along with Dara Shukoh on 2 Sept. 1659. He was received very warmly and given a *Khilat* and other gifts.

¹ Inayat Khan, p.557; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.40-41

² See chapter, II

³ Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Maasir-i- Alamgiri* ed. Maulavi Agha Ahmad Ali, tr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, The Asiatic Society Calcutta, p.17; Inayat Khan, p.557; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, p.41

⁴ Inayat Khan, p.577; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.42; But *Hukumat ri Bahi* mentioned that Jaswant Singh contacted Mirza Raja to arrange reconciliation with Aurangzeb. *Jodhpur Hukumat-riBahi*, edited Satish Chandra, Raghubir Singh, and G.D. Sharma, Merut, 1976, p.252

⁵ Inayat Khan, p.558; *Waqiat -i- Alamgiri*, pp.42-43; *Bahi* p.252

⁶ *Waqiat -i- Alamgiri*, p.44; Tirmizi, II, p.142, s.no.427

⁷ Inayat Khan, p.558; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, p.45; Tirmizi, II, p.143, s.no.429

⁸ Inayat Khan, p.559

However, no increase was made in his rank at that time.¹

Jai Singh had two sons. The eldest son Ram Singh was formally admitted in imperial service in 1646 when the Emperor was at Kabul. He was assigned the rank of 1000/1000 and a special robe of honour was also given to him.² Ever since his admission in service, he constantly remained in the service of the Emperor. By successive promotion he was raised to the rank of 3000/2000 in 1654.³ His second son Kirat Singh joined imperial service in 1650 and received the rank of 800/800.⁴

The first important assignment given to him was the suppression of the Mawas of Kama-pahari and Koh-Mujahid (the areas between Agra and Delhi) who were creating trouble by way laying travelers and carvans of merchants and also looting the residents of the neighbouring areas. Kirat Singh with the support of his father launched an attack on the rebels and inflicted heavy punishments; a number of them were killed and made prisoners.⁵ In reward for the service rendered, the Emperor promoted him to the rank of 1000/900 and also appointed him as the *Faujdar* of Mewat.⁶

Both Ram Singh and Kirat Singh remained at the court and did not go with their father, when the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan started and fought under Dara Shukoh in the battle of Samugarh. However, after the defeat of Dara they went to Amber and subsequently along with their father Jai Singh joined the services of Aurangzeb.⁷

¹ Inayat Khan, p.559

² Lahori I I, pp.500-501; Tirmizi, II, p.78, s.no.154

³ Waris b, p.221; Salih III, p.455; *M.U.* II, pp.301-3

⁴ Waris b, pp.95; *M.U.*, III, pp. 156-58

⁵ Inayat Khan, p.448; *M.U.*, III, pp.157, 572-73

⁶ Waris, b, p.99, 192; Salih III, p.465; *M.U.*, III, pp.157-58

⁷ *M.U.*, II, pp.302-3, III, pp.157-58

Along with Raja Jai Singh who was given important position immediately after his accession, several other Kachhwahas of Amber house were also admitted in service and received *mansabs*¹. Besides that Shah Jahan also confirmed a number of Kachhwaha nobles such as Ram Das Narwari, Narain Das, Karam Chand, Bihari Chand and Satarsal Kachhwaha who were already in imperial service. He also assigned ranks to the following Kachhwaha nobles who were already in the service of Jahangir but probably were not granted ranks by him. The prominent among them were Manrup, Har Ram, Rup Singh, Ugarsen, Mathura Das, Narsingh Das and Bala. We are presenting in the following pages a brief account of some of the important Kachhwaha nobles.

Ram Das Narwari son of Raj Singh and grand son of Askaran, a Jahangiri noble was confirmed to his previous rank of 2000/1000² and was deputed with Mahabat Khan against Jujhar Singh Bundila.³ In 1630 he was dispatched to the Deccan alongwith Rao Ratan Hada and stationed at Basim in Berar to check the advance of the Deccan armies.⁴ He continued to serve in the Deccan until his death in 1640. After his death his grand son Amar Singh was admitted into service and granted the *mansab* of 1000/600. The title of Raja was also conferred on him.⁵ He was also assigned all the territories including the fort of Narwar which was held by his grand father Ram Das.⁶ Amar Singh was appointed to serve in Balkh and Badakhshan expedition under Sultan Murad and Qandhar campaign under Sultan Aurangzeb (1649) and Dara (1653).⁷ In 1656 he was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000 and dispatched to the Deccan

¹ We get references of as many as 18 Kachhwahas. For details see Appendix A5 and B3

² Lahori 1b, p.303; II, p.728

³ Lahori, Ia, p.241; *M.U.*, II, pp.226-27

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.298, 538; *M.U.*II, pp.226-27

⁵ Waris, b, p.260; *M.U.* II, p.227

⁶ Lahori, II, p.174

⁷ Lahori, II, p.484; Waris b, pp.74-76, 202-5

alongwith Muazzam Khan to serve under Sultan Aurangzeb.¹ During the war of succession he remained on the side of Aurangzeb.

Satarsal Kachhwaha son of Madho Singh a Jahangiri noble was also confirmed to his previous rank of 1500/1000.² He was dispatched to serve under Khan-i-Jahan Lodi against Jujhar Singh Bundila.³ In 1630 he was deputed alongwith his son to serve under Raja Gaj Singh against Nizamul Mulk. In the battle fought at Parenda he and his two sons Bhim and Anand lost their lives.⁴ His other sons Ugarsen and Ajab Singh were admitted in service and obtained the rank of 600/400⁵ and 800/300⁶ respectively.

Bihari Chand Kachhwaha a Jahangiri noble was also promoted to the rank of 2000/1200.⁷ He was deputed to serve against the rebels Jujhar Singh Bundila and Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. He was killed in the battle fought against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi in 1631.

Manrup Kachhwaha, son of Raja Jagannath apparently joined imperial service alongwith his elder brother Karam Chand after the death of their father in 1611. But from the contemporary accounts it appears that he was not granted a separate *mansab*. Apparently he was also not assigned any imperial duty, because until 1621 when he joined rebel Prince Khurram we get no reference of Manrup in our records. It seems that Manrup joined the rebel camp out of frustration as he had no rank and office in the imperial service. But as he was a Kachhwaha of Bharamal house it seems his presence in the rebel camp

¹ Waris, b, p.260; Salih III, p.236; *M.U.* II, p.227

² Lahori, 1a, p.184; *M.U.*, III, pp.321-22

³ Lahori, 1a, p.241; *M.U.*, III, p.321-22

⁴ Lahori, 1a, p.305; *M.U.*, III, p.322

⁵ Lahori, 1a, p.306, 319

⁶ Lahori, II, p.741; Waris b, p.266

⁷ Lahori, 1b, p.302

was considered quite significant and we find that soon after his accession, Shah Jahan raised him to the rank of 3000/1000¹ and shortly afterwards he was again granted promotion of 1000 *sawar* alongwith a reward of a flag, a horse with a silver saddle and an elephant.² Afterwards he was dispatched to the Deccan where he died in 1630. After his death his son Gopal Singh was admitted into service and given the *mansab* of 900/600.³ However, he could not rise above the rank of 1000/1000 until 1656.⁴

Raja Dwarka Das, son of Girdhar Kachhwaha as mentioned in the account of his father Girdhar, was admitted in service by Emperor Jahangir, but his rank if granted had not been recorded. After his accession Shah Jahan not only confirmed him in imperial service but also raised him to the rank of 1000/800⁵ and deputed him to serve in the Deccan. In 1631 he was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000 and appointed to suppress the rebellion of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi,⁶ where he died in the course of fighting. After his death his sons Narsingh Das and Bhoj Raj were admitted in service and granted *mansab* of 500/400⁷ and 800/400⁸ respectively. Bhoj Raj served in different campaigns and rose to the rank of 1000/500.⁹ In 1644 Narsingh Das got the promotion of 800/400 and appointed Qiledar of Gavil fort. He also held charge of Junair fort for sometime.¹⁰

¹ Lahori, Ia, pp.118, 122-23; *M.U.*, I, p.515

² Lahori, Ia, p.118, 299

³ Ibid, Ib, p.312; II, p.734

⁴ Lahori, II, p.732; Waris, b, p.205

⁵ Lahori, Ia, p.121; *T.U.*, p.259; *U.H.*, p.197

⁶ Lahori Ia, p.305;

⁷ Lahori Ib, p.322; *T.U.* p.304; *U.H.* P.198

⁸ Lahori Ib, p.314

⁹ Waris, b, p.264

¹⁰ *T.U.*, p.304

Balbhadra Shaikhawat was another Kachhwaha noble who was given the rank of 1000/600¹ soon after the accession of Shah Jahan. He was deputed to serve under Mahabat Khan against Jujhar Singh Bundila. In 1631 he was sent against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi where he was killed in the course of battle in the same year.² After his death his son Kanhi was taken into imperial service and received the rank of 500/200.³

Hirday Ram Kachhwaha son of Banka Kachhwaha an Akbari noble was also admitted in service soon after accession and assigned the rank of 1000/650⁴. In the same year he was further promoted and attained the rank of 1500/1000.⁵ Sometimes in 1636 he died. After his death his son Jagram was assigned the rank of 900/600.⁶

Prithi Chand's sons Tilok Chand Shaikhawat and Ram Chand Shaikhawat were also admitted in service and granted ranks of 1000/500⁷ and 600/400⁸ respectively and deputed to serve in the Deccan and Balkh and Badakhshan campaign.

Raja Ram Das and Bhim Chand grand son of Rai Manohar were also admitted in service in the first year of Shah Jahan's accession and assigned ranks of 1000⁹ and 600/400¹⁰ respectively. They are reported to have served in different military campaigns of Shah Jahan's reign. Besides, we also get

¹ Lahori Ib, p.309; *T.U.*, p.281

² Lahori, Ia, p.241, Ib, p.309

³ Lahori II, p.730, 750; *T.U.*, p.298

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.121; *T.U.*, p.305; *U.H.*, p.359

⁵ Lahori Ib, p.305

⁶ Lahori II, p.739; *T.U.*, p.286

⁷ Lahori, Ib, p.314; II, p.735

⁸ Lahori II, p.745; *U.H.*, p.336

⁹ *T.U.*, p.26

¹⁰ *T.U.*, p.282

references of following other Kachhwahas who held ranks during Shah Jahans reign: Har Ram (700/300), RupSingh (700/300), Ugar Sen Shaikhawat (800/400), Mathura Das (500/400), Hirday Narayan (500/100), Rao Harchand Kachhwaha (900/400), Muluk Chand (800) and Bala (700/200).¹

The account of Amber chiefs, his family members and other Kachhwaha nobles discussed above makes it clear that unlike Jahangir, Shah Jahan had once again reposed confidence in them. After a long time, Jai Singh the Kachhwaha chief was appointed governor of two *Subas*. Besides that Jai Singh and other Kachhwaha nobles were deputed to serve in almost all the important campaigns of his reign.

Table C

Year	Total No.	Zat	Sawar
1627	18	23200	11850
1640-41	24	21300	12575
1657	21	25350	17790

A reference to table C will indicate that throughout Shahjahan's reign their numerical strength as well as total mansabs were also sizable.

¹ Lahori Ib, p.312, 314, 317, 318, 319, 322, 327; *T.U.*, 273, 276

CHAPTER-II

THE RATHORS OF MARWAR

The state of Marwar occupied a prominent place in the history of Rajasthan. However, the state really came to enjoy important position only after Rao Maldeo who succeeded his father Rao Ganga in 1532. He is said to have brought about large territorial expansion during his rule (d. 1562). According to Abul Fazl, Maldeo was the most powerful ruler of the region 'both in rank and position and for the number of his servants and the extent of his territories'¹ and due to that the neighboring rulers of the chieftaincy were extremely hostile to him. In 1556 when Haji Khan Sur² attacked Ajmer and Nagore, held by Marwar a number of neighbouring Rajput chiefs including Rana Udai Singh of Mewar and Rao Surjan of Bundi helped him to conquer both the principalities.³ But soon after serious difference arose between Haji Khan and Rana Udai Singh⁴ and as a consequence new alliances were formed. Haji Khan along with Marwar launched an attack on Mewar and his supporters and in a battle fought at Harmada (1557)⁵, Merta was captured and assigned to Maldeo's most trusted chief jagmal⁶. Taking advantage of internal dissension and wars among Rajput chieftains the

¹ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama* ed. Agha Ahmad Ali, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 3 vols. Reprint, 1977. Vol.II, p. 160, 197

² Haji Khan Sur was one of the slaves of Sher Shah (*Akbarnama*, II. p.45).

³ *Akbarnama*, II, p.46; *Marwar Ri Pargana Ri Vigat*, ed. Fateh Singh 2 Volume, Jodhpur 1968, Vol.II, p.60. The ruler of the following states joined Haji Khan. (i) Jaimal of Merta (ii) Rawal Pratap of Banswara (iii) Rawal Kalyan Mal of Bikaner (iv) Rawal Askaran of Dungarpur. *Vir vinod*, Kavi Raj Shyamal Das, 4 Parts 1886. vol II, p.812

⁴ The cause of their differences was Rana's demand for one of Haji Khan's dancing girl. *Munhot Nainsi Ra Khyat*, 3 parts ed. the Rajasthani Prachavidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur, 1960. I, p.76; *Banki Das ri Khyat*, Banki Das ed. Puratatva Jain vijay Muni, Oriental Research institute, Jaipur, 1956, p.14 ; *Vir vinod*, II, p.812.

⁵ *Akbarnama*, II, p.72, *Vir vinod*, II, p.812; *Jodhpur Rajya ki Khyat*, MS.2vols, *Shri Raghubir Library, Sitamau*, p.76, cited by V.S.Bhargava, *Marwar and the Mughal Emperor*, Munshi Ram, Manohar Lal, 1966

⁶ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.160-63; *Vigat*, pp.60-2, 165; *Jodhpur Khayat* p. 76.

Mughal despatched an army under Qasim Khan and captured Ajmer in 1559. An army under Sayyid Mahmud Baraha and Shah Quli Khan was also sent to conquer Jaitaran¹. Although Ratan Khaiwawat the chief of Jaitaran was a vassal of Rao Maldeo², but he did not come to his help because Ratan has sided with Mewar in the battle of Harmada. As no other Rajput state came to his help Jaitaran was also conquered by the Mughal forces³.

Although the Mughals have humbled Marwar in these wars but still the cheiftancy enjoyed considerable political power in the region. Besides that the route to Gujarat also passed through their territory, and security of this route was necessary for trade as well as for further expansion of the Mughal Empire. Therefore, Marwar could not be left in the possession of a hostile power for long. We find that soon after taking the reign of government in his hands (1560) Akbar started taking keen interest in the affairs of Rajasthan. It appears that attempts were made to establish contact with certain Rajput chiefs, and as a consequences in 1562 on his first pilgrimage to Aimer, Akbar married the Kachhwaha princes and entered into a friendly alliance with Bharamal Kachhwaha and offered extremely liberal terms with the hope that other Rajput states will also goin Mughal service. According to local traditions Chandrasen a younger son of Maldeo also met Akbar at Ajmer on behalf of his father and offered to accept his subordination. But as Akbar insisted on Rao Maldeo's personal presence at the court, the negotiation failed⁴. Nainsi writes that Jaimal of Merta also presented himself at Sambhar and sought his help against Maldeo, who had conquered Merta in 1557⁵. The Emperor responded favourably and appointed Sharfuddin Husain Mirza along with Jaimal and Lonkarn Shekhawat to march against Merta which was ruled by Jagmal brother of

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, p.46, 66; *Vigat*, I, p. 62; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.76,

² *Vigat* p.43, 66; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.77

³ *Akbarnama*, II, p.66; *Vigat*, I, p.60; *VirVinod*, II, p.812

⁴ Tod James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol.I and II, reprint Delhi, 1978. Vol.II, p.22, But date is wrongly mentioned as 1569.

⁵ *Vigat*, I p.60; *VirVinod*, II, p. 812

Jaimal and Devidas on behalf of Rao Maldeo¹. Merta was easily captured by the Mughal forces and given back to Jaimal².

But soon after Mirza Sharfuddin Husain rebelled (Oct. 1562) and created disorder in the region of Ajmer and Nagore. The Emperor sent an army under the command of Hussain Quli Khan-i- Jahan, who successfully suppressed the rebellion and brought Ajmer and Nagore under imperial control³. According to Abul Fazl the fort of Merta which was one of the strongest fort in the territory and which Jaimal held with the approval of Mirza Sharfuddin in accordance with His Majesty' s orders was made over to Jagmal⁴

After the suppression of the rebellion of Mirza Sharfuddin Husain, Husain Quli Khan-i-jahan was ordered to conquer Jodhpur also⁵. However, before a full fledged campaign could be sent Rao Maldeo died and the situation completely changed in Marwar⁶. Rao Maldeo was succeeded by Rao Chandrasen a younger son, who was nominated by the deceased Raja⁷. The two elder brothers Rao Ram and Udai Singh, however refused to accept him as their ruler, and made efforts to oppose him. But having failed to get sufficient support among the Marwar nobility, they proceeded to the Mughal court, joined imperial service (1563) and sought the help of the Emperor in

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.162, 195-196; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Mutamid Khan, ed., Maulana Muhammad Rafi, Allahabad, 1931, p.173, Vir Vinod, II, p.812

² *Akbarnama*, II, pp.162, 195-196; *Iqbalnama*, p.173; Rathoron ki Khyat, pp.465-66 cited in 'Rajput loyalties during Mughal period', *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed.J.F.Richards,OUP, 1998, pp.272-73

³ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.195-97

⁴ *Ibid*, II, p.196.

⁵ *Ibid*, II, p.197.

⁶ Rao Maldeo died on Nov. 1562 (*Akbarnama*, vol.II, p.197; *Vir vinod*, II, p.813). Tod has wrongly ascribed his death in 1569. Tod, II ,p.21.

⁷ Maldeo had 12 sons but Rao Ram, Udai singh, Raimal, Chandrasen, Prithvi Raj, Askaran and Ratansi were most prominent among them (*Tod*.Vol.II, p.23). Maldeo nominated Chandrasen son of his most favourite queen as his successor by super- ceding the claims of his eldest son Rao Ram and Udai Singh (*Akbarnama*,II, P.197; *Vigat*, I, p.68; *jodhpur khyat*, p.85;*Vir vinod*,II, pp.813-14).

settling the issue of succession in Rao Ram's favour¹. The Emperor agreed to intervene in the matter and ordered Husain Quli Khan-i-Jahan to conquer Jodhpur and establish Rao Ram as the ruler of Marwar². The fort of Jodhpur was captured in 1564 and Chandrasen was forced to retreat to Bhadrajun³. But it is quite significant to note that the state of Jodhpur was not assigned to Rao Ram or any other son of Rao Maldeo. We find that Rao Ram was assigned *Pargana* Sojat and Udai Singh was given Phalodi⁴. The fort of Jodhpur and other important areas of Marwar were kept under imperial officials. Although Rao Ram and Udai Singh did not openly showed their resentment for minor assignments that were given to them and broadly cooperated with the imperial authority, the situation in Marwar was still far from being peaceful. Rao Chandrasen continued to defy the imperial authority by attacking imperial forces every now and then. He also succeeded in establishing himself in northern part of Marwar.

However, he failed to consolidate his position and suffered both in men and material. Local traditions tell us that to meet his expenses sometimes he had to sell his precious goods⁵. Ultimately having suffered for almost six years he decided to present himself along with his son Rai Rai Singh before Emperor Akbar⁶. On his arrival at the court (at Nagore in 1570) he was received with favours⁷. About the same time his elder brother Udai Singh also came to the court from Phalodi⁸. None of the contemporary account give us any clue about the discussion or the nature of discussion that might have taken place between the Mughal Emperor and Chandrasen. However, it is reported that after staying at the court for about few days Chandrasen went back to Bhadrajun leaving his son Rai

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, p.197; *Vigat*, I, p.68

² *Akbarnama*, II, p.197 ; *Vigat*, I, p.68

³ *Akbarnama*, II, p.358; *Vigat*, I, p.69; *Jodhpur khyat*, p.87

⁴ *Vigat*, I, pp.69-70; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.85

⁵ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Jahangir*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1864, p.285; *Vir vinod*, II, p.814

⁶ *Akbarnama*, II, p.358; *Vigat*, I, p.69; *Vir vinod*, II, p.814

⁷ *Akbarnama*, II, p.358.

⁸ *Vigat*, p.69, 219; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.88.

Singh at the court¹. It seems that Chandrasen realised that he may not be able to get back his position in Jodhpur because of better relationship that his elder brothers have managed to establish with the Mughal Emperor. Therefore, once again Chandrasen unfurled the banner of revolt. Akbar took immediate action against him; the fort of Bhadrarjun was put to siege (1571)². Unable to defend himself Chandrasen escaped and fled towards Siwana³. While the operations against Chandrasen were in progress Rao Ram died (1572). The death of Rao Ram again led to dissension in the Rathor house on the question of succession. Rao Ram had two sons, Karan and kala. Both the sons laid claims to the Gaddi with the support of rival Rathor Sardars, and represented to the Emperor to decided the issue in their favour. The Emperor on the advice of a Rathor Sardar decided the issue in favour of younger son Kala and assigned village Suraitu along with 60 other villages to Karan⁴. From the later events it appears that this decision of the Emperor was broadly accepted by the rival claimants. Another important decision in the context of Marwar was the appointment of Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner to look after the affairs of Jodhpur in 1572⁵. He was also asked to keep watch on the movement of Rana Pratap particularly to keep the road to Gujrat safe and secure. Some other quite significant transfers and appointments were also made by the Emperor in the state of Marwar. Rao Udai Singh who was holding Phalodi ever since his father's death was removed from his assigned *Jagir* in village Samavali⁶. Similarly, after expelling Chandrasen from Siwana, it was kept under imperial

¹ Vigat, p.69; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.88; It was apparently at this time that Chandrasen also married one of his daughters to Akbar. Banki Das ri Khyat, p.22, cited by Satish Chandra, *Mughal religious policies, the Rajputs and the Deccan*, New Delhi, 1993, p.23

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.4; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.89

³ *Akbarnama*, III, p.80; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.89, Tod, II, p.22.

⁴ *Vigat*, I, p.71

⁵ Rai Rai Singh remained administrator till 1577. In the same year he was sent against Siwana and Jodhpur was brought under the Khalisa. *Akbarnama*, II, pp.370-72, III, pp.5-6; *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. Sayid Ahmad Khan, Delhi, tr. Blockman, I, p.384; Vigat, I, pp.68-69.

⁶ *Vigat*, I, p.69, 218; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.88

control for sometime and later on made over to the sons of Rai Mal another son of Rao Maldeo¹.

Meanwhile, defeated and expelled from Siwana and Sojat by the imperial army Chandrasen went to Mewar, where Rana Udai Singh welcomed him and also married his daughter to the Rao². After this matrimonial alliance Chandrasen hoped to get full support of the state of Mewar in his resistance against the Mughal authorities. We find that soon after this alliance Chandrasen started attacking Mughal out posts, with renewed vigour. But after the death of Rana Udai Singh the situation changed. Rana Pratap who succeeded to the throne (1572) himself was faced with so many problems did not come to his help. Disappointed with these development Chandra Sen left Mewar, and wandered from place to place, and made an attempts to seek the help of Rawal Askaran his brother in law of Dungarpur³. But having failed to get any assistance from him, he moved towards Banswara and from there in the direction of Ajmer, plundering towns and villages falling in his way. Being informed of these activities of Chandrasen, the Emperor appointed Payanda Khan and Sayyid Qasim to punish him (1580)⁴. He was defeated and forced to take shelter in the mountain defiles of Saran where he died sometime in 1581⁵.

After the death of Rao Chandrasen his son Rai Singh who was already in the imperial service, since 1570 succeeded his father with the approval of the Emperor. He was granted *Pargana* of Sojat in *Jagir* and the title of Rana was also conferred on him⁶. But it is quite significant to note that Jodhpur and other areas of Marwar were retained in *Khalisa* and Rai

¹ After the capture of Bhadrajun Chandrasen fled towards Siwana. In 1575 a powerful Mughal operation was launched against Chandrasen under Shah Quli Khan, Rai Singh, Keshaw Das Son of Jaimal and Shahbaz Khan, however Chandrasen managed to escape and Siwana was captured in 1576. (*Akbarnama*, III, pp.80-82, 167-8; *Vigat*, p.69, 219)

² *Vigat*, II, pp.63-65

³ For more details of his career See, *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp.118-119; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.114, 814-15.

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.318-19; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.119; *Vir vinod*, II, p.814.

⁵ *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp.120-21; *Vir vinod*, II, p.815.

⁶ *Vigat*, I, p.389; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.93; *Vir vinod*, II, p.814

Singh was not declared formally as the ruler of Marwar. It is also important to note that the decision of Akbar in this regard was apparently accepted by the majority of Rathor sardars. From the local sources it also emerges that during the period when Jodhpur remained in the *Khalisa* 'some of the Rathor Sardars entered Mughal service and were given *mansabs* and assigned *Jagirs* in Marwar'¹. This step must have changed the attitude of Rathor Sardars towards Mughal rulers. In a way it was the acceptance of direct subordination of the Mughal Emperor by the Rathor Sardars.

From the above discussion it may be concluded that Emperor Akbar still (1581) preferred to have complete administrative control over Marwar by placing Jodhpur and other important areas under *Khalisa*². The sons of Maldeo and their Sardars also not only accepted the Mughal Emperor as their overlord but accepted the decision of the Emperor in such important matters as succession to the throne after the death of the ruling chief.

The situation changed after the death of Rai Singh in 1583. The Emperor not only recognized Udai Singh a rival of Chandrasen who was in the service of the Emperor from 1563 as the ruler of Marwar but for the first time Jodhpur was also assigned to him³. However, besides Jodhpur only the *Pargana* of Sojat was assigned to him, the rest of the territory remained in the *Khalisa*⁴. In this manner the state of Marwar formally became a subordinate ally and vassal state of the Mughal Empire. Udai Singh also offered his daughter in marriage to Sultan Salim in 1586 to establish close relations with the imperial family⁵. Soon afterwards three other matrimonial alliances were established with the imperial family. Keshav Das grandson of

¹ Rathor Bagh son of Prithvi Raj, Rathor Bhopat son of Devidas, Rathor Ram and Rathor Askaran were granted the villages of Bagadi, Katalio, Pipal and Mangalio respectively. (*Rathor-ri-Vanshvali* (Sc) pp. 197-8

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.5.

³ *Vigat*, I, p.76; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.97; *Vir vinod*, II, p.815.

⁴ *Vigat*, I, p.83; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.97.

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, p.494, 581, 603; *Tuzuk*, p.8; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Moinul Haq, 3vols., Karanchi, 1966,1970,1974, p.205; *Vir vinod*, II, p.815, (Her name was Manmati/ Jagat Gosai to whom Khurram was born in 1592 (*Akbarnama*, III, 494, 603)

Maldeo married his daughter to Salim¹ and a daughter of Rai Mal son of Maldeo was married to Daniyal.²

Akbar himself had already married a daughter of Rao Chandrasen in 1570³. These marriages must have created a very favourable atmosphere for the Rathors at the court as well as in the imperial harem. We get references of a number of relatives of Rathor house and their Sardars being admitted in imperial service and assigned administrative duties during this period⁴. Almost all of them served loyally in various military campaigns in different parts of the Mughal Empire⁵. At the time of his death (1595) Udai Singh held the rank of 1500/1500 and the *Paarganas* of Jodhpur, Siwana, Sojat, Pokaran and Jaitaran⁶ were also held by him. He was popularly known as Mota Raja on account of his body bulk at the court.

Udai Singh was succeeded by his son Sur Singh without any controversy⁷, although he had two other brothers Kishan Singh and Shakti Singh. Akbar recognized him as the ruler of Marwar and *Mansab* of 2000/2000 was also awarded to him⁸. Soon after his accession he was deputed to serve under Prince Murad who was holding charge of the

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, p.581; *Tuzuk*, p.8 (married in 15990)

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.696 (married in 1595)

³ *Banki Das ri khyat*, p.216, *Vir vinod*, II, pp.814-15.

⁴ Following Rathors were appointed as provincial Diwans, Keshav Das Rathor (Diwan of Agra), Ram Rai (Diwan of Delhi), Ram Das Rathor (Diwan of Bihar) Rai Ram Das (Diwan of Ahmedabad) [*Akbarnama*, II, pp.80-81, III, p.413, 670]

⁵ For detail accounts of the military services rendered by the rulers and chiefs of Jodhpur see. *Akbarnama*, III, pp.80-81,413, 670; *Ain*, I, p.475, *Vir vinod*, II, pp.815-17.

⁶ *Akbarnama*, III, p.669, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Shahnawaz Khan edited Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib.Ind. Calcutta, 1888. Vol.II, p.180, recorded him as a mansabdar of 1000; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.815-16. But *vigat* mention that his mansab was 2500/2500 (*vigat*, I, pp.77-83).

⁷ Suraj Singh was given Tika of Jodhpur by Emperor Akbar at Lahore in 1595 as per the wishes of his father. It may also be noted that we have another Rajput noble of the same name. He was Rao Sur Singh son of Rai Rai Singh Bikaner. He had always been referred as Rao Sur Singh. Where as Udai Singh's son had always been mentioned as Raja Sur Singh. (*M.U.*II, pp.180-81; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.815-16).

⁸ *Vigat*, I, p.93; *M.U.*, II, p.181; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.122

governor of Gujrat. Shortly after his arrival Prince Murad proceeded to launch an attack on Ahmad Nagar¹. As it was a very important campaign and most of the *mansabdars* accompanied him, Bahadur Shah son of Muzaffar Shah the erstwhile ruler of Gujrat considering the situation most suitable, once again rebelled and created a very dangerous situation for Sur Singh who was left by the Prince to protect Gujrat. Sur Singh did not lose courage and with his entire army immediately marched against the rebels and forced them to flee without fighting². In 1599 he was dispatched to serve in the Deccan under Sultan Daniyal. He performed very useful service along with Daulat Khan Lodi against Raju Deccani (1601)³ and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan against Khudawand Khan who was creating trouble in the area of Pathri and Palam (1602)⁴. Prince Daniyal and Khan-i-Khanan were greatly pleased with his service and on their recommendation he was granted a kattle drum⁵. Sometimes in 1604 he was given leave to visit Jodhpur. However, he left Bhati Govind Das along with a sizeable contingent of his soldiers to serve in the Deccan⁶. While he was in Jodhpur he came to know of the death of Emperor Akbar. At the times of Akbar's death three members of the family namely Sur Singh, Dalpat and Sabal Singh were in imperial service, holding ranks of 2000/2000,⁷ 500⁸ and 500⁹ respectively. But it is very important to note that despite Marwar's very close relationship with Jahangir, (Salim's wife Jodhabai was his sister) neither he nor any other prince of Marwar went to court, although as is well known the atmosphere at the court was extremely hostile for Salim¹⁰. Jahangir apparently was

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.697-98; *M.U.*, II, p.181; *Vir vinod*, II, p.817.

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.725; *M.U.*, II, pp.181-82; *Vir vinod*, II, p.817.

³ *Akbarnama*, III, p.772; *M.U.*, II, pp.181-82

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, p.212, 801; *M.U.*, II, p.182; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 124.

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, p.819; *M.U.*, II, pp.182-83; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 124.

⁶ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.819-20; *M.U.*, II, pp.182-83; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 125.

⁷ *Vigat*, I, p.93, 112; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.122

⁸ *Vigat*, II, p.492; *Ain*, I, p.828

⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁰ For details of Succession crisis at the time of Akbar's serious illness, see, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir – a study of family groups*. Afzal Husain, New Delhi. Manohar. 1999, pp.97, 185-186.

displeased with them because for almost two years they were not called to court. In 1607 Sur Singh was ordered to proceed to Gujrat to help the governor to suppress the rebellion in the *suba*.¹

Sur Singh visited Agra for the first time since Jahangir's accession in 1608 along with his son Gaj Singh². About the same time his brother Kishan Singh also came to the court³. Although Sur Singh was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000 and Kishan Singh to 1000/500⁴, but these promotions were insignificant, if we compare these with the promotion that were given to other nobles during the same period⁵. However soon afterwards Sur Singh was dispatched to serve in the Deccan under Khan-i-Khanan⁶ and Kishan Singh was deputed under Mahabat Khan against Mewar⁷. Although Mahabat Khan's campaign failed but Kishan Singh showed extra ordinary courage and determination during the expedition. For the meritorious service performed in the campaign he was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000⁸. But during this campaign Mahabat Khan got information that during the siege of Udaipur, the family of Rana Udai Singh slipped to Sojat fort where they were protected by Sur Singh's men. Without verifying the truth Mahabat Khan in a fit of anger granted Sojat to Karamsen Rathor son of Rao Chandra Sen, a prince of the same family but with whom Sur Singh's relations were sore from a longtime. When Sur Singh who was posted in the Deccan⁹, came to know of these developments, he dispatched Bhati Govind Das to explain that the charges were absolutely incorrect. In the meantime Mahabat Khan

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, p.817; *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp.125-26.

² *Tuzuk*, p.67; *M.U.*II, pp.182-83; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.817-18

³ He was half brother of Suraj Singh and a real brother of the mother of Khurram [*Tuzuk*, p.61,143; *M.U.*, I, pp.150-51].

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p. 61, 67, 73; *Vir Vinod*, II. P.817; But Shahnawaz Khan and Sayeed Ahmed mention that in the fourth regnal year he (Sur Singh) held the rank of 4000/2000. (*M.U.*,II, pp.182-83; *U.H.* pp.254-55.)

⁵ For details of the promotion see Appendix.B

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.73.

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.69, 72; *Umra-i- Hunood*, Sayeed Ahmad, Abdus Salam collection, Azad library, A.M.U., Aligarh, p.286.

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.72

⁹ *Tuzuk*, p.73; *M.U.* II, pp.182-83

was recalled and Abdullah Khan took over the command of Mewar campaign (1609)¹. As soon as he reached there, Sojat was restored to Gaj Singh son of Sur Singh².

In 1613 he was appointed to serve in the Mewar campaign under Sultan Khurram³. His son Gaj Singh was also asked to join the campaign⁴. In the successful completion of this important expedition Sur Singh with his good knowledge of the topography of the region played a very important role. In reward for his service, the Emperor promoted him to the rank of 5000/3000 and the *Pargana* of Phalodi was also given to him⁵. Soon after Mewar campaign Sur Singh was allowed to visit his *Watan*. His brother Kishan Singh also on the recommendation of Khurram was raised to the rank of 2000/1500 (promotion of 500)⁶. Kishan Singh remained at the court and further got the promotion of 1000 *Zat* thus attaining the rank of 3000/2000 during the same period (1615)⁷. He was also permitted to visit Jodhpur.

In 1615 Emperor Jahangir visited Ajmer to pay his obeisance at the Holy Shrine. Sur Singh and Kishan Singh who were at Jodhpur also came to Ajmer to pay their homage to the Emperor. After staying for few days at the *Dargah*, the Emperor went to Pushkar for hunting and stayed there for a night⁸. The two brothers also accompanied the Emperor to Pushkar. While the Emperor and the two brothers were at Pushkar a very strange and a violent incident took place. The two brothers along with their retainers fought a pitched battle in front of the *Jharokha*. On enquiry the Emperor was informed that Govind Das Bhati the *Wakil* of Sur Singh had killed Kishan

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.75

² *Vir vinod*, II, p.817; *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp. 126-27

³ *Vir vinod*, II, p.818; *M.U.*,II, pp.182-83; *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp.127-28.

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, p. 818; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.128.

⁵ *Tuzuk* ,pp.141-42, 138-39; *M.U.*,II, pp.182-83; *Vigat*, I, pp. 105-6; *Nainsi Khyat*, I,p. 53 mentions that the revenue of the Parganas of Godwad, Sadri and Nadole were also assigned to him in *Inam*.

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p. 127

⁷ *Ibid*, p.137

⁸ *Ibid*, p.143

Singh's brother's son Gopal Das few years ago on some pretext. Kishan Singh expected that Sur Singh will take action against Govind Das Bhati for this crime as Gopal Das was also his nephew. But Sur Singh so much trusted Govind Das that he did not take any action against him. Kishan Singh was extremely angry with him on this account and was looking for an opportunity to kill Govind Das Bhati. As the Emperor halted at Pushkar for the night, Kishan Singh considered it to be the most opportune time and along with his nephew Karan, some friends and retainers went towards the camp of Sur Singh in the early hours of the morning and sent his servants to kill Govind Das Bhati. As the guards were awake they attacked and killed the servants of Kishan Singh. Kishan Singh and Karan who were waiting outside, got agitated because of the delay. Therefore they themselves dismounted and rushed towards the camp of Govind Das Bhati. In the mean time Govind Das and Sur Singh also got up and came out fully armed. In the course of the fighting Govind Das was killed by Kishan Singh's men but both Kishan Singh and Karan were also killed by Sur Singh's soldiers. When the soldiers of Kishan Singh came to know of the death of Kishan and Karan they armed themselves and a full scale battle was fought between the retainers of Sur Singh and Kishan Singh just 'beneath the Jharokha'. As many as 78¹, Rajputs from both sides were killed. It is really surprising to note that no attempts was made by the Emperor, who himself was present on the scene, to stop the fighting which resulted in the killing of Kishan Singh and Karan and so many other Rajputs, although the deceased princes were very closely related to Emperor's wife. Not only that no action was taken against any one of them. The Emperor simply divided the *Mansab* of Kishan Singh among his sons and his native place Kishangarh was conferred on

¹ In *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* the number is given as 66- i.e. 30 on Raja Suraj Singh's side and 36 on Kishan Singh's. While *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* mentions 78. i.e. 12 on Suraj Singh's side and 66 on Kishan Singh's. [*Tuzuk*, p.144; *Z. Khawanin*, II, pp.298-300].

them¹. Sur Singh who had survived the onslaught was allowed to go to Jodhpur with the condition to report on duty within two months². But the killing of Kishan Singh must have created very awkward situation for Sur Singh because Kishan Singh's real sister was not only Jahangir's wife but also Khurram's mother. *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin* specifically mentions that Sur Singh's relations with Khurram were much strained; he always felt grieved. He could not out of fear beat the drums. One day all his drums were broken and two or three elephants of the Raja were wounded'.³

As directed Raja Sur Singh came to court with his son Gaj Singh in 1616 and presented an offering of 100 muhrs and 1000 rupees⁴. In the same year on Khurram's first expedition in the Deccan Sur Singh was ordered to accompany him⁵. At the time of his departure he was given promotion of 300 *sawars*, so as to make it 5000/3300⁶. The Raja himself proceeded towards Burhanpur but sent his son Gaj Singh to administer the affairs of Jodhpur⁷. In 1619 he died at Balapur near Burhanpur⁸.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Gaj Singh and his other son Sabal Singh was admitted in the imperial service. He was however given a very small rank of 500/250.⁹ Although he took active part in different campaign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reign¹⁰ and lived up to 1647, he could not rise above the rank of 2000/1500¹¹. Except for these stray references we hardly

¹ *Z. Khawanin*, II, p. 300; *M.U.* I, pp.151-52. he had four sons namely Hari Singh, Jagmal, Paharmal and Nathmal. [*VirVinod*, II, pp.817-18; *U.H.*, p. 287]

² *Tuzuk*, p.144; *M.U.* II, p.183

³ *Z.Khawanin*, II, p.205,300.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.147

⁵ *Ibid*, p.148

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.148; *Vigat*, I, p.195

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.277; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.144.

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.277; *Vir vinod*, II, p.818, *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.146.

⁹ *Tuzuk*, p.277; *Vigat*, pp.90-95; Phalodi was also assigned to him as his *Jagir*. [*Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 115].

¹⁰ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, two vols., (vol.I, part,a and part,b) ed. Maulavi Kabiruddin and Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Bib, Ind. Calcutta, 1867-8, Ib, p.312, vol.II, p. 121, 374.

¹¹ Lahori, II, p.727.

get any details of Sabal Singh's career in any of the contemporary or near contemporary sources.

As mentioned above Gaj Singh succeeded his father Sur Singh without any internal dissension. Emperor Jahangir also recognized him as ruler of Marwar and sent him *Tika* through Darab Khan. He was awarded the rank of 3000/2000 and the title of *Raja* was also conferred upon him¹. He was also assigned *Parganas* of Jodhpur, Sojat, Jaitaran, Siwana, Satalmer, Terweda and Godwad in *Jagir*.² It may be pointed that Raja Gaj Singh was closely attached to Emperor Jahangir from his father's time (1608) and had served imperial army in a number of expeditions³.

Soon after assuming the charge of his state in 1619 Gaj Singh was dispatched to serve under Darab Khan to protect the outpost of Mahikar from the onslaught of Malik Ambar⁴. After the transfer of Darab Khan it appears that Gaj Singh was also relieved and allowed to visit Jodhpur. On his return journey, when he reached Agra and presented himself before the Emperor, he was raised to the rank of 4000/3000 for showing extra ordinary valour in the Deccan⁵. Thereafter, he was given leave and allowed to visit Jodhpur (1622)⁶. Sometimes after his departure to Jodhpur, Khurram openly rebelled and started towards Agra to challenge the imperial authority. As the situation appeared quite serious the Emperor summoned important nobles to his presence. Gaj Singh was also ordered to immediately come to court along with his contingents⁷. The Raja however, reached Hindaun and presented himself before the Emperor after the battle of Bilochpur in which

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.277; *M.U.*, II, pp.223-24; *Vir vinod*, II, p.819; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.150.

² *Mundivar Khayat* fol 5; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.15 cited by Bhargava, V.S.,

Marwar and the Mughals, Delhi, 1966

³ *Tuzuk*, p.147; *M.U.*, II, p.182; *Vir Vinod*, II, p.818

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.344; *Virn vinod*, II, p.819; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p.155.

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.335; *Iqbalnama*, p.127; *Vir vinod*, II, p.819; *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp.155-56

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.344

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.360; *M.U.* II, pp.223-24

Khurram's army was badly defeated ¹. Mahabat Khan who had played the most crucial role in the battle was promoted to the rank of 6000/5000 and given the command under Parwez to pursue Khurram². Raja Gaj Singh and several other Rajput nobles such as Jai Singh, Raja Girdhar, Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha and Ram Das Narwari were also deputed to serve under him³. On the eve of his departure Raja Gaj Singh was promoted to the rank of 5000/4000 and Phalodi was also added in his *Jagir*⁴. He actively served the imperial army in its campaign against the rebels in the Deccan and on the orders of the Emperor accompanied Parwez and Mahabat Khan to Allahabad to check the progress of Khurram's troops in the east⁵. Khurram in the meantime hotly pursued by Mahabat Khan in Deccan Marched into Orissa and succeeded in establishing his hold over Bengal and Bihar and laid the siege of the fort of Allahabad⁶. But as soon as he came to know of the arrival of the Imperial army, he ordered Abdullah Khan to raise the siege of Allahabad and join him at Hajipur. In a hotly contested battle fought between the imperial army and the rebels at Damdama near Tons, ⁷ the rebels were completely defeated and Kr. Bhim was killed from the rebel side⁸. Raja Gaj Singh on his return to the Court, for the meritorious service rendered in this battle was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 and the title of Maharaja was also conferred on him⁹. Shortly afterwards as

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.357-60; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820.

² *Tuzuk*, pp.347-48, 360; For details see Afzal Husain, pp.172-73

³ *Tuzuk*, p.360; *M.U.*, II, pp.223-24; *Iqbalnama*, p.204.

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.361-63

⁵ *Z.Khawanin*, II, pp.118-20; *Iqbalnama*, pp.221-227.

⁶ *Tuzuk*, pp.371-72, 383-84; Inayat ali Zaidi, The Rajput chiefs and Prince Shahjahan's revolt: Consequences, *Islamic Culture*, No.4, 1987, pp.67-68

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp.380-81; *Z.Khawanin*, II, p.122; *Vir vinod*, II, p.819.

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.381; *Z.Khawanin* II, pp.122-23

⁹ *M.U.*, II, p.224; Lahori, Ia, p.158; *Vir Vinod*, II, p.819. But *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* recorded him as a mansabdar of 5000/4000. (*Tuzuk*, pp.360- 361); *Vigat* ,I, p.108 adds that Jagir of Jalgaon was also given to him.

a mark of favour Prince Parwez was married with the sister of Gaj Singh¹.

After the collapse of the rebellion of Khurram in the east political situation took a new turn. As is well known Mahabat Khan was summoned to the court and Khan-i-Jahan lodi was given the charge of the Deccan under the overall command of prince Parwez². Raja Gaj Singh was also dispatched to the Deccan to serve under Khan-i-Jahan lodi³. The Raja was serving in the Deccan under Khan-i-Jahan lodi at the time of Jahangir's death.

The death of Jahangir created very awkward situation for the leading nobles of the Empire, because on the one hand Asaf Khan and certain other nobles raised to the throne Dawar Bakhsh son of Khusrau and marched towards Lahore and on the other Shahryar too crowned himself king with the support of Nurjahan and started raising army to confront Dawar Bakhsh. Meanwhile Asaf Khan also sent a secret message to Khurram to hurry immediately to court⁴. Although Shahryar was defeated and taken prisoner but very few nobles knew that Asaf Khan had raised Dawar Bakhsh only as a sacrificial lamb and was waiting for Khurram to ultimately succeed to the throne. The reports from the court received by the nobles posted in the Decan and other outlying provinces of the Empire also clearly indicated that Dawar Bakhsh had the support of all the important nobles of the Empire and was a real successor of late Jahangir. Hence Khan-i-Jahan lodi decided to support Dawar Bakhsh⁵. We find that Raja Gaj Singh and Jai Singh along with other nobles accompanied Khan-i-Jahan upto Mandu and apparently

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.380,389; *Z.Khawanin*, p.205, 300; Namely Manbhawati Bai,(*Vir Vinod*, II, p.307)

² Afzal Husain, pp.142-43.

³ *Iqbalnama*, p.279, 300; M.U.II, pp.223-24; *Jodhpur khyat*, p.159.

⁴ For details regarding succession crisis see, *Iqbalnama*, pp.294-300; Afzal Husain, pp.146-47; See also *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, Banarasi Prasad Saksena, Allahabad, 1958, pp.56-57.

⁵ Afzal Hussain, pp.146-47

until then supported Dawar Bakhsh.¹ However, the situation changed after Shah Jahan reached Gujarat; because now the nobles came to know that Dawar Bakhsh's coronation was only a stop gap arrangement, only to facilitate Shah Jahan's accession. Therefore, a number of nobles now left Khan-i-Jahan lodi and joined Shah Jahan². It seems at this stage both Raja Gaj Singh and Raja Jai Singh decided not to take sides in the succession struggle and preferred to wait and watch. Both of them left Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and proceeded to their *watan*³. In the entire period of Shahjahan's journey from Gujrat to Agra through Ajmer Gaj Singh made no contact with him. It was only after Shah Jahan succeeded to throne after eliminating all the surviving princes that Gaj Singh came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. The Emperor over looked his unfriendly attitude and confirmed him to his previous rank of 5000/5000⁴.

From the above discussion it becomes quite clear that the Rathors come to enjoy quite an important position among the Rajput nobles of Jahangir's reign. The most important reason for this seems to have been Jahangir's matrimonial relations with the Marwar House. As mentioned above Jahangir was married to Jagat Gosai/Manmati and Khurram was born to her. Besides that Jahangir's hostility to Man Singh also greatly helped other Rajput houses to improve their position at their expense. Table 'A' will show that Rathors held high ranks and as many as 7 Rathors were in his service and held a total of 9300/6000(in 1627).

¹ *Iqbalnama*, p.300; *Z.Khawanin*, II, p.43; *Lahori*, Ia, p.30,76; *M.U.*,II, pp.224-25

² *Lahori*, Ia, p.76; *Saksena*, p.62, prominent nobles who left Kahan-i-jahan lodi were Rana Karan, Khan-i-Alam, Raja Jai Singh, Raja Bharat and Barha Sayyids.

³ *Lahori*, Ia, p.76; *M.U.*,II, pp. 224-25

⁴ For details see, *Lahori*, Ia, pp.82-99,158-59; *M.U.*, II, pp.225-26; *VirVinod*, II, p.819. Mutamid Khan however, writes that Gaj Singh and Jai Singh met Shah Jahan at Ana Sagar lake at Ajmer and offered their submission.(*Iqbalnama*, p.617)

Table A¹

Raja Gaj Singh	5000/5000
Karamsi Rathore	1000/300
Hari Singh s/o Kishan Singh	1000
Jagannath Rathore	800
Sabal Singh	500/250
Raja Nathmal s/o Kishan Singh	500/225
Jagmal s/o Kishan Singh	500/225

Soon after his arrival to the court as mentioned above Raja Gaj Singh was appointed to suppress the rebellion of Khan-i-Jahan Iodi². Shah Jahan sent three armies under the command of Azam Khan, Raja Gaj Singh and Shaista Khan to crush the rebellion³. Lahori writes that thirty one other Rajput nobles such as Raja Jai Singh, Raja Bithal Das Gaur, Prithvi Raj Rathor, Ani Rai, Raja Manrup Kuchhwaha, Narhar Das Jhala, Madho Singh and Raja Pahad Singh were also deputed to serve in this campaign⁴. Here it is important to note that Shah Jahan not only over looked the past misdeeds of Gaj Singh but even preferred him over chiefs of other houses by giving him command of one of the three armies sent to crush the rebellion⁵ and also put under him twelve Rajput nobles⁶.

¹ For more details see Appendix, A4 and B2

² Lahori, Ia, pp.276,294,298,307-8,404-5; Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, comp.W.E.Begle & Z.A.Desai, OUP,NewDelhi,1990, p.87; *M.U.* II, pp.210-12, 225-26; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.819-20

³ Lahori, Ia, pp.276, 293-96.

⁴ Ibid, pp.293-94, 322-26

⁵ Lahori, Ia, pp.404-5; *M.U.*, II, pp.225-26; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820

⁶ Lahori, Ia, pp.293-94, 322-26;

After the suppression of the rebellion he returned to court where he stayed for some times. In 1631 the Mughals launched an attack on Bijapur under the command of Asaf Khan and Raja Gaj Singh, Raja Jai Singh, Pahad Khan and several other nobles were appointed to assist Asaf Khan. Raja Gaj Singh was given the command of vanguard (Harawal)¹. But Adilshah left the battle field without fighting and the campaign came to an end. Raja Gaj Singh was allowed to leave for Jodhpur². He reached Jodhpur in 1632 and after a short stay came back to Agra and presented himself before the Emperor (1633)³. He was received at the court with favours and immediately sent on duty to Deccan⁴. Gaj Singh remained there till 1636 and presented himself before the Emperor at Daulatabad, who had gone there to personally supervise the campaign. In recognition of his good service he was presented a *Khilat* and a horse with special golden equipment⁵. He returned to Agra from the Deccan along with the Emperor. After returning to court he was given leave to visit his *watan* Jodhpur (1636)⁶. At the time of his departure he was awarded a special robe of honor, elephant and other valuable article⁷. He remained in Jodhpur for about one and half year. In 1638 he return to Agra along with his son Jaswant Singh and was awarded a special robe of honour⁸. Shortly after his arrival he was ordered to proceed to Qandhar to protect it from the attack of Persians⁹. Prince Shuja who was governor of Kabul was ordered to proceed to Qandhar only if Shah Safi attacked it. The Mughals were however relieved of the pressure for the time being because Shah Safi being engaged in a war with Turkey was in no position to launch an attack on Qandhar¹⁰. Therefore, on the orders of the

¹ Lahori, Ia, pp.315, 404-5; *M.U.II*, pp.225-26; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820

² Lahori, Ia, pp. 404-5; *M.U.II*, pp.225-26; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820.

³ Lahori, Ia, p. 474; *M.U.II*, pp.225-26; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820.

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.474; *Ib*, p.108

⁵ Lahori, *Ib*, pp. 141-42; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 233; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820, *M.U.*, II, pp.225-26

⁷ Lahori, *Ib*, p.233; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820.

⁸ Lahori, II, p.8, 11; *M.U.II*, pp.225-26; *Vir vinod*, II, p.820

⁹ Lahori, II, pp.24-26, 34-35.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.52

Emperor, Gaj Singh was sent back to the court at Lahore¹. Shortly afterwards he was sent back to Agra where he died in May 1638².

Gaj Singh was succeeded by his youngest son Jaswant Singh. It was for the first time in the history of Marwar a crown prince *yuvraj* succeeded to the throne, although he was only eleven years old and had an elder brother³. Shah Jahan agreed to accept the Rathor tradition of nomination of a son of the most favourite queen of deceased Raja even if he was younger to other sons⁴. The earlier succession wars, in Marwar were fought mainly because of this tradition which was neither accepted fully by the Rathor chiefs nor by Princes. The Emperor Shah Jahan granted him *Tika* and the title of *Raja* in accordance with his father's will. He was also awarded the rank of 4000/4000⁵. Six *Parganas* Jodhpur, Phalodi, Sojat, Siwana, Satalmer and Merta were assigned to him in *Jagir*.⁶ The grant of the *Mansab* of 4000/4000 is significant in itself as no other Rathor ruler before him has been given such a high rank at the time of succession. However Amar Singh the elder brother of Jaswant Singh was also promoted to 3000/3000 and the title of Rao was conferred on him⁷. He was also granted *Jagir* in *Pargana* Nagore.⁸ It is important to note that despite being superceded Amar Singh continued to cooperate with Jaswant Singh and in the state of Marwar there were hardly any mutual bickering or wars among the two. He also remained loyal to the Mughal imperial authorities and performed meritorious service

¹ Lahori, II, pp.143-44; Inayat Khan, pp.109-10.

² Inayat Khan, pp.217-19; *M.U.* II, p.230

³ Superceding his elder brother Amar Singh

⁴ On the death of Maldeo- Chandra Sen and on the death of Udai Singh Suraj Singh succeeded to the Gaddi, while they were younger. (*M.U.* III, p.599, *U.H.* p.154). Jaswant Singh was son of favourite Rani Anara.

⁵ The Rathors chiefs held the title of Rao but afterwards when Udai Singh entered the imperial service the Emperor gave him the title of 'Raja' and other member of the family were styled as Rao. Accordingly after the death of Maldeo all other Rathor chief held the title of Raja. (Lahori, II, pp.97-98; *M.U.* III, pp.599-600; *Vir vinod*, II, p.822).

⁶ *Vigat*, I, p.124

⁷ Lahori, II, p.97; *M.U.* II, pp.230-31; *Vir vinod*, II, p.822.

⁸ *Selected documents of Shahjahan's reign*, ed. Yusuf Husain, 1958, p.121

in the campaigns against Jujhar Singh Bundila, Qnadhar and Kabul campaigns under murad Bakhsh, Raja Jagat Singh the son of Raja Basu and again in Qandhar under the command of Sultan Dara Shukoh¹. At the time of his death in 1644 he held the rank of 4000/3000².

As Jaswant Singh was a minor the Emperor appointed Raj Singh Rathor as Diwan of Jodhpur with a *mansab* of 1000/400, to look after the affairs of the state³. Jaswant Singh presented an offering of 12 elephant and 1000 Asharfi to the Emperor. Thereafter, Jaswant Singh accompanied the Emperor from Agra to Peshawar, who was proceeding to launch an attack on Persia⁴. When the royal camp reached Bakhtiyarpur in the *Suba* of Lahore he was presented a *khasa khilat* and special horse with golden trapping. Soon after wards in the same year (1639) on the occasion of Emperor's birthday he was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 and the *Pargana* of Jaitaran was also assigned to him⁵. He was asked to move ahead and establish his camp in the forward position at Jamrud⁶. He remained with the Emperor until February 1640 when he was allowed to return to Jodhpur⁷. After staying for about a year at Jodhpur, he was summoned to Agra. While he was in Jodhpur his faithful Diwan Raj Singh Rathor died and the Emperor once again appointed Rathor Mahesh Das as the *Diwan* of the chieftaincy. Mahesh Das was also granted a rank of 800/300 by the imperial *Diwan*⁸. On his arrival to court in March 1641 Jaswant Singh was also given promotion of 1000 *do aspa Sih Aspa* and ordered to join prince Dara Shukoh who was

¹ Lahori, II, pp.35-38, 98-99, 261-65; M.U., II, pp.230-32

² Lahori, II, pp.40-42, 380-84, 721; M.U.II, p.230-31

³ Lahori, II, p.105, 156; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.823

⁴ Lahori, II, pp.52, 59-61; *Vigat*, I, pp.125-6

⁵ Lahori, II, p.114-15, 133; Inayat Khan, p.52, 56; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.195, *Vigat*, I, p.124. But according to Tod the first campaign in which Jaswant Singh actually participated was Gondwana under the command of Aurangzeb. (*Tod*, II, p.36).

⁶ Lahori, II, p.146, 162

⁷ Lahori, II, p.181, Inayat Khan, p.68.

⁸ Lahori, II, p.122, *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.252; *Vigat*, II, p.415.

proceeding on Qandhar expedition¹. But as the campaign was abandoned due to the death of Shah Shafi, Jaswant Singh was given leave to return to Marwar (June 1643)².

In November 1643 when Shah Jahan visited Ajmer, Jaswant Singh came from Jodhpur and paid his homage to the Emperor³. He returned to Jodhpur after Emperor's departure and stayed there for about two years. On being summoned, he came to Agra and presented himself before the Emperor at Rupwas on June 25, 1645. Shortly after his arrival Shah Jahan proceeded to Lahore and Jaswant Singh was ordered to stay in Agra and look after the administration of the *Suba* until the arrival of Shaikh Farid the subedar of Agra⁴.

This appointment clearly shows that the Emperor had great confidence in Jaswant Singh because Agra was the capital of the Empire. However, after the arrival of Shaikh Farid, Jaswant Singh proceeded towards Lahore and joined the Emperor sometimes in January 1646. He was warmly received and given promotion of 1000 sawar *do aspa Sih. Aspa*⁵. Thereafter in April 1646 he accompanied the Emperor to Kabul. After reaching Kabul Jaswant Singh once again was given a promotion of an increase of 500 sawar (2-3h) in his rank⁶. With this he became a *mansabdar* of 5000/5000 (2500x2-3h). In 1647 he again received an increase of 500 sawar (2-3h) and assigned *pargana* of Hindan in *Jagir*⁷. In the following year his 1000 *sawar* rank was converted into *do aspa sih aspa*⁸. Shortly afterwards in the same year rest of his *Sawar* rank was also made into *do aspa sih-aspa*. As a

¹ Lahori, II, pp.227-30, 293-94; Inayat Khan, pp.76-77, 113-14; *M.U.*, III, pp.600-1; *Vir vinod*, II, p.824.

² Lahori, II, pp.335-36; Inayat Khan, p.124; *Vir vinod*, II, p.824.

³ Lahori, II, p.346; Inayat Khan, pp.128-29.

⁴ Lahori, II, p.407; Inayat Khan, p.160; *M.U.*, III, pp.600-1

⁵ Lahori, II, p.471, 501, 505; *Vigat*, I, p.125.

⁶ Lahori, II, p.505, 627, 719; *Vigat*, I, p.125.

⁷ Waris, b, p.28; *M.U.*, III, pp.600-1; *Vigat*, I, pp. 126-27; But the year given by Waris is 1648.

⁸ Waris, b, p.43

consequence of these frequent promotions, by 1648, he attained the rank of 5000/5000(5000x2-3h)¹. Thereafter in Feb. 1649 he was sent to Qandhar expedition under Prince Aurangzeb². After the collapse of the campaign he came back to Kabul and presented himself along with his 2000 troopers before the Emperor³. He was given leave to visit Marwar for a short holiday and was asked to report for duty within the years⁴. Raja Jaswant Singh came back to Agra in April 1650 and on the occasion of Nauroz festival, he was presented a necklace of pearls. Soon after he was again allowed to return to Marwar.⁵ While he was in Marwar the Emperor asked him to help Sabal Singh a court nominee to consolidate his position as the ruler of Jaisalmer. The Rathor forces conquered Pokharan and Jaisalmer, expelled Ram Chandra and firmly established Sabal Singh on the Gaddi of Jaisalmer⁶.

Jaswant Singh was again summoned to the court in 1652 to join the second Qandhar expedition along with Saadullah Khan under the command of Aurangzeb⁷. As is well known the expedition failed to achieve the desired objectives and Aurangzeb was severely reprimanded and transferred to Deccan. But surprisingly Jaswant Singh who was also an important commander of the failed expedition was given promotion of 1000 *Zat* ⁸ and in the following year on the occasion of the weighting ceremony of the Emperor he was raised to the rank of 6000/6000 by giving promotion of 1000 *sawar* (5000 x 2-3h) and the title of *Maharaja* was also conferred upon

¹ Waris, b, p.52, 65 ; *M.U.*, III, pp.601-2; *Vigat*, I, pp.126-7

² Waris, b, p. 69, 97; *M.U.*, III, pp.601-2; Muhammad Salih Kambu, *Amal-i-Salih*, ed. G.Yazdani, Bib.Ind. Calcutta, 1923-46, III, pp.67-71, 82-83, 88-89

³ Waris, b, p.97; *M.U.*, III, pp.602-3

⁴ Waris, b, pp.137-39; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.207.

⁵ Waris, b, pp.142-44.

⁶ Waris, b, p.161; *Vir vinod*, II, p.824.

⁷ Salih, III, pp.135-39

⁸ Waris, a, p.154, 268; Salih, III, p.160; *Vigat*, I, p.127.

him¹. In 1655 he was allowed to proceed to Mathura to marry the daughter of Sarab Deo Sisodia. After the marriage he went to Jodhpur².

Thus during the period from 1638-56 Jaswant Singh got rapid promotions and succeeded in becoming one of the top most Rajput nobles of the Empire holding the rank of 6000/6000, 5000x2-3h, the highest *mansab* held by any other Rajput noble. Table 'B' will show that no other chief of the other major Rajput houses received such rapid promotions during the same period. However, it may be pointed out that during the period 1638-56 Jaswant Singh made hardly any significant contribution either as a military commander or as an administrator of a *suba*.

Table B

Marwar		Kachhwahas	
Jaswant Singh		Jai Singh	
Joined imperial service in 1638		Joined imperial service in 1617	
1638	4000/4000	1628	4000/3000
1639	5000/5000	1630	4000/4000
1640	5000/5000(1000x2-3h)	1633	5000/4000
1646	5000/5000(2000x2-3h)	1636	5000/5000
1647	5000/5000(2500x2-3h)	1641	5000/5000(1000x2-3h)
1648	5000/5000(3000x2-3h)	1647	5000/5000(2000x2-3h)
1649	5000/5000(4000x2-3h)	1649	5000/5000(3000x2-3h)
1650	5000/5000(5000x2-3h)	1656	5000/5000(4000x2-3h)
1652	6000/5000(5000x2-3h)	1657	6000/6000(5000x2-3h)
1653	6000/6000(5000x2-3h)		
1657	7000/7000(5000x2-3h)		

¹ Inayat Khan, p. 479, 495; Waris, b, p.40; Salih, III, p.169; Vigat, I, p.127. According to *M.U.* the title and promotion was conferred in the 29 R.Y. of Shah Jahan's reign (*M.U.*, III, pp.602-3).

² Waris, b, pp.99-100; *M.U.*, III, pp.602-3

Hadas

Bundi (Rao Satarsal)

1637	3000/3000
1647	3000/3000
1656	4000/4000

Kota (Madho Singh)

1637	3000/3000
1647	3000/3000
1656	3000/3000

Sisodias of Mewar

Rana Jagat Singh

Joined imperial service in 1628

1628	5000/5000
1637	5000/5000
1647	5000/5000
1651	5000/5000
	Raj Singh
1652	5000/5000
1657	5000/500

Bikaner

Rao Sur Singh

Joined imperial service in 1613

1629	4000/3000
1631	4000/3000
	Rao Karan s/o Sur Singh
1631	2000/1500
1636	2000/1500
1648	2500/2000
1649	2500/2500
1651	3000/2000
1656	3000/2000

A cursory glance to our discussion in forgoing pages will show that Jaswant Singh was sent as a military commander in only two major campaigns under the overall command of royal princes and in both the campaigns he hardly made any significant contribution. Besides that it is also important to note that he was posted only once as a governor (Malwa) and for a brief period made in charge of Agra. In his *watan* also the administration was carried out by the *Diwan* directly appointed by the Emperor. Therefore, the favours shown to him may have been only because of the close relationship of the Emperor with Marwar house. Besides that the only positive factors which may have gone in his favours could have

been his cordial relations with royal Princes, the Kachhwaha and Sisodia nobles and other prominent Turani and Irani nobles of the Empire.

Jaswant Singh played really an important role during the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan and it needs to be closely examined.

Shah Jahan fell ill on 16 sep. 1657 and his condition remained critical for several days. At that time Dara Shukoh the eldest son of Shah Jahan and several important nobles including Jaswant Singh were present at Delhi. Dara took all possible care for his treatment. As the Emperor could not transact day to day business of the Empire (including Jharokha Darshan) rumour started to spread of his death, and all efforts to counter this could not succeed. However, according to a near contemporary source, the Emperor before his departure from Delhi to Agra summoned his courtiers and in their presence declared Dara Shukoh as his successor and exhorted them to obey him in every matters¹. This step further aggravated the situation because the agents and spies of the princes reported this step of the Emperor in most exaggerated manner. The princes crowned themselves king (Shuja and Murad) and started towards Agra to fight for the throne before it was too late. As soon as the movement of armies of the princes was confirmed, Dara Shukoh on behalf of Emperor dispatched three armies to check their advance. Sulaiman Shukoh son of Dara Shukoh with Raja Jai Singh was sent towards the east to counter Shuja and Raja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan towards Deccan to check the advance of Aurangzeb and Murad who were also marching towards Agra. But the commanders were instructed to persuade the princes to return back to their provinces and to use force only when all attempts fail to send them back to their respective provinces. Besides that they were further advised to use force in such a manner that the princes were not mortally wounded. The charge of Malwa and Gujrat was

¹ Aqil Khan Razi, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* ed. Zafar Husain, Delhi, 1976, p.8; Inayat Khan, p. 543; Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Bib.Ind.Calcutta, 1885, pp.27,80-81

also given to Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan.¹ On the eve of the departure of the army Jaswant singh was given promotion of 1000/1000 as a result of which his *mansab* rose to 7000/7000 (5000x2-3h), Qasim Khan was also promoted to the rank of 5000/5000.² Jaswant Singh started from Agra on 17 Dec. 1657 and reached Ujjain in Feb. 1658.³ The other army under Qasim Khan which left the capital eight days after Jaswant Singh's departure, was instructed to follow the same route to Ujjain.⁴

Aurangzeb after making preparation for the ensuing war of succession proceeded from Aurangabad towards Burhanpur reaching there on 28 Feb. 1658. From Burhanpur he send a letter to Shahjahan, begging permission to visit him. But as he received no reply and alarming news of Dara Shukoh's ascendancy at the court continued to arrive,⁵ he started towards Agra leaving the charge of Burhanpur in the hands of his father in law Shahnawaz Khan. After crossing the Narbada he reached in the vicinity of Dipalpur on 13 April.⁶ In the mean time Qasim Khan also arrived at Ujjain and in the absence of information regarding the movement of the two princes (Murad and Aurangzeb) stopped there to watch the course of events. In the meantime the armies of the princes joined together at Dipalpur.⁷ Having failed in his attempt to stop the princes to join together Jaswant Singh opened negotiation with both Aurangzeb and Murad.⁸ Aurangzeb who was also anxious to avoid a conflict and the shedding of innocent blood, sent

¹ Salih, III, p.284; Inayat Khan, p.546; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.12; M.U.III, pp.602-3; Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Maasir-i- Alamgiri* ed. Maulavi Agha Ahmad Ali, tr Sir Jadunath Sarkar, The Asiatic Society Calcutta, p.1; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.824-25.

² Inayat Khan, p.546, *M.U.III*, pp.602-3; *Vigat*, I, pp.130-31

³ Inayat Khan, p. 549; *Jodhpur Hukumat-ri Bahi*, edited Satish Chandra, Raghubir Singh, and G.D. Sharma, 1976 Meerut, pp. 246-47.

⁴ Jaswant singh followed the route to Ujjain via Fatehpur Sikri, Didwana, Kota, Ujjain.

⁵ Inayat Khan, pp.548-49; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.14, *Maasiri Alamgiri*, p.2.

⁶ *Alamgirnama*, pp.55-58; Inayat Khan, p.549; *Hukumat-ri-bahi*, p. 247.

⁷ Inayat Khan, p.549; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.14, *Alamgirnama*, p.57

⁸ Inayat Khan, p.549; *Alamgirnama*, pp.50-52, 55-56.

a letter to Jaswant Singh through Kavi Ray a Brahmin with the following message:

“As the object of my March is to pay respects to His Majesty and to inquire about his health, you should desist from foolish and impudent opposition, but come to see me; you should also refrain from an enterprise that is quite beyond your capacity, and save the people, from the onslaught of the victorious army.”

Jaswant Singh immediately sent the following reply to the princes :

“As I have been deputed to this duty from the royal throne there is no alternative for me but to devote my life to its performance without stepping beyond proper sphere..... If Your Highness will go back and not proceeded any further without His Majesty’s permission it will be possible (to avoid a battle) otherwise I should be excused of this insolence”.¹

Aurangzeb rejected the request made by Jaswant Singh and decided to march onward. Thus the negotiations having failed, Jaswant Singh too decided to block the way of the joint forces of Princes. But as he was handicapped by Shah Jahan’s instructions to use force in such a manner that princes’ life was not endangered, he again tried to bring about a compromise at the last minute but without any success.² Thus eventually on 25 April 1658 a battle was fought between the two armies at Dharmat.³ The imperial army was completely defeated because Qasim Khan did not actively participate in the war and some prominent Rajput chiefs deserted Jaswant Singh at the critical moment.⁴ As Jaswant Singh was badly

¹ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.14; reference to these exchanges have also been mentioned in *Alamgirnama*, pp.57-58; and Inayat Khan, p.549.

² Aurangzeb sent his son Prince Sultan Muhammad to persuade the Maharaja to let him go to Agra. In reply Maharaja also sent his wakil to dissuade Aurangzeb from proceeding towards Agra at the head of a large army. (*Alamgirnama*, p.64; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.245).

³ For details see, *Alamgirnama*, pp.56-66; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.2; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.14-15; Inayat Khan, p.549; *Vir vinod*, II, p.824.

⁴ For Qasim Khan’s role in the battle see, *Alamgirnama*, pp.70-71, *Vir vinod*, II, pp.824-25; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-58*, tr.A.Constable, revised, V.A.Smith, London, 1916, p.38; Nicolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor, 1656-1712*, 4vols., tr.W.Irine, India, Text series, govt. of India, London, 1907-8, I, p.259; For details of the battle see *Alamgirnama*, pp.60-63, 70-71; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.248

injured¹ and left with only few Rajput chiefs such as Amar Singh, Askaran, Rathor Amar Singh and Asa, he was prevailed upon by his advisers to leave the battle field and proceed to Jodhpur.² According to contemporary accounts when Jaswant Singh reached Jodhpur he was not allowed to enter the fort by his wife (Rani Hadi) because she accused the Raja of fleeing from the battle field. (The Rani was the sister in law of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar.) However, the matter was resolved by the efforts of her mother.³ But it is important to note that Jaswant Singh proceeded to Jodhpur without sending any information about the defeat of the imperial army to the court and even after reaching Jodhpur he did not despatch any letters either to Shah Jahan or Dara Shukoh.⁴ This action of Jaswant Singh is quite unusual and creates doubt about his sincerity towards imperial cause despite the fact as mentioned above there was no coordination in the command and certain elements openly sided Aurangzeb.

ShahJahan came to know of the defeat of the imperial army at Dharmat, while he was at Bilochpur.⁵ In the meantime several important development took place. After his victory at Dharmat Aurangzeb and Murad proceeded towards Agra and as a consequence situation at the court became tense. On the one hand Dara started making preparation for the ensuing war and on the other hand attempts were also made to bring about reconciliation between the rebel princes and the Emperor. The initiative was taken by Jahan Ara Begum who wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, promising to get all his

¹ Tirmizi S.A.I, *Mughal documents*, 2vols (vol. I 1989, Vol. II, 1995) (vol.I,1526-1527;vol.II,1628-57),Manohar, New Delhi, II, p.127,131, s.no,363, 379.

² Salih,III, p.287; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, P.6, *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, pp.248-49.

³ Muhammad Hasim, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, ed.K.D.Ahmad and Haig, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1860-74,1909-25,vol.VII, p.231; Bernier, p.40; Manucci, I, pp.260-61; *Vir vinod*, II,p.825.

⁴ The news of defeat was carried by the state messenger Saqi and Rustam Beg. (*Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.16).

⁵ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.16.

demands fulfilled.¹ But Aurangzeb paid no heed. Shah Jahan also sent a *farman* to Aurangzeb which was also of no effect.² Thus war seemed imminent. *Hukumut rī Bahī* mentions that Shah Jahan immediately sent a *farman* to Jaswant Singh asking him to come quickly to the court.³ After receiving the *farman* Jaswant Singh proceeded towards Merta, leaving the charge of Jodhpur to Sunder Das. But when he reached Merta he was informed that Rana Raj Singh was planning to invade Ajmer, he immediately proceeded towards Ajmer. While he was at Ajmer he came to know of the defeat of Dara Shukoh at Samugarh⁴ and the coronation of Aurangzeb. Shortly afterwards he received a *farman* of Aurangzeb, in which he was asked to go to Jodhpur and wait for further instruction.⁵ The Rajasthani sources tell us that he stayed at Ajmer for some time and dispatched a contingent consisting of Rathor Sardars, under the command of Mahesh Das his former Diwan, to wait on the new Emperor.⁶ Later on he himself left Ajmer to attend Aurangzeb's court. In the meantime Kachhwaha chief Raja Jai Singh also joined Aurangzeb.⁷ When Dara Shukoh moved from Lahore towards Multan and the royal army (Aurangzeb's army) came to the bank of river Sutluj in pursuit of Dara Shukoh, Jaswant Singh through the mediation of Raja Jai Singh paid his homage to Aurangzeb in August 1658.⁸ The Emperor granted him *Parganas* of Narnol, Methal, Rohtak, Maham and Athegaro in lieu of the *Pargana* of Nagaur, Ujjain, Dipalpur and Badnor. A *khilat*, a dagger and few elephants were also given to him.⁹ He

¹ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp 16-17, Inayat Khan, p 551, Salih, III, p.287, *Jami-ul-Insha*-pp 157-58

² Inayat Khan, p 551; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp 17-18, *Insha*, pp 158-60.

³ *Hukumat-rī-Bahī*, p 250

⁴ The battle of Samugarh was fought on 8th June 1658 between Dara and Aurangzeb (for Details see, Inayat Khan, p 551, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp 24-25.

⁵ *Hukumat-rī-Bahī*, p 250, *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p 228, *Vir vinod*, II, p.826

⁶ *Hukumat-rī-Bahī*, p 250.

⁷ Inayat Khan, p 555

⁸ *Alamgirnāma*, p 183, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p 5 *Hukumat-rī-Bahī*, p.250, *M.U.II*, p 755

⁹ *Vigat*, I, pp 133-34, *Hukumat-rī-Bahī*, p 250

was ordered to proceed to Delhi where he reached in October 1658.¹ In the meantime when Aurangzeb reached Multan in pursuit of Dara Shukoh (Nov. 1658) he was informed that Shuja had rebelled and was marching rapidly towards Delhi. On receiving this news he handed over the command of operations against Dara Shukoh to Shaikh Mir and Diler Khan and himself hastened towards Delhi to take action against Shuja.² After making arrangements for the protection of the capital Aurangzeb started towards Allahabad along with Jaswant Singh to take action against Shuja.³

Although Aurangzeb had already suitably rewarded Jaswant Singh and gave him important position in the army, he was still feeling insecure in the camp.⁴ It appears that he could not completely win the confidence of the Emperor. Therefore, as Bhim Sen writes, in sheer frustration, he opened negotiation with Shuja after his arrival at Khajwa.⁵ Muazzam Khan, who came to know of this secret alliance, immediately informed the Emperor.⁶ Apprehensive of being arrested, he stopped attending the court⁷ and sent a letter to Shuja informing him of his plan to launch a night attack on the imperial army and after seriously damaging its capabilities by plundering the camps, leave for his home⁸. The proposal was favourably received by Shuja who also promised to attack the enemy simultaneously; but he also requested him to join him in his war against Aurangzeb. However, Jaswant

¹ *Alamgirnama*, p.189; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.5; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.250.

² Inayat Khan, p.556; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.36, *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.250

³ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.36-37; Inayat Khan, p.556.

⁴ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.7; *M.U.III*, pp.602-3; *Vir vinod*, II, p.826; *Alamgirnama*, p.246; Manucci, p.329

⁵ Bhimsen, *Nushkha-i-Dilkusha*, tr.J.N.Sarkar, Bombay,1972, I, p.27; *Salih*, III, pp.323-329; Both *Hukumat ri bahi* and Manucci mention that the differences arose between the two but the reasons are not given(*Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.251, Manucci, p.329).

⁶ Bhim Sen, I, p.27.

⁷ *Hukumat -ri- Bahi*, p.251; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.7

⁸ The name of envoy who went to inform Shuja of this plan was Jagidas Kushalawat (*Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.251; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.7; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.37).

Singh declined to join his army in the campaign against Aurangzeb.¹ As decided, Jaswant Singh attacked the imperial army in the dead of the night and plundered the camp of Mohammad Sultan as well as the camp of the imperial army.² The army of Aurangzeb was taken by surprise and before any counter action could be taken Jaswant Singh slipped away. Although Aurangzeb's army had suffered very heavy damage and would have not recovered had Shuja also attacked it along with Jaswant Singh. But as Shuja was not very sure of Jaswant Singh's action, he did not come out to fight, and the advantage was lost. On the other hand Aurangzeb did not get panicked, he remained cool and prepared for the battle despite the fact that almost half of his army had dispersed³. He arranged his army next morning and in the hotly contested battle fought at Khajwa (January 1659), Shuja was completely defeat and fled away⁴.

After the victory of Khajwa Aurangzeb removed Jaswant Singh as the ruler of Marwar and appointed his nephew Rai Singh in his place.⁵ Rai Singh along with Amin Khan *Mir Bakshi* was appointed to capture Jodhpur and expel Jaswant Sing who had already reached there (January 1659)⁶. Meanwhile Dara Shukoh having succeeded in getting a favourable response from Shahnawaz Khan governor of Gujrat reached Ahmedabad⁷. Here he received a false news that Aurangzeb had been defeated and captured by Shuja. He also came to know that Jaswant Singh had reached Jodhpur after

¹ Shuja agreed to the proposal and sent a message in this connection through Naved Khan, Jaswant Singh also sent Jogidas to discuss the details but declined to join his army (*Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, pp. 251-52).

² *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.7, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.37; Inayat Khan, p.557; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.25; *M.U.* III, pp.602-3

³ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.37; Inayat Khan, p.557, *M.U.I*, pp.217-218.

⁴ Inayat Khan, p.557

⁵ *Alamgirnama*, p.288; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.252

⁶ *Maasiri-i-Alamgiri*, p.9, 14, 17; *Alamgirnama*, p. 326; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, pp.251-52; Rai Singh was son of Amar Singh and a nephew of Jaswant Singh.

⁷ *Maasir-i- Alamgiri*, p.10; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.41; Shahnawaz Khan the newly appointed governor joined Dara Shukoh because he was still resentful towards the new Emperor for his having confined him at Burhanpur, before the battle of Dharmat (Inayat Khan, p.557).

the battle of Khajwa.¹ Some contemporary accounts mention that Dara Shukoh also received a letter from Jaswant Singh for a joint offense against Aurangzeb.² When Aurangzeb came to know of these developments, he personally proceeded towards Ajmer to thivert the proposed joint offense of Dara Shukoh and Jaswant Singh. He also asked Rai Singh and Amin Khan to immediately join his army. Besides that he also tried to win over Jaswant Singh. He asked Raja Jai Singh to write a letter to Jaswant Singh on his behalf promising that he will be pardoned of his past offenses and his rank will be restored if he joins imperial service and abandons Dara Shukoh.³ On receiving this message Jaswant Singh opened negotiations with Aurangzeb, and sent Asa Andholia for that purpose.⁴ *Vigat* mention that a *farman* of Aurangzeb was personally handed over to Jaswant Singh by Asa Andholia along with a letter of Jai Singh which was also handed over to him by his personal messenger Chaudhary Dungarsi.⁵

It seems that these negotiations were held secretly and Dara Shukoh was completely in dark of these developments. We find that Dara continued to press Jaswant Singh to join his army and with the hope that he will help him, he proceeded towards Ajmer.⁶ On reaching Merta he was accorded a warm welcome by a number of Rajputs including Nainsi. However, Jaswant Singh who had already changed sides, did not respond to any of his letters. Ultimately Dara Shukoh sent his son Siphar Shukoh to the Raja to remind him of his promises and urged him to help him in his fight against

¹ Inayat Khan, p. 557; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p. 41; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.252; M.U. II, pp.672-674.

² *Waqiat-i- Alamgiri*, pp.41-42; *Maasir-i- Alamgiri*, p.10, 18; Inayat Khan, p.557, Tirmizi, p.138. s.no. 412; Jaswant Singh sent this letter through Nahar Khan Rajput (*Alamgirnama*, pp.300-1; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* pp.41-42.)

³ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.10.; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.41-42; Inayat Khan, p.557; M.U., III, pp.602-3; Manucci, I, p.339.

⁴ *Vigat*, I, p.136; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.252.

⁵ *Vigat*, I, p.136; *Alamgirnama*, p.370; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.42; Bernier, p.86; Manucci, I, pp.339-40; *Virvinod*, II, p.827.

⁶ Dara sent his messenger Duni Chand to the Maharaja to join him (*Alamgirnama*, pp.309-311; Inayat Khan, p. 557 *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p. 42; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.10; Bernier. p. 86.

Aurangzeb. Jaswant Singh remained unmoved.¹ A large number of Rajputs who have joined Dara Shukoh on his arrival at Ajmer went back to their homes as soon as they came to know that Jaswant Singh had gone over to Aurangzeb. Consequently he had to fight Aurangzeb alone at Deorahi near Ajmer (23 March 1659), where he was again defeated.²

As promised Jaswant Singh was not only pardoned but restored to his previous rank. He was also given the title of Maharaja and at the recommendation of Raja Jai Singh appointed governor of Gujrat. All the *Parganas* of Marwar which he held earlier were also assigned to him.³

The peculiar attitude adopted by Jaswant Singh during the entire period of War of Succession needs an explanation. From the account given above it is evident that Jaswant Singh was the most favoured Rajput noble of Shah Jahan's reign. Shah Jahan personally liked him and had great confidence in his abilities. But after the defeat of Dharmat Jaswant Singh left for Jodhpur without seeking the permission of the Emperor and also did not inform him about the outcome of the war. His attitude thereafter remained vacillating, trying to establish contact with both Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb. On the basis of the contemporary evidence we are unable to know as to why such an attitude was adopted by him. Being a high noble of Shah Jahan, in normal circumstances, he should have sided with him who had by then completely recovered from his illness. But from the evidence presented above it appears that Jaswant Singh after Dharmat was more concerned about his own future rather than with the future of the princes. Therefore, he took sides of the prince whom he thought will ultimately succeed. We have seen that after his defeat at Dharmat he came to Jodhpur and kept on waiting for the final outcome of the war between Dara Shukoh

¹ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.42; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.252; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.10; Inayat Khan, p.557

² For details of the battle see, *waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.42-45; Inayat Khan, pp.557-58.

³ *Alamgirnama*, pp.331-32, 346; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.17, 25; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.45; *M.U.*, III, p.603; *Vir vinod*, II, p.827.

and Aurangzeb. He moved out of Jodhpur only after receiving a *farman* from Shah Jahan, but when he came to know that Dara Shukoh had lost the battle at Samugarh, he became cool towards him and at the first opportunity joined Aurangzeb. However, his attitude changed once again when he realized that Aurangzeb was not so favourable towards him; he negotiated with Shuja and created very serious situation for Aurangzeb. But after the defeat of Shuja he tried to help Dara Shukoh, who had reached Gujarat to offer strong resistance against Aurangzeb. However, when he was approached by Aurangzeb with a promise of rank he dumped Dara also. But it is important to note that on both the occasions he refused to join the princes in the military operations.

From the above it becomes quite clear that Jaswant Singh was not favourably inclined towards any of the princes. Whatever attachment he had was with Shah Jahan and it seems he realized that in the succession war Shah Jahan had been completely isolated and one of his sons was ultimately going to succeed. Therefore, he moved with caution and took his time to finally join the services of Aurangzeb with complete honours that he thought he deserved. We see that before the battle of Deorahi he was confirmed to his previous rank, and also appointed ruler of Marwar.

A close look to the account of the career of Jaswant Singh discussed in the foregoing pages clearly show that he hardly made any significant contribution either as a military commander or as an administrator of a *Suba* to merit such rapid and high promotion in rank and status (Maharaja). He was appointed governor only on two occasions. In 1645 he was made temporary governor of Agra and thereafter in the closing years of Shah Jahan's reign when the war of succession started he was appointed governor of Malwa. He was also never appointed to any important central office. Not only that, he was never appointed to lead an independent military campaign during the entire period of Shah Jahan's reign, although he held the rank of

7000/7000 (5000x2-3h). In the two important military campaigns too his contribution was far from satisfactory.

Therefore, the only reason for his rapid promotion could be attributed to his close personal relation with the Emperor. As mentioned earlier Emperor Shah Jahan was born to Manmati / Jagat Gosain a sister of Suraj Singh and daughter of Mota Raja udai Singh. If we study the history of other Rajput chiefs vis a vis with the Mughal rulers we will find that Akbar specially favoured Kachhwahas and Jahangir gave undue favours of Birsingh Deo Bundela because of personal relation. The other important Rajput chieftaincy of Mewar had defied Akbar but Jahangir, conciliated them by offering liberal terms and giving Kr. Karan very rank. Besides that Marwar was one of the three most prominent state of Rajputana.

The account of Marwar house discussed above makes it abundantly clear that Emperor Shah Jahan was extremely favourable towards them. Not only Raja Gaj Singh and Jaswant Singh were given important position in the crucial campaign immediately after his accession, several other Rathors of Marwar house were also admitted in service and rose to higher ranks. Prominent among them were Mahesh Das Rathor son of Dalpat Rathor a newphew of Raja Suraj Singh, Hari Singh Rathor son of Raja Kishan Singh Rathor, Rup Singh Rathor nephew of Hari Singh, Ram Singh Rathor, Prithvi Raj Rathor and Karamsi Rather. Besides that several other Rathors were also admitted in service during this period.¹

In the course of our discussion we have referred to several other Rathors who were admitted in imperial service. A brief account of there career at the Mughal court is given below to understand more clearly the policy of Mughal rulers towards them.

Mahesh Das son of Dalpat Rathor started his career in the personal service of Mahabat Khan.² After Mahabat Khan's death in 1634 he was

¹ See Appendix B-3 for details of their *mansabs* and appointments.

² *M.U.* II, pp.179-83

admitted in imperial service and given a small *mansab* of 500/400.¹ After joining the imperial service he served in various expeditions against Jujhar Singh Bundila, Qandhar and Balkh-Badakhshan campaigns under Prince Dara Shukoh, Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh. At the time of his death in 1647 he held the rank of 4000/4000.² During this short period of his service (13 years) his *mansab* was increased from 500/400 to 4000/4000.³ After his death in 1647 his eldest son Ratan who was already in services and held the *mansab* of 400/200⁴ was promoted to the rank of 1500/1500⁵ and Mahesh Das's brother Jaswant singh was also assigned the *mansab* of 500/250⁶. Ratan like his father was also deputed to serve in different campaign of Shah Jahan's reign (i.e. Qandhar, Balkh-Badakhshan, Chittor, and Deccan) and rose to the rank 2000/2000.⁷ He was killed in the battle of Dharmat (April 1656) against Aurangzeb.⁸

In our sources we also get reference of several other prominent Rathors namely Bhim, Prithvi Raj and Jagmal who were admitted to imperial services. Bhim and Prithvi Raj Rathor were in the personal service of Shah Jahan since the time of his princehood and served him in various expedition. During his rebellion also they remained loyal to him⁹.

After the accession Bhim was taken into imperial service. He performed meritorious service in various expeditions until his death (1647). At the time of his death he held the rank of 1500/1100.¹⁰ Prithvi Raj Rathor was also assigned the rank of 1500/600 after Shah Jahan accession.¹¹ He was

¹ Lahori, Ib, p.9, 68, 313; *M.U.*, III, pp.445-46

² Lahori, II, p.294, 554; *M.U.*, III, pp.445-46

³ Ibid

⁴ *M.U.*, III, pp.445-46

⁵ Lahori, II, p.635, 729; *M.U.* III, pp.445-46

⁶ Lahori, II, p. 748

⁷ Salih, III, p. 262

⁸ Salih, III, p. 458

⁹ Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The rise of Rathor family of Marwar under Shahjahan', *Islamic Culture*, No.1, 1981, pp.22-24

¹⁰ Lahori, II, p.730

¹¹ Lahori, Ia, p.186

closely attached to the Emperor and was deputed to serve in almost all the important campaigns. In the campaign against Khan-i-Jahan he showed rare feats of valour.¹ He was seriously injured in hand to hand fight with Khan-i-Jahan lodi and was sent back to Agra for treatment.² He was raised to the rank of 2000/800 and after recovery sent to serve in several other military campaigns.³ In 1644 he was made in charge of the fort of Daulatabad⁴ and in 1646 of the fort of Agra⁵. At the time of his death (1656) he held the rank of 2000/2000.⁶ After his death his brother Ram Singh and sons Kesri Singh and Jagat Singh were admitted in imperial service and awarded the ranks of 500/200,⁷ 600/200⁸ and 700/300⁹ respectively.

Jagmal son of Kishan Singh Rathor, the Younger brother of Raja Suraj Singh Rathor was also admitted in imperial service and given the *mansab* of 1500/800.¹⁰ However, he was killed in 1628 in the battle fought against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. As his son apparently was a minor his brother Hari Singh was admitted in service. He was assigned the rank of 1000/600 and the Gaddi of Kishangarh was also conferred on him.¹¹ Hari Singh remained loyal to the Emperor and was raised to the rank of 1500/900.¹² After his death in 1644 he was succeeded by his nephew Rup Singh Rathor (son of Jagmal).¹³ The Emperor awarded him the rank of 1000/700 and the *Jagir* of Kishangarh was also assigned.¹⁴ He served in Qandhar, Balkh-

¹ Lahori, Ia, p.277

² Lahori, Ia, p.278

³ Lahori Ia, p.280; Waris.a, pp.166-69, 202-5, 273-75

⁴ Lahori, II, p.377, 417; Waris,a, pp.279-80

⁵ Lahori, II, p.510

⁶ Lahori, II, p.726, Waris,a, pp.262,364-65

⁷ Waris, b, p. 218

⁸ Ibid, p. 215

⁹ Waris, a, p.267

¹⁰ Lahori, Ib, p.306. But *Umrai Hunood* mentions that he was a *mansabdar* of 1500/700 (*U.H.* p.287)

¹¹ Lahori, Ib, p.23, 308, 421

¹² Lahori, II, pp.101-2, 226, 301, 731

¹³ Lahori, II, p.373. He was grandson of Kishan Singh Rathor, the Younger brother of Raja Suraj Singh.

¹⁴ Lahori, II, p.399; Salih, III, pp.268-69

Badakhshan and Chittor campaign and received rapid promotions.¹ In the war of succession he was on Dara's side and was killed in the battle of Samugarh.² At the time of his death he held the rank of 4000/3000.³

Karamsi Rathor son of Rao Chandrasen was also promoted to the rank of 1500/800 after Shah Jahan's accession.⁴ He was killed in the battle fought against rebel Khan-i-Jahan Lodi in 1630. His sons Shyam Singh, Jagannath, Ram Singh, Mohan Singh, Nand Ram, Hansa Ram and Har Ram were taken into imperial service and given small *mansabs* of 600/400,⁵ 700/300,⁶ 1000/600,⁷ 250/80,⁸ 300/100,⁹ 300/100,¹⁰ and 400/150¹¹ respectively.

Shyam Singh Rathor was appointed *Qiledar* of Sahar in 1644¹² and *Faujdar* of Baklava in 1647.¹³ At the time of his death in 1650 he held the rank of 1500/600.¹⁴ Ram Singh another son of Karamsi Rathor was also given important position at the court. He was raised to the rank of 3000/1500 and deputed to serve in Balkh-Badakshan and Qandhar campaigns.¹⁵ In the battle of Samugarh where he was killed, he was on Dara's side.¹⁶

¹ Salih, III, p.157,269; Lahori, II, p.727; Waris,a, pp.202-5

² *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.24-25; *M.U.*, II, p.268

³ Waris a, p.198; *M.U.*, II, p.268

⁴ Lahori, Ib, p.306. under Jahangir his *mansab* was 1000/300. (*Tuzuk*-p.143)

⁵ Lahori,Ib, p. 319

⁶ Ibid, p. 317

⁷ Lahori, II, p.198; *M.U.*II, p.266

⁸ Athar Alai, *Apparratus*, p.159

⁹ Ibid, p.134

¹⁰ Ibid, p.159

¹¹ Ibid, p.162

¹² Waris, a, p.13

¹³ Waris, b, p.263

¹⁴ Lahori, II, p.731; Waris,b, p.263

¹⁵ Lahori,II, p.198; Waris-b, p.260; *M.U.*II, pp.266-67

¹⁶ *Alamgirnama*, p.102.

CHAPTER-III

THE HADAS OF BUNDI

Hadoti is situated in the South Eastern part of the *Suba* of Ajmer. It comprised of the principalities of Kotah and Bundi and was ruled by Chauhan dynasty. It was surrounded by several powerful neighbours, such as the Afghan Sultan of Agra and the Khaljis of Malwa who held sway over Ajmer and Tonk in the North-West and Sisodias and Kachhwahas ruled over Mewar and Amber in the South-West and North-East respectively.¹

The state derived its name from Bunda Mina the founder of the Kingdom. But the Hadas really came to enjoy important position only after Rao Surjan Hada, succeeded to the throne in 1554.² At the time of his accession, however the authority of Rao Surjan perhaps did not extend beyond Bundi, because Kota and its neighbouring *Parganas* were held by two Afghan chiefs Qaisar Khan and Dakar Khan, while Barod and Siwali were under the control of Raimal, the Khichhi chief of Mau.³ Shortly after his accession Rao Surjan captured Kota from the Afghans and forced Raimal Khichhi of Mau to accept his overlordship.⁴ About the same time, Rao Surjan purchased Ranthambore from Jujhar Khan Afghan who held it on behalf of Salim Shah the Afghan ruler of Agra.⁵ He also forcibly seized a number of villages around the fort of Ranthambore.⁶

¹ *M.U.* II, p.113; *Tod*, III, p.1467

² *Nainsi Khyat*, I, p.60, 109-10, 127; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.107-11

³ Surya Mal Mishran, *Vamsh Bhaskar*, 8 Vols. Bundi, 1899, Vol. III, pp. 2237-39.

⁴ A.R. Khan, p.105; M.L. Sharma, *Kota Rajya Ka Itihas*, 2 Vo. I, Kotah, 1939, Vol. I, p.81

⁵ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.87-88; The Rajasthani sources mention that the fort of Ranthambore was conferred upon Rao Surjan by Rana Udai Singh. This must have been after Surjan had purchased the fort from Jujhar Khan (*Nainsi Khyat*, I, pp.60, 91-98, 111; *Vir vinod*, II, p.108)

⁶ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.87-88; *Khyat*, I, p.243

After taking possession of Ranthambhore, Rao Surjan became quite powerful. Abul Fazl in *Akbarnama* specifically mentions that “Ranthambhore was one of the prominent fort of Hindustan and distinct for its loftiness and strength”¹ Being close to Agra, Rao Surjan’s expansionist policy specially the occupation of Ranthambhore must have been viewed with concern by the Mughal authorities, because the Mughals themselves wanted to have control over this fort for their expansion in the region of Malwa and Rajasthan. Although Rao Surjan had become quite powerful as a result of recent acquisition of territories and the fort of Ranthambhore as mentioned above,² but he remained a vassal of the Sisodias of Mewar.

Rao Surjan’s accession in 1554 coincides with a period of confusion in Agra and it seems that his successes were the result of those unsettled conditions. However, after the re-conquest of India by Humayun in 1555 and accession of Akbar (1556), the situation changed and some measure of stability was restored at Agra and Delhi. But really significant developments took place only after 1560 when Akbar took the reins of government in his own hands.

The first campaign against Rao Surjan to conquer Ranthambhore was sent in 1560 under the command of Habib Khan but the campaign had to be abandoned because of the revolt of Bairam Khan.³ In 1561 when Akbar proceeded towards Malwa and passed near Ranthambhore, Rao Surjan sent suitable *Peshkash* and offer of submission through his officials.⁴ But the Emperor insisted on his personal presence and apparently no settlement could be reached. For the next five or six years we have no reference of any imperial contact with Rao Surjan. We know that during all these years, Akbar was faced

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, pp 87-88, *Khyat*, I, p 243, *Ain*, II, pp 91-93

² However some regions remained under the control of the Chauhans, the Khichhi and other local chiefs (*Vir vinod*, II, p 108)

³ *Akbarnama*, II, pp 87-88

⁴ *Akbarnama*, II, p 140

with the rebellion of his nobles and could hardly move in any other direction.¹ But soon after the suppression of the rebellion the emperor decided to conquer the forts of Ranthambhore and Chittor and proceeded at the head of a large army towards that region in 1568. As soon as the army reached near the vicinity of the fort of Ranthambhore and even before the arrival of the Emperor, the commanders of Rao Surjan who himself at that time was not present in the fort, were frightened and fled away without offering any resistance. The fort was captured and the Emperor assigned it to Nazr Bahadur.² From there the imperial armies marched towards the town of Kota which was also captured without any resistance.³ But after the departure of the imperial army the Mughal commanders of these forts failed to maintain their position and Rao Surjan was able to recover both the forts in a short time.⁴

After the conquest of Chittor in 1568, the Emperor again proceeded towards Ranthambhore.⁵ As Rao Surjan refused to offer his submission, the fort was put to siege. Within a month, the besieged were faced with shortage of food and fodder because they failed to get any help from the Rana of Mewar.⁶ After a discussion with his courtiers, Surjan came to the conclusion that with the small army that he had at his commands, it would not be possible to defend the fort any further. Hence, it was decided to despatch Duda and Bhoj his sons alongwith some of the prominent *Zamindars* of the area to sue for peace.⁷ Abul Fazl writes that with the help of some high officials of the court, Duda and Bhoj

¹ From 1562 to 1567-8 the Empire was faced with successive rebellion of his own nobles; the rebels read *Khutba* in the name of Mirza Hakim and invited him to lead the campaign against Akbar. The revolts, however, were suppressed in 1567. For details see Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Political Biography of a Mughal noble Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1973, pp.56-74

² *Akbarnama*, II, p.303

³ Kota was assigned to Shah Mohammad Qandhari (*Akbarnama*, II, p.303)

⁴ A.R. Khan, p.106.

⁵ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.323-27, 334-35

⁶ *Nainsi Khyat*, I, pp.56-57.

⁷ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.334-37; Z. *Khawanin*, p.229; *Ain*, I, p.449.

were able to present themselves before the Emperor.¹ Nainsi however, clearly mention that Surjan Hada surrendered the fort on the mediation of Raja Bhagwant Das.² On their arrival, Bhoj and Duda were received with favours and on their request Surjan was also pardoned. Shortly afterwards the sons were allowed to return to their father who was present in the fort. We have no details of the discussion that may have taken place at the court between the sons of Surjan and the Emperor. Abul Fazl however, tells us that Rao Surjan requested the Emperor that some high nobles of the court be sent to him to escort him to the presence. The Emperor exceeded to his request and dispatched Husain Quli Khan to bring him to court.³ The following day, Rao Surjan came to court along with Husain Quli and presented himself before the Emperor and offered valuable *peshkash*, alongwith the key of the fort and promised to vacate it within few days.⁴ Afterwards the Emperor appointed Mehtar Khan as incharge of the fort.⁵

Hadas like the Kachhwahas were also offered very liberal terms. They were not asked to inter into matrimonial relation with the Emperor.⁶ As a matter of fact establishing matrimonial relation with the Emperor or imperial family was not part of Kachhwaha-Mughal alliance too. The proposal of marriage had come from the side of Bharamal before he accepted the subordination of Akbar. With the surrender of the fort of Ranthambhore to the Mughal imperial authority the long standing relation of the Hadas with the Mewar came to an end and marked the beginning of a new political relationship. The Hada chiefs became vassal of the Mughal Empire and having accepted a *mansab* he formally joined imperial service. He loyally served the Emperor until his death.

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.337-38; *Nainsi Khyat*, I, pp.111-112

² *Nainsi Khyat*, I, p.111

³ *Akbarnama*, II, p.338

⁴ *Ibid*, pp.338-39

⁵ *Akbarnama*, II, p.338; *Z. Khawanin*, p.229

⁶ *Ain*, I, p.510

The state of Bundi territorially was very small. *Nainsi* tells us that the Raj of the Hada chief extended over an area of only 720 villages.¹ After the submission as mentioned above, Ranthambhore was taken over by the Mughals and assigned to Mehtar Khan but all the territories held by Hadas were restored to them and Duda and Bhoj were admitted in imperial service.² But one may question as to why Ranthambhore was taken away and in this manner an exception was made in the case of Hadas. It seems Ranthambhore was not restored to them because it does not form part of their ancestral holdings and was purchased quite recently from the Afghans. Besides that it was held on behalf of the Rana of Mewar and therefore, the Hadas have no claim of retaining Ranthambhore. On the contrary, at the time of submission, the Emperor assigned him in addition to his ancestral holdings four *parganas* of Chunar in *Jagir*³ and later on Garh-Katanga was also added in his *Jagir* which he continued to hold till 1576.⁴ In 1576 besides Chunar seven *parganas* including Varanasi were granted to him in place of Garh-Katanga which was transferred to Sadiq Khan.⁵

Soon after the submission, Rao Surjan was appointed to subdue the Gond Raja of Malwa.⁶ The Raja was defeated and his capital Barigarh was also conquered.⁷ In 1573 Bhoj son of Surjan accompanied Raja Man Singh in the campaign of Bagar (Dungarpur and Banswara).⁸ Duda and Bhoj were also sent to conquer the fort of Surat under the command of Raja Todarmal.⁹ The local

¹ *Nainsi Khyat*, I, pp.111-12

² *Akbarnama*, II, pp. 338-39; *Vir vinod* II, p. 86

³ *Nainsi Khyat*, I, cited by A.R. Khan, p.106

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, p. 158; *Khyat*, I, pp. 98-99, III; *M.U.* II, p.114; *Ain*, I, pp.449-50

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, p. 223. However Surya Mal writes that Akbar was greatly pleased with the success of Rao Surjan. He was raised to the rank of 5000/ 5000 and 26 *parganas* in Banaras were assigned to him (*Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, p. 2284)

⁶ *Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, pp. 2284-85; M.L.Sharma, I, p. 81

⁷ *Tod*, II, p.384; *Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, pp.2284-85

⁸ *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 33-34

⁹ *Tod*, II, p. 384

sources tell us that Surjan became extremely unpopular in Rajasthan especially in Mewar and Hadaoti region after the surrender of Ranthambhore to Akbar without offering any resistance. Therefore, in disgust, he went to Kashi (Banaras) and settled there after handing over the administration of his Kingdom in the hands of his son Duda.¹ But *Vir Vinod* and some other local sources are of the view that Duda was also unhappy with his father for joining Mughal service.² Hence after getting the charge of the government in his hands, he established very close and cordial relations with the Rana of Mewar. According to *Nainsi* this was strongly resented by Bhoj. Rao Surjan too became unhappy with these actions of Duda and decided to dismiss him.³ Having come to know of these developments, Duda left the court and proceeded towards Bundi without taking permission of the imperial government. Soon after reaching there he took control of the fort of Bundi and started making arrangement to defend it. The Emperor immediately despatched an army under Safdar Khan, Bahadur Khan, Mohammad Husain and Jaimal to punish Duda.⁴ But it seems that the campaign was not successful and therefore, on 30 March, 1577 the Emperor sent another army under the command of Zain Khan Kokaltash accompanied by Rao Surjan, Ramchand and Bhoj, which completely defeated Duda and forced him to flee the fort. Bundi was now made over to Bhoj.⁵ After the conquest of Bundi, Rao Surjan came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. It seems that about this time he was promoted to the *mansab* of 2000.⁶

However, Duda still had some territory of the Hadas under his command and with the help of the Rana of Mewar continued to create trouble. Zain Khan

¹ Tod, II, p.384; M.L.Sharma I, p.82

² *Khyat*, I, pp.100, 266-72; *Vir vinod*, II, p.108, 115

³ *Khyat*, I, pp.112, 266-72; *Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, pp.2324-48

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, p.184; *Khyat*, I, p.268; *M.U.* II, pp.114-15

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.201-203

⁶ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.202-3; *M.U.*, II, pp.114-16

who stayed there to establish peace in the region launched repeated attack on his stronghold and ultimately succeeded in forcing him to leave Hadoti. From Hadaoti he proceeded towards Mewar and joined Rana's service and with his help again started harassing the Mughal army which was posted in Bundi.¹ But the imperial army inflicted crushing defeat on him and Bhoj was appointed to look after the administration of Bundi in the absence of Rao Surjan his father.²

Having lost all hopes of any success in 1579 Duda met Shahbaz Khan Kambhu at Ajmer and requested him to intercede on his behalf to get the favour of the Emperor.³ Shahbaz Khan Kambhu agreed to his pleadings and on his request the Emperor not only condoned him of his crimes but also re-admitted him in imperial service and deputed to serve in the Punjab.⁴ But shortly afterwards he fled from there and once again made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Bundi.⁵ The sources hardly mention the cause of his rebellion, but it seems he was not granted *rank* and position to his satisfaction. Besides, the charge of Bundi was also not given to him.⁶ Eventually Duda died in Sep. 1585 at Malwa, on his way to Bijapur where he was going to seek help from the Adil Shahi ruler.⁷

Rao Surjan was attached with the Mughal campaign in Bihar (1580) under the command of Rao Todarmal and Farid Bhakhari.⁸ He was also sent to Kabul under Man Singh in 1581 to suppress Mirza Hakim's rebellion.⁹ In 1583

¹ *Iqbalnama*, p.308

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.203

³ Shahbaz Khan was posted at Ajmer to deal with Rana Pratap. (*Akbarnama*, III, pp. 246-47; *M.U.*, II, p.116)

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.246-47; *M.U.*, II, p.116; But there is no mention of his *rank* or the office that was assigned to him

⁵ *M.U.*, II, p.116; *Ain I*, p. 450

⁶ Abul Fazl writes that he was received with princely favour but is silent about the post and mansab granted to him (*Akbarnama*, III, p.246)

⁷ *Akbarnama*, III, p.268; *Vir vinod*, II, p.111

⁸ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.287, 306-8

⁹ *Ibid*, pp.353-54

he was appointed with Zain Khan to crush the revolt in Bengal. However, before the army moved out of the capital the news of the victory arrived and the campaign was abandoned.¹ He was sent back to Banaras where he died in 1585.²

Bhoj, who was already managing the affairs of Bundi on his father's behalf, was formally made ruler of Bundi.³ Rao Bhoj for a long time was included in the contingent of Man Singh and did brave deeds in the battle against the Afghans of Orissa (1591).⁴ Afterwards, he was appointed to serve in the Deccan under Abul Fazl and Prince Daniyal.⁵ He also served in the conquest of Ahmadnagar in 1600. Akbar was so much pleased with his efforts in the battle of Ahmadnagar that after its conquest one of the Burj (bastion) of the fort was named as Bhoj Burj.⁶ He was also raised to the rank of 1000/1000.⁷ Rao Bhoj returned to the court after the death of Daniyal in 1604.

However, during the reign of Akbar, the Hadas were neither able to get a higher rank nor an important office at the court. Apparently it was because of family feud and hostile attitude of certain members of the family towards Mughal authority. Besides that it is also very surprising that why Rao Surjan lived in Kashi and the charge of Bundi in the first instance was given to Duda and thereafter to Bhoj while the Chiefship of the Hadas remained with him until his death in 1585. The suggestion that Rao Surjan came to live at Kashi because he became unpopular in the Hadaoti region due to the surrender of Ranthambore to the Mughals without offering any resistance is not very convincing.

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.399-400

² Tod, II, p.384

³ *Ain*, I, p.510; *Umra-i- Hunood*, p.95

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.610-12; *M.U.*, I, pp. 141-42

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.646-47; *M.U.*, I, pp.141-42; *Ain*, I, p.510

⁶ Tod, II, p.384; M.L.Sharma, p.85

⁷ *M.U.*, I, p.142; *Z.Khawanin*, p.234; According to Abul Fazl's list given in *Ain* Bhoj was a rank holder of 900. (*Ain*, I, p.162)

During the period of accession crisis Rao Bhoj was present at the court and was closely associated with Man Singh under whom he had been serving since long. But due to his minor position in official highrarchy the Persian chronicles have not mentioned anything about his role in the crisis. Apparently he was on the side of Man Singh and thus a supporter of Khusrau and probably because of that soon after the collapse of the conspiracy and the accession of Jahangir, he fled from the court and took shelter at his *watan*. He was so apprehensive of action against him that he did not come to the court to offer submission to the new monarch which was customary and remained at Bundi. Unfortunately his relations with the Emperor were further strained because of his opposition to Jahangir's proposal of marriage with Jagat Singh's daughter.¹ Jahangir got so angry with him that he decided to punish him after returning from Kabul. But before Jahangir could return to the capital Bhoj suddenly died in the same year.²

Rao was survived by three sons namely Rao Ratan, Narayan Das and Keshav Das. (We have discussed briefly their career at the end of our discussion on Jahangir's reign.) Rao Ratan who had been nominated as his heir, succeeded to the *gaddi*. Although Jahangir was unhappy with Rao Ratan also because of his father's faults, but in 1608, when he presented himself at the court, he was not only recognised as the ruler of Bundi but also styled as *Sarbuland Rai* because of his pleasing manners.³

¹ Jagat Singh was eldest son of Man sing and Rao Bhoj was maternal grandfather of the lady. However the marriage took place on 18 June 1608. (*Tuzuk*, pp.68-69; *M.U.*, I, p.142)

² *M.U.* I, p.142; *Vir vinod*, II, p.111, But Blochmann writes that he committed suicide. (*Ain*, I, p.510) Kavi Raj Shyamal Das however, mentions that he had four sons namely Ratan, Hirday Narayan, Keshav Das and Manohar (*Vir vinod*, II, p.111)

³ Rao Ratan also presented some valuable gifts and an elephant which the Emperor named as Ratan Gang. (*Tuzuk*, p.66; *M.U.*, II, pp. 208-9)

We have no record of his activities until 1614, when he was deputed to serve under prince Khurram against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar.¹ Although Hadas were feudatory chiefs of Mewar and also had very close relation with them, but now being in the service of the Mughals, Rao Ratan performed valuable service in the campaign.² After the completion of Mewar campaign he was allowed to visit his *watan*. But shortly afterwards he was recalled and dispatched to the Deccan to serve under Khurram.³ At that time of departure his *mansab* was increased to 2000/ 1500.⁴ After making a settlement with Malik Ambar, Khurram return to the court but Rao Ratan was left there to assist imperial forces.⁵ After the departure of Khurram, Malik Ambar regrouped his forces and started making efforts to reoccupy all those areas which were handed over to Mughals. Initially Rao Ratan was able to check the onslaught of Malik Ambar and in reward for the service received the promotion of 2500/1500.⁶ However, Malik Ambar soon got an upperhand and forced the imperialist to leave Balaghat and retreat to Burhanpur.⁷ Express messages were sent by Rao Ratan and other important commanders for reinforcement so that the situation could be retrieved. The Emperor therefore re-appointed Prince Khurram in 1620 who after reaching there once again compelled Malik Ambar to sue for peace.⁸ In this campaign Rao Ratan also served with distinction.

¹ *M.U.*, II, pp.208-9

² The *Tuzuk* mentions that at the time of his departure to the Deccan (in 1616) Rao Ratan was given dress of honour and his *mansab* was increased by 500 Zat and 260 sawars, which raised his rank to 2000/1500. This would mean that he already held the *mansab* of 1500/1240, which apparently he was granted either in 1608 when he received the title of Sarbuland Ray or after Mewar expedition. (*Tuzuk*, p.143,47)

³ *Tuzuk*, p.143,164,166; *M.U.*, II, pp.208-9

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p. 147

⁵ *Ibid*, p.201

⁶ *Ibid*, p.272

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp.305, 321-22; *Iqbalnama*, pp.160-61

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.322

While Khurram was still in the Deccan the Persians launched an attack on Qandhar and the reports clearly indicated that the fort might fall any moment because of lack of personale and provision. The Emperor ordered Khurram to take charge of the Qandhar campaign immediately but the Prince due to certain adverse circumstances as are well known refused to proceed to Qandhar and openly rebelled.¹ The Emperor now summoned to court nobles who were in the Deccan, serving under Khurram. Although several nobles preferred to remain with the Prince but Rao Ratan immediatly proceeded towards the court and reached Delhi before the battle of Bilochpur and joined imperial forces and fought against the rebels.² After the defeat and flight of the rebels he was deputed to serve under Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan who were dispatched to pursue Khurram. Rao Ratan along with his sons Madho Singh and Hari Singh and brother Hirday Narayan accompanied Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan in hotly pursuing the rebels.³ After suffering successive defeats in Malwa and Gujarat and dissertion of some important nobles from his camp, Khurram through Rao Ratan Hada opened negotiations with Mahabat Khan.⁴ But the negotiations failed and Khurram was forced to cross Tapti and proceeded towards Orissa and Bengal.⁵

After the departure of the rebels, Mahabat Khan started making arrangements for the settlements of the Deccan affairs. But in the meantime situation in the east become so alarming that the Emperor issued a *farman* ordering Parwez and Mahabat Khan to immediately proceed towards Bengal to check the advance of the rebels.⁶ On receiving this order, Mahabat Khan

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.351-52

² For details see, *Tuzuk*, pp.357-60; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.59; For further detail of the battle of Bilochpur see, Afzal Husain, pp.156-57

³ For details see *Tuzuk*, pp.361-66,371-73; *Iqbalnama*, pp.206-12; *M.U.*, II, pp.208-9; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.72; Tod, II, p.385

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.371; Afzal Husain, p.172

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.373-74; *Z.Khawanin*, pp.50-51, 118

⁶ *Tuzuk*, pp.380-81; *Z. Khawanin*, pp.119

appointed Rao Ratan Hada (Sarbuland Rai) to take charge of the Deccan and he himself proceeded to the north alongwith Parwez.¹ About the same time Hirday Narayan the brother of Rao Ratan was also ordered to proceed towards Allahabad to check the movement of the rebels. A battle was fought between the rebels and the imperial army at Jhusi in which the rebels were completely defeated, but Hirday Narayan fled from the battlefield. Jahangir was greatly displeased with the cowardly attitude of Hirday Naraayan and removed him from the *Jagir* of Kota and assigned it to Madho Singh Hada son of Rao Ratan Hada.²

The appointment of Rao Ratan to look after the affairs of Mughal Deccan independently at that point of time was of great significance because, in the entire period of Jahangir, no other Rajput noble was given such an important assignment. Rao Ratan discharged his duties with great courage and determination during the absence of Perwez and Mahabat Khan. But despite his best efforts in the given situation, Malik Ambar regained his privileged position in the Deccan and successfully crushed the combined forces of the Adil Shahis and the Mughals at Bhatodi.³ He occupied the whole of Balaghat and laid siege to Ahmadnagar and Burhanpur. The situation worsened with the arrival of Khurram.⁴ Hence Jahangir issued a *farman* to Parwez and Mahabat Khan to proceed immediately to the relief of the Mughal forces in the Deccan.⁵

In the meantime Rao Ratan Hada who was besieged in Burhanpur decided to come out of the city and launch an offensive on the enemy.⁶ He got a deep ditch dug and a strong fortification built around the city with the help of the inhabitants. He further strengthen his position by giving temporary *mansabs*

¹ *Iqbalnama*, pp. 224-28, 235; *Z. Khawanin*, p.121

² *Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, p.2496; *Khafi Khan*, I, pp.346-56

³ *Z. Khawanin*, pp.125-30; *Iqbalnama*, pp.235-38; Afzal Husain, p.174

⁴ *Z. Khawanin*, pp.125-30; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.71; *Iqbalnama*, pp.235-38

⁵ *Iqbalnama*, p.239; *Z. Khawanin*, p.130

⁶ *M.U.*, II, pp.208-9

(*Tajwizi mansab*) to many residents of the city and gathered a large force to oppose the rebels.¹ When this news reached the Emperor, he ordered Sarbuland Rai not to give a battle to the rebels till the arrival of reinforcement but continue to make efforts to protect the city.² While Rao Ratan was busy in making preparation to defend the city Khurram alongwith Yaqut Khan and the army of Malik Ambar made desperate attempts to capture Burhanpur.³ After reaching at Lal Bagh, Khurram divided his army into two divisions, placing one under Abdullah Khan and the other under Muhammad Taqi.⁴ Rao Ratan Hada also took immediate step to defend his position; he himself came forward to oppose Abdullah Khan and dispatched his son against Muhammad Taqi.⁵ Both of them defended their position so skillfully that the assaults made on the town by the enemy were repulsed. Rao Ratan Hada on one occasion came out of the fort and made such furious onslaught on Abdullah Khan that his forces started fleeing the battle field and only the timely arrival of Khurram saved him from complete defeat.⁶ The enemy regrouped and made yet another determined attack on the fort but Rao Ratan again repulsed their attack despite shortage of army and equipment.⁷

While Rao Ratan was busy in confronting Abdullah Khan the other division of the enemy under the command of Muhammad Taqi succeeded in entering the fort. Rao Ratan immediately sent his son to check further advance of Muhammad Taqi.⁸ Abdullah Khan who had failed to make any head way because of Rao Ratan's determined opposition joined Muhammad Taqi to capture Burhanpur. Rao Ratan did not loose heart despite coming to know that

¹ Z. Khawanin, pp.130-31, 295. See also *Dutch Chronicle*, p.72

² M.U., II, p.209; *Iqbalnama*, pp.239-40; Z.Khawanin, pp.195-96

³ Z. Khawanin, p.130

⁴ Mahamad Taqi also known as Shah Quli Khan (M.U., II, p.209)

⁵ Z. Khawanin, pp.295-96; M.U., II, p.209

⁶ *Dutch Chronicle*, p.72

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Z. Khawanin, p.296; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.72; M.U., II, pp.209-10

his son had fled from the battle field and rushed out to defend the fort. To check the advance of the enemy he set to fire the gate of the castle and without waiting for reinforcement he pushed forward his elephant named Jag Jot and to boost the morale of his forces raised the war cry of “*Marshan*” (meaning we shall die but not retreat).¹ After a little fighting in the Ziorke locality, called Chowk (market square), the rebels were defeated and Muhammad Taqi was captured.² A number of soldiers were killed from both the sides. The rebels were pushed back and the fort was saved from being captured.³ Although Muhammad Taqi was defeated and the enemy was pushed back, but they continued to attack the imperial forces stationed in the fort. However, after the arrival of Parwez and Mahabat Khan the rebels raised the siege.⁴

On being informed of the courage, determination and extraordinary qualities of leadership shown by Rao Ratan, the Emperor promoted him to the rank of 5000/ 5000 and the title of Ram Raj (Sept.1625) was also conferred on him.⁵

Sometimes afterwards Rao Ratan came to the court along with his sons and relatives and presented himself before the Emperor. After a brief stay at the court he was ordered to suppress the rebellion of Khichhi Chauhan of Mau. The Hada chief along with his brothers Hirday Narayan, Keshav Das and sons Madho Singh and Hari Singh attacked the Khichhi chief and defeated him. But

¹ Z. Khawanin, p.296; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.73; *M.U.*, II, pp.209-10; Also see, Inayat Ali Zaidi, *The Mughal and the Rajputs*, 1605-1659 A.D. (Un published Ph.D. Thesis, A.M.U., 1982), p.79

² *Dutch Chronicle*, p.73; Farid Bhakkari and Shahnawaz Khan are of the view that Mohammad Taqi came to meet Rao Ratan after he lost all hopes of receiving assistance from the Deccanis and surrendered to Rao Ratan.(Z. Khawanin, p.296; *M.U.* II, pp.209-10)

³ *Iqbalnama*, pp.243-44; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.73, *M.U.*, II, pp.209-10

⁴ *Iqbalnama*, p.238-39,244; But Shahnawaz Khan writes that Khurram raised the siege due to his illness and retired to Balaghat. (*M.U.*, II, p.210)

⁵ *Iqbalnama*, pp.243-44; *Khyat*, p.145; In *Vir vinod* writes that Rao Ray was the title given to him. While Shanawas Khan adds that Ram Raj was considered the highest title in the Deccan. (*M.U.*, II, p.210; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.110-11)

Rao Ratan's brother Keshav Das was also killed in this battle.¹ Shortly afterwards he was again dispatched to the Deccan to assist Khan-i-Jahan Lodi the *Subedar* of the Deccan. In the Deccan he played very significant role in bringing about understanding between Yaqub Khan and Fateh Khan son of Malik Ambar and Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.² Thereafter we hardly get any information in any of the contemporary or near contemporary sources about Rao Ratan's activities in the closing years of Jahangir's reign when very important political developments were taking place and the nobles were under tremendous pressure. We hardly know anything about his attitude towards Mahabat Khan's *coup* or his attitude towards Khurram during Jahangir's last days and after Jahangir's death. But a few references in a contemporary *Dutch Chronicles* not only provide us with some information of his activities during this period but even lead us to draw some conclusion on his role during this last phase.³ It appears that after the recall of Mahabat Khan and the appointment of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi in his place, Rao Ratan lost his pre-eminent position in the Deccan. Although he continued to serve loyally but apparently relations with Khan-i-Jahan Lodi were not very cordial, because of his very close relations with Mahabat Khan. The situation further worsened for him after Mahabat Khan's revolt and his urgent messages requesting him to reach the imperial court at the earliest. It seems that with these development Rao Ratan started feeling insecure in the Deccan and without informing imperial officials of the Deccan, came to Bundi and remained watchful of the developments at the court. He took under his custody Mirza Bahrawar son of Mahabat Khan who was on his way to capture Ranthambhore and sent him to Qasim Khan at Agra.⁴

¹ *Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, pp.2479-80

² *Iqbalnama*, pp.280,271-72

³ *Dutch Chronicle*, pp.78-79,85-86

⁴ For details see, *Dutch Chronicle*, pp.78-79, 85-86

From the above discussion one may conclude that Rao Ratan Hada enjoyed quite an important position among Rajput nobles of Jahangir's reign. In spite of Emperor's displeasure in his early years (1605-08) Rao Ratan acquired a very high position during Jahangir's reign. The Emperor had so much confidence in the Hada chief that he was given independent charge of the Deccan. As a matter of fact no other Rajput chief of Jahangir's reign in his entire reign of 23 years held this position. Rao Ratan Hada rose to the rank of 5000/ 5000 and received the title of Ram Ray/ Ram Raj which was considered the highest honour in the Deccan.¹

Besides Rao Ratan Hada other members of the ruling family were also given *mansabs* and important positions. Prominent among them were Rao Ratan's son Madho Singh and his brother Hirday Narayan. Both of them were assigned ranks of 1000/ 600² and 900/ 600³ respectively.

Hirday Narayan Hada after his (Rao Bhoj) father's death in 1607 received the *Jagir* of Kotah but from our evidence it is not very clear whether he was also assigned a rank at that time. However, in 1618 he was appointed to serve under Prince Khurram who was commanded to conquer the fort of Kangra.⁴ Soon after the return of Prince Khurram from Kangra, the Emperor sent him to the Deccan to deal with Malik Ambar.⁵ Hirday Narayan was also ordered to accompany the Prince and assigned the *mansab* of 900/ 600.⁶ At the time of Khurram's rebellion he was also present in the Deccan with his elder brother Rao Ratan Hada.⁷ But on being summoned to the presence of the Emperor Rao Ratan managed to return to the court but Hirday Narayan

¹ Z. Khwanin, pp.295-96; *Khyat*, I, p.145

² Lahori, Ia, p.184; *M.U.*, III, p.453

³ *Tuzuk*, p.322; *T.U.*, p.158

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.238,284,310,318

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.321-22

⁶ *Ibid*, p.322

⁷ *Tod II*, p.385

apparently proceeded to Kota. When the Emperor despatched Parwez and Mahabat Khan against Khurram who had conquered Orissa, Bengal and Bihar and was marching towards Allahabad, Hirday Narayan was ordered to proceed towards east to assist them. The imperialist checked their advance and a battle was fought between the imperialist and the rebels at Allahabad and the imperialist won decisive victory. But Hirday Narayan left the imperial camp in heat of the battle without permission.¹ The Emperor became extremely angry with him and ordered Rao Ratan to strip Hirday Narayan of the *Jagir* of Kota and assigned it to Madho Singh as a reward for his services.² It seems that he was also granted the *mansab* 1000/ 600.³ But it is important to note that even after his dismissal from imperial service, Hirday Narayan did not take up arms against Mughal imperial authority and remained with his brother Rao Ratan.⁴

After Shah Jahan's accession, Rao Ratan came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor.⁵ Although Shah Jahan was not very happy with him because of his activities during the period of his rebellion, he overlooked his past deeds and honoured him with a robe of honour and confirmed him to his previous rank of 5000/ 5000.⁶ Rao Ratan's son Madho Singh was also confirmed to his previous rank of 1000/ 600.⁷

Soon afterwards Rao Ratan was sent against Nazr Muhammad who had led an attack on Kabul, under the over all command of Mahabat Khan.⁸ But before this army moved towards Kabul, Lashkar Khan incharge of Kabul beat back Nazr Muhammad. The campaign was given up and Rao Ratan Hada was given leave to visit his *watan*. However, his son Madho Singh and other Hada

¹ *Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, p.2496

² *Ibid*, p.2496

³ Lahori, Ia, p.184

⁴ *Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, pp.2579-80

⁵ Lahori, Ia, pp.185-86; *M.U.*, II, p.210

⁶ Lahori, Ia, pp.185-86; *M.U.*, II, p.210

⁷ Lahori, Ia, p.184; *M.U.*, III, p.453

⁸ Lahori, Ia, p.212; *M.U.*, II, p.210; *Vir vinod*, II, p.332

Chiefs (Ram Chand Hada) remained at the court and their services were utilised in suppressing the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundila and Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.¹ But shortly afterwards Rao Ratan Hada was also summoned to court and along with Khwaja Abul Hasan and other prominent nobles despatched to the Deccan to take action against Khan-i-Jahan who had taken shelter at the court of Nizam Shah. The Emperor himself moved in that direction to personally supervise the operations.² Rao Ratan along with his grand son Indrasal Hada was ordered to move in the direction of Telingana, block the path of the rebels and make arrangement for the conquest of Telingana.³ But before he could make any progress the charge was given to Nasiri Khan and he was summoned to Burhanpur where he reached in September 1630.⁴ Shortly afterwards he was ordered to accompany Asaf Khan who was ordered to conquer Balaghat. He remained posted in Balaghat until his death in 1631.⁵

Rao Ratan Hada had three sons Gopinath, Madho Singh and Hari Singh. His eldest son Gopinath had died in his life time; Madho Singh his second son received independant charge of Kota and Hari Singh was assigned the *Jagir* of Pipalda.⁶ The hereditary cheiftaincy of Bundi was given to Satarsal son of Gopinath the eldest son of Rao Ratan. He was granted rank of 3000/2000 and all those *Parganas* which were held by Rao Ratan were also assigned to him. He was also ordered to present himself before the Emperor.⁷ In pursuance of this order Satarsal marched to Burhanpur reaching there in February 1632.

It is important to note that Shah Jahan strictly followed the Rajput tradition of succession by appointing Satarsal the son of deceased eldest son

¹ Lahori, Ia, pp.276, 294-95; *M.U.*, III, p.453; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.332-33

² Lahori, Ia, p.294-95; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.332-33

³ Lahori, Ia, p.298; *M.U.*, II, pp.210-11 (It was Rao Ratan's first independent charge under Shah Jahan)

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.315; *M.U.*, II, p.211

⁵ Lahori, Ia, p.319, 401; *M.U.*, II, p.211

⁶ *Vir vinod*, II, p.110

⁷ Lahori, Ia, pp.365,401-2; *M.U.*, II, p.260; *Vir vinod*, II, p.334

Gopinath of Rao Ratan Hada. But at the same time he also obliged Madho Singh who was a great favourite of the court and who had also performed distinguished service in the suppression of the rebellion of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi by giving him independent charge of Kota separating it from Bundi, directly under imperial authority.¹ He was also promoted to the rank of 2500/ 1500, and the adjoining *Parganas* of Kota and Falayta were also assigned to him in *Jagir*.²

The bifurcation of the chieftaincy of Hadas into two separate division now known as the Hadas of Bundi and the Hadas of Kota by Shah Jahan was a very bold step. But we are completely in dark as to why the Emperor decided to divide the Kingdom. None of the contemporary and even later sources hardly mention anything on this point. The only reason for such a bold step could be a fear of succession war among the sons, especially between Satrasal who was recognised as the hereditary Chief of Hadas and Madho Singh who being the eldest among the surviving sons of Rao Ratan and a loyal servant of the Mughals claimed the throne of Bundi. By separating Kota from Bundi (which had already been assigned to Hirday Narayan son Rao Bhoj in the time of Jahangir though under the control of Bundi) and assigning it to Madho Singh, the Emperor saved the state from civil war in the Hadaoti region which was a common practice on such occasion.

As mentioned above Satarsal presented himself before the Emperor at Burhanpur in Feb 1632. The Emperor honoured him with a robe of honour, horse with silver trappings, flag and kettle drum and appointed him to assist Asaf Khan in his campaign in Balaghat.³ But shortly afterwards (1633) he sent to join Khan Zaman who was leading the campaign to conquer the fort of

¹ At this time he was given promotion of 500/50. Lahori, Ia, pp.365,401-2; *M.U.*, II, p.453

² Lahori, Ia, p.401; *Vir vinod*, II, p.334

³ Lahori, Ia, p.414, 417; *M.U.*, II, pp.260-61

Daulatabad.¹ When the imperial forces were marching towards Daulatabad, the Adil Shahi forces blocked their movement by launching strong counter attack on them. But Rao Satarsal Hada alongwith Khan Zaman repulsed their attack and after reaching there laid the siege of the fort.² Meanwhile Khan Zaman left Rao Satarsal in the camp for its protection and personally moved to fight with the enemy. The Adil Shahis regrouped and launched an attack on the imperial camp. Rao Satarsal Hada once again rose to the occasion and made a counter attack on the enemy and repulsed them with heavy casualties.³ In the meantime Mahabat Khan who was appointed viceroy of the Deccan reached there and sent Mubariz Khan and Rao Duda to bring supplies from Zafarnagar. But having come to know that the Deccanics had also marched there to prevent the imperialist to get the supplies, Mahabat Khan ordered Khan Zaman and Rao Satarsal to immediately proceed towards Zafarnagar to the help of Mubariz Khan.⁴ With the arrival of Satarsal and Khan Zaman the imperialist succeeded in bringing the supplies to the camp without much difficulty. Soon afterwards Rao Satarsal alongwith Khan Zaman marched for the help of the besiegers of the fort of Daulatabad.⁵ The Deccanics could not stand against the strong imperial army for long and fled away.⁶ In the meantime Mahabat Khan came to know that Bijapuri forces under Khilaji and Behlol were marching towards Berar and Telingana to create disturbances in that area to create diversion in the imperial army, so that the besieged could be relieved of the pressure. Mahabat Khan immediately sent Rao Satarsal Hada and Rao Karan to punish them without diverting any unit of his army from Daulatabad.⁷ The besieged realised the futility of any more resistance and handed over the fort to the Mughals on

¹ Lahori, Ia, p.499; *M.U.*, II, pp. 260-61

² Lahori, Ia, p.499

³ Lahori, Ia, p.503; *M.U.* II, pp.261-62

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.505; *Vir vinod* II, p.337

⁵ Lahori, Ia, p.508

⁶ Ibid, p.510

⁷ Lahori, Ia, p.519

17 June 1633. In this entire campaign Rao Satarsal Hada played an important role.¹

After the capture of Daulatabad, Rao Satarsal was appointed to assist Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman in the conquest of Parenda. The Hada chief alongwith his contingent was posted in the vanguard.² But the campaign failed, and the imperialist were forced to raise the siege and retreat to Burhanpur (June 1634).³

The situation in the Deccan remained unsatisfactory despite the presence of a large army and important military commanders. Therefore, Shah Jahan left Agra on 21 Sep. 1635 to bring about complete subjugation of Ahmadnagar as well as to bring pressure on Bijapur and Golkunda to accept subordination of the Mughals.⁴ The Emperor reached Daulatabad where he was received by Khan Zaman. Rao Satarsal Hada also offered his obeisance⁵ and was immediately ordered to proceed towards Konkan under Khan Zaman.⁶ The presence of the Emperor in the Deccan had the desired effect. Both Bijapur and Gulkunda accepted the overlordship of the Mughals and the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar finally came to an end. Rao Satarsal alongwith his contingent played an important role in the conquest of Ashthi, Chamargunda and Konkan held by Shahji Bhonsle.⁷ After this victory Rao Satarsal was rewarded with a promotion of 1000 *sawar*, thus raising him to the rank of 3000/ 3000.⁸ Soon after the departure of the Emperor Rao Satarsal was ordered to move against Shahji who had refused to surrender the fort of Junair. Khan Zaman and Prithvi Raj Rathor proceeded to Junnair to launch a three pronged attack to

¹ For details see, Lahori, Ia, p.496-531

² Lahori, Ib, pp.33-35, 39; *M.U.*, II, pp.261-62

³ Lahori, Ib, pp.44-46

⁴ Ibid, pp.104-5, 130

⁵ Ibid, p.135

⁶ Lahori, Ib, pp.135-37; *M.U.*, II, pp.261-62

⁷ Lahori, Ib, pp.146-50, 160

⁸ Lahori, Ib, p.177; *M.U.*, II, pp.261-62

compel him to surrender the fort to imperial authorities.¹ Shahji, having realised that he will not be able to withstand the combined attack, surrendered the fort to Khan Zaman. After this successful campaign, Rao Satarsal was summoned to court. He reached Lahore on 28 March 1642² and presented himself before the Emperor. As Prince Dara Shukoh was proceeding to launch an attack on Qandhar, Rao Satarsal was also ordered to accompany him.³ But the campaign was abandoned because of Shah Safi's sudden death. The imperial army returned to Lahore and alongwith it Rao Satarsal also came to court. After a stay of about one year at Lahore he was allowed to go to his *watan*.⁴

In 1646 Rao Satarsal Hada and his uncle Madho Singh Hada the chief of Kota were summoned to court and ordered to accompany Prince Murad who was appointed to conquer Balkh and Badakhshan.⁵ Rao Satarsal Hada alongwith his sons Indrasal and Ajab Singh accompanied the Prince.⁶ After the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan, Murad despite imperial orders to stay in Balkh, returned to Kabul. Satarsal also accompanied him but Madho Singh Hada was left in Balkh for its protection.⁷ As soon as the Emperor came to know about the departure of the Prince from Balkh, he send Saadullah Khan to make alternative arrangements and ordered Prince Aurangzeb to proceed to Balkh and Badakhshan to retrieve the Mughal position.⁸ Rao Satarsal who was present at Peshawar, also accompanied him in the campaign.⁹ The Hadas as usual were deputed in vanguard. They fought bravely and successfully repulsed

¹ Lahori, Ib, p.226

² Ibid, p.284

³ Lahori, Ib, pp.293-94; *M.U.*, II, pp.261-62; *Vir vinod*, II, p.112, 339

⁴ Lahori, II, pp.315, 342, 387-88; *M.U.*, II, pp.261-62

⁵ Lahori, II, p.484; *M.U.*, II, p.262, III, p.454, *Vir vinod*, II, p.340

⁶ Lahori, II, pp.485-87; *Vir vinod*, II, p.341

⁷ Lahori, II, p.535, 550; *M.U.*, II, p.262, III, p.454

⁸ Lahori, II, p.550,633, 640; *M.U.*, II, p.262, III, p.454

⁹ Lahori, II, pp.550,633

the Uzbek attacks.¹ Although Aurangzeb had succeeded in re-conquering Balkh and Badakhshan but the constant attack of the enemy and the dreaded winter compelled the Emperor to advise Aurangzeb to hand over Balkh to Nazr Muhammad. The Prince after making a settlement with Nazr Muhammad returned to Kabul in November 1647.² Rao Satarsal Hada also came back with the imperial army and got permission to visit his *watan*.³

In 1648 Rao Satarsal Hada was summoned to court and was ordered to join Prince Aurangzeb in the Qandhar expedition.⁴ At that time he was promoted to the rank of 3500/ 3500 and was also honoured with a dress of honour and a horse.⁵ The imperial army reached Qandhar in May 1649 and laid siege of the fort. However, the imperialist failed to achieve success but Rao Satarsal played a significant role in the siege,⁶ and in recognition of the valuable services rendered by him, he was raised to the *mansab* of 4000/ 4000.⁷ Shortly afterwards he was also allowed to visit his *watan*.

In 1652 Rao Satarsal was again ordered to proceed on the Qandhar campaign under Prince Aurangzeb.⁸ In this campaign also he was appointed to command the vanguard of the right wing of the army.⁹ In spite of the best efforts the imperial army again failed to make any impression on Persians, and the Emperor once again ordered the Prince to raise the siege. The imperial forces returned to Kabul in Aug. 1652.¹⁰

¹ Lahori, II, pp.672-73, 687-88, 693

² Lahori, II, p.693; *M.U.*, III, p.454

³ *M.U.*, II, p.263

⁴ Salih, III, pp.67-71; *M.U.*, II, p.263

⁵ Salih, III, p.71; *M.U.*, II, p.263

⁶ Salih, III, pp.83-84, 89-90; *M.U.*, II, p.263

⁷ Salih, III, pp.100-3; *M.U.*, II, p.263

⁸ *M.U.*, II, p.263; Salih, III, p.138

⁹ Salih, III, pp.138-39

¹⁰ Salih, III, pp.149-52; Inayat Khan, p.473

Although the two successive campaigns on Qandhar had failed but it did not discourage Shah Jahan's future plan. Shah Jahan still wanted to make an attempt to conquer Qandhar. The Emperor, therefore ordered Dara Shukoh to proceed to Qandhar and conquer it from Persians.¹ Rao Satarsal Hada once again was deputed to serve under him.² Dara Shukoh opened the campaign with all seriousness and successfully reached Qandhar in April 1653 and the fort was put to siege.³ However, the Persians under Autar Khan successfully defend the fort and compelled Dara Shukoh to raise the siege. Ultimately Dara Shukoh was recalled and the campaign was abandoned.⁴

After the failure of Qandhar campaign Rao Satarsal Hada was posted in the Deccan under Prince Aurangzeb and alongwith his son Bhagwant Singh played an important role in the conquest of the fort of Bijapur, Bidar and Kalyani (1656-57).⁵

Some times in the month of Sep. 1657 Shah Jahan fell ill and it signalled the beginning of the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan. As soon as the Emperor came to know of the hostile activities of his sons, he summoned to the presence important nobles from the Deccan and other places. Rao Satarsal Hada who was serving in the Deccan under Aurangzeb was also called to court.⁶ Although Aurangzeb refused to relieve him, Rao Satarsal Hada honoured the command of the Emperor and proceeded to the court without formally taking permission of the Prince. He left the Deccan in such a haste that he could not bring his son Bhagwant Singh with him. According to Persian sources Rao Satarsal reached Agra much before the battle of Dharmat and

¹ Inayat Khan, p.473; *M.U.*, II, p.263

² Salih, III, pp.153-58; Inayat Khan, pp.478-79; *Alamgirnama*, p.29; *M.U.*, II, p.263

³ Inayat Khan, p.479

⁴ For details see, Salih, III, pp.159-77

⁵ Salih, III, pp.250-60; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.10; *M.U.*, II, p.263

⁶ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.10

accompanied Jaswant Singh who was deputed to check the advance of Aurangzeb, and fought the rebel Princes in the battle of Dharmat.¹ Even after the defeat of imperial army when most of the nobles including Jaswant Singh had deserted Dara Shukoh, Rao Satarsal remained loyal,² and in the battle of Samugarh led the vanguard of the imperial army and was killed in the course of the battle.³ But it is quite interesting to note that Bhagwant Singh Hada son of Rao Satarsal Hada who was left in Deccan by his father accompanied Prince Aurangzeb and fought in the two battles on the side of the rebel Princes.⁴

We have already discussed that the chieftaincy of the Hadas of Bundi was divided into two divisions namely Bundi and Kota independant of each other by Emperor Shah Jahan and the first Chief of Kota was Madho Singh. We therefore thought it fit to briefly write a seprate account of the Kota chiefs. In the present section a brief account of the Kota chieftaincy is given below:

As mentioned above Shah Jahan after his accession confirmed Madho Singh Hada second son of Rao Ratan Hada to his previous rank of 1000/ 600.⁵ Like his father he was also deputed to serve in the different campaign of Shah Jahan's reign. In 1629 he was appointed to assist Khwaja Abul Hasan against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.⁶ Madho Singh Hada who was in the vanguard of the army overtook Khan-i-Jahan at Kalingar and in a short skirmish wounded him with his own dagger and his followers soon cut him to pieces.⁷ In reward for his meritorious service he was promoted to the rank of 2000/ 1000 and some

¹ Ishar Das Nagar, *Futuh-i-Alamgiri*, tr. A.Rogers and H.Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, p.28; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.10-11

² Jadunath Sarkar, II, p.35, 41

³ *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.22; *Alamgirnama*, pp.95-103; *M.U.*, II, p.263

⁴ *Alamgirnama*, p.92; *Vir vinod*, II, p.352

⁵ Lahori, Ia, p.184; *M.U.*, III, p.453

⁶ Lahori, Ia, pp.248-52, 276, 295; *M.U.*, III, p.453; *Vir vinod*, II, p.332

⁷ Lahori, Ia, pp.350-51; *M.U.*, III, p.453; *Vir vinod*, II, p.333

villages were also added to his *Jagir*.¹

In 1631 after the death of his father Rao Ratan Hada the Emperor divided the Hadaoti region into two parts Bundi and Kota. Bundi, the hereditary seat of Hadas was assigned to Rao Satarsal, grand son of Rao Ratan and Kota was given to Madho Singh with independant charge.² Thus Madho Singh became the first independant ruler of Kotah. He was at the same time given promotion of 500/ 500, thus raising him to the rank of 2500/ 1500 and *Jagir* of Bilatha was also assigned to him.³ Soon afterwards he was despatched to the Deccan where in 1632 he was ordered to accompany Sayed Khan to punish Fateh Khan Habshi, who was creating disturbance in the region of Daulatabad.⁴ But before the imperial army could take any action, Fateh Khan paid tribute and the army was recalled. Thereafter Madho Singh Hada alongwith Rao Satarsal and other Hadas served in Parenda campaign⁵ and after its collapse under Khan-i-Zaman in Balaghat region against Shahji Bhonsle.⁶ Madho Singh Hada accompanied Khan-i-Dauran to suppress the revolt of Jujhar Singh Bundila. In an engagement with the rebels at Chanda, Madho Singh Hada who was in the vanguard defeated and killed a large number of Bundilas.⁷ Although Jujhar Singh and his son escaped but having lost all hopes of any success they decided to perform *Jauhar* (sacrifice). But at the last moment Madho Singh Hada alongwith Sayyid Muhammad reached there and attacked him. In the fight that took place the Bundilas again lost some of their key men but Jujhar Singh and

¹ Lahori, Ia, p.365; *M.U.*, III, p.453; Suryamal in *Vamsh Bhaskar* writes that the *mansab* of Madho Singh was increased to 3000/3000 and *Jagir* of Zerapur, Kherabad, Chechar and Khilochpur were assigned to him. (*Vamsh Bhaskar*, III, pp.2594-95)

² Lahori, Ia, p.401

³ Lahori, Ia, p.401; *M.U.*, III; pp.453-54

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.410

⁵ Lahori, Ia, p.537; *M.U.*, III, pp.453-54; *Vir vinod*, II, p.335

⁶ For the details of his role see Lahori, Ib, pp.39-46, 63, 68; *M.U.*, III, pp.453-54

⁷ Lahori, Ib, pp.96-97, 110-13; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

his son Jagraj succeeded to escape in the neighbouring forest, where they were killed by Gonds. Their dead bodies were found by Khan Dauran, who cutt off their heads and sent them to the court.¹

After suppressing the rebellion of Jujhar Singh, Madho Singh Hada returned to the imperial court at Burhanpur in Jan. 1636. The Emperor in recognition of his services increased his *mansab* 3000/ 1600.² Soon afterwards he was ordered to accompany Khan Dauran to bring to submission Shahji and Adil Shah of Bijapur. In this campaign also Hadas were posted in the vanguard of the army. Terrified with the attack of the imperialist, Adil Shah accepted the suzerainty of the Emperor and also agreed to help the imperial army against Shahji who still defied Mughal authority.³ After the successful settlement of Deccan affairs Madho Singh Hada returned to the imperial court at Agra in March 1637.⁴ In recognition of his services rendered in the Deccan he was promoted to the *mansab* of 3000/ 2000 and granted leave to visit his watan.⁵

In 1638 he was summoned to court and appointed to accompany Prince Shuja to save Qandhar from Persian attack.⁶ But the imperialist forces were however, relieved of the pressure for the time being because Shah Safi being engaged in war with Turkey could not launch an attack on Qandhar. Therefore, on the orders of the Emperor the officers deputed with him were sent back to the court.⁷ Madho Singh also returned from the campaign and presented himself before the Emperor at Rawalpindi. He was given promotion of 500 *sawar* ⁸ and ordered to remain in presence. In Feb. 1641 he served under Prince Murad in

¹ Lahori, Ib, pp.113-16; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

² Lahori, Ib, p.134; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

³ Lahori, Ib, pp.136-37; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

⁴ Lahori, Ib, p.226; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

⁵ Lahori, Ib, p.248; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

⁶ Lahori, II, p.22, 37; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

⁷ Lahori, II, pp.110, 143-44, 217

⁸ Lahori, II, p.217, 224; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

Kabul for a brief period.¹ After returning from there the Emperor increased his *mansab* to 3000/ 3000 and allowed him to visit his *watan*.²

He stayed at Kota for about three years without being assigned any important imperial duty. Sometimes in the beginning of 1645 he was summoned to court and ordered to accompany Raja Jagat Singh to assist Ali Mardan Khan governor of Kabul in his campaign of Badakhshan.³ But the campaign failed because of lack of coordination among imperial officers and scarcity of provisions and fodder. Thereafter he served in both the campaigns of Balkh and Badakhshan⁴ and after returning from there he was allowed to visit his *watan* Kota. Sometimes in 1648 he died there.⁵

After his death his eldest son Mukund Singh Hada succeeded to the gaddi of Kotah in 1648.⁶ The Emperor recognised him as the ruler of Kotah and granted him the rank of 2000/ 1500.⁷ Soon afterwards (Feb.1649) he was ordered to join Qandhar expedition under Prince Aurangzeb.⁸ His *mansab* was further increased to 2000/ 2000.⁹ After the collapse of the campaign he came back to Lahore and presented himself before the Emperor. He was given promotion of 500 *zat* and allowed to visit his *watan*.¹⁰

¹ *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

² Lahori, II, p.308; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

³ Lahori, II, p.424; *M.U.*, III, pp.454-55

⁴ For details see, Lahori, II, pp.484, 535-50, 640-41, 673-75, 684-87, 693; *M.U.*, III, pp.455-56

⁵ *M.U.*, III, pp.455-56

⁶ Salih III, pp.62-63; Madho Singh Hada had five sons Mukund Singh being the eldest succeed to the throne of Kotah. Mohan Singh (got Jagir of Palaith), Jujhar Singh (received Kotra), Kanhi Ram (got Koila) and Kishor Singh (got Sangoda) were his other sons. (Tod, II, p.409)

⁷ Salih, III, p.63; *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7

⁸ Salih, III, p.71; Waris, b, p.97; *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7

⁹ *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7

¹⁰ Ibid

Mukund Singh also served in the second and third Qandhar campaigns;¹ although both these campaigns also failed but Mukund Singh received promotion 500 *zat* in his rank of 2500/ 2000.² Mukund Singh also served under Saadullah Khan who was ordered to demolish unauthorised repairs in fort of Mewar.³ At the time of the beginning of war succession Mukund Singh was at Kota. Like all other important military commanders, he was also summoned to the court and was despatched alongwith Jaswant Singh to check the advance of Aurangzeb and Murad.⁴ In the battle of Dharmat, Mukund Singh Hada and his brother Mohan Singh were placed in the vanguard⁵ and during the course of the battle both of them were killed.⁶ Jagat Singh Hada, his eldest son joined the Mughal service after the coronation of Aurangzeb and received the *mansab* of 2000/ 2000.⁷

From the above discussion it becomes quite clear that Hadas by and large remained loyal to the Mughals ever since their admission in imperial service in the time of Akbar. They loyally served in almost all the campaigns wherever they were deputed. They even accepted the division of the Bundi chieftaincy into two divisions without offering any resistance. But strangely enough, after Rao Ratan Hada no other Hada chief neither could get a rank of 5000/ 5000 nor an independent charge of a *Suba*. Besides that no other Hada was admitted in imperial service during Jahangir's reign. However, during the reign of Shah Jahan their numerical strength in the nobility considerably increased.

¹ Inayat Khan, pp.473-74; Salih, III, pp.149-77; *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7; Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, pp.50-53

² Salih, III, p.442; *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7

³ *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7

⁴ Salih, III, pp.284-85; *Alamgirnama*, pp.61-66; *Waqit i Alamgiri*, pp.28-29; *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7, 510

⁵ *Alamgirnama*, pp.65-66; *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7, 10

⁶ Salih, III, pp.286-87; *Alamgirnama*, p.70; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, p.16; *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7

⁷ *M.U.*, III, pp.506-7

TABLE A

Year	Total No.	Zat	Sawar
1627	2	6500	5600
1641	5	7900	6400
1657	5	11100	7500

Table A¹ given above will show that from only two and with a strength of 6500/5600 in 1627 they were able to raise there numerical strength to five with a total mansab of 11100/7500 in 1657. They were also deputed to serve in military campaigns in the Deccan, Balkh and Badakhshan, Qandhar etc. Nevertheless they were never given independant command of any of these campaigns.

¹ For details see Appendix A5,A6 and B3

CHAPTER-IV

THE RATHORS OF BIKANER

Bikaner is situated in the northern part of the *Suba* of Ajmer. The state was surrounded by Ganga Nagar and Churu in the North-East, Nagore and Jodhpur in the South-East and Jaisalmer in the South-West.¹ According to *Ain-i-Akbari* the state of Bikaner comprised eleven *Mahals* namely Bikaner, Barsalpur, Barmer, Pungal, Barkal, Pokharan, Bikampur, Jaisalmer, Chhotan, Kotra and Dewadawar.² Besides, Merta and Nagore were conferred upon Rai Rai Singh by Akbar after his invasion of Marwar in 1571. The Chieftaincy according to *Ain* had total revenue 4750,000 *dams* and the chieftains maintained 12,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry.³ The rulers of the Chieftaincy belonged to the Rathor clan and were connected with the rulers of Marwar. The founder of the Chieftaincy was Bika son of Rao Jodha of Marwar, who founded it in 1488.⁴ Originally the area was inhabited by Sankles of Jangloo, the Jats, the Bhatias and some other clans.⁵ In the process of expansion of the territory the sons and brothers of Rao Jodha occupied these areas and established their *Thikanas*. The areas so occupied were known as Bhai-bant because being members of the same clan, they believed that it was their share in a cooperative efforts of the clan.

Therefore, following the policy of Bhai-bant, Rao Jodha ruler of Marwar assigned the conquered territories to his sons and brothers in 1488.⁶ But after his death in 1489, Bika one of his sons established an independent principality

¹ Ganger Nagar and Nagore were always under Agra and Delhi

² *Ain*, II, p.282

³ Ibid

⁴ *Nainsi Khyat*, II, pp.138-39, 199; *Vir vinod*, II, p.479

⁵ *Nainsi Khyat*, II, pp.198-99, 201-4; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.478-79

⁶ *Vigat*, I, pp.38-40; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp.48-52

and settled a number of Rathors in his newly founded state. He died in 1504 and was succeeded by his younger brother Nara.¹

Unfortunately Nara also died in the same year and was succeeded by his younger brother Lonkarn (1505-26) and after his death by his son Jait Singh (1526-41). However, during all these years the Chiefs of Bikaner had to fight for their independence with the Rathor rulers of Marwar as well as other local chiefs. In the course of one such battle in 1541 Jaitsi ruler of Bikaner was defeated and killed by Rao Maldeo and the fort of Bikaner was captured by Jodhpur's army.² However, his sons and his wife succeeded to flee the fort and take shelter at Sirsa which was still under the control of Bikaner and Rao Kalyan Mal the eldest son of Jaitsi proclaimed himself as the ruler of Bikaner.³

However, expulsion of Humayun from India and the accession of Sher Shah in 1540 completely changed the political condition of Rajputana and fortunes of Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner. Rao Kalyan Mal sent an envoy to Sher Shah and sought his help against Rao Maldeo.⁴ Sher Shah who was not very happy with Rao Maldeo's attitude during his war with Humayun, marched against Rao Maldeo and reached Merta, where Rao Kalyan Mal also joined him (1544). Rao Maldeo was defeated in the battle fought at Samel and Rao Kalyan Mal recovered Bikaner.⁵ In addition to that Sher Shah also granted him a number of *Parganas*.⁶ Thereafter, we hardly get any reference of Rao Kalyan Mal after Humayun's reconquest of India or during the regency of Bairam Khan. The first reference about him relates to the period of Bairam Khan's revolt when he proceeded towards Bikaner. Abul Fazl writes that Kalyan Mal

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, p.480

² *Vigat*, I, p.44; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.69; *Vir vinod*, II, p.483

³ Jaitsi had 13 sons. (*Vir vinod*, II, p.483)

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, p.484

⁵ *Vigat*, I, p.56; *Nainsi Khyat*, pp.157-58; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp.70-72; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.484-85

⁶ *Dalpat Vilas*, ed. Badri Prasad Sakarya, Bikaner, 1960, pp.4-5

and his son Rai Rai Singh entertained Bairam Khan and gave him shelter for some time.¹ But the court authorities took no notice of this hostile attitude of Rao Kalyan Mal. Not only that, for almost eight years the Mughal imperial authority had no contact with the rulers of Bikaner. It seems that the rebellion of Turani nobility left no time and energy to look towards any other direction.

After the suppression of the rebellion of Turani nobles and the conquest of Rajputana (Jaipur, Jodhpur, Merta, Jaitaran, Chittor and Ranthambore) by the Mughals, Rao Kalyan Mal decided to offer his submission and in 1570 when Akbar was on his pilgrimage to Ajmer and stayed at Nagore, Rao Kalyan Mal along with his son Rai Rai Singh came to his presence, offered his submission and also offered the daughter of his brother (Kahan) in marriage to the Emperor.² The Emperor received them with favours and both Kalyan Mal and Rai Rai Singh were admitted in imperial service. Thereafter, Rao Kalyan Mal was allowed to visit his *watan* leaving his son Rai Rai Singh at the court. But shortly afterwards Rao Kalyan Mal died (1571) and was succeeded by his eldest son Rai Rai Singh.³ According to *Ain-i-Akbari* Rao Kalyan Mal held the rank of 2000.⁴

Prithvi Raj Rathore another son of Kalyan Mal also joined the imperial service about the same time and received the *Jagir* of Gagrone and served the imperial army in different campaign of the Empire (Kabul in 1581, Deccan in 1598) and died in 1600.⁵

In 1572 when the Emperor was on his Gujrat expedition, Rai Rai Singh was appointed to look after the affairs of Jodhpur and its environ and Sirohi. He

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, p.105; *Dalpat Vilas*, p.12

² *Akbarnama*, II, pp.357-58; *Vir vinod*, II, p.485; *M.U.*, II, p.148; But Dasrath Sharma the author of *Dalpat Vilas* writes that Rao Kalyan Mal married his own daughter to the Emperor. (*Dalpat Vilas*, p.14)

³ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.485-86

⁴ *Ain*, I, pp.160-61; *M.U.*, II, pp.148-49

⁵ *Nainsi Khyat*, I, p.188

was further asked to keep watch on the movement of Chandra Sen the rebel ruler of Marwar and Rana Prātap the ruler of Mewar particularly to keep the road to Gujrat safe and secure.¹ He remained the administrator of Jodhpur till 1577 when it was brought under *Khalisa*.²

As is well known Ibrahim Husain Mirza was defeated in the battle of Sarnal and fled away towards Nagore by the way of Jalore and Jodhpur.³ The Emperor ordered Rai Rai Singh and other officers whom he had left in Jodhpur to march in pursuit of the Mirza. Rai Rai Singh overtook him at Kahtoli near Nagore and in a face to face battle Mirza was defeated and fled towards Punjab and then to Gujrat by way of Sindh.⁴

In 1573 a crisis in Gujrat again developed under the leadership of Muhammad Husain Mirza.⁵ The Emperor ordered Rai Rai Singh and other officers to march against him in advance. The Emperor also personally marched to supervise the campaign to establish permanent peace. A decisive battle was fought between the imperialists and the rebel Husain Mirza. The rebels were defeated and Muhammad Husain Mirza was captured and handed over to Rai Rai Singh and Bhagwant Das. In this campaign also Rai Rai Singh played a significant role and showed extraordinary valour. In the meantime Ikhtiyarul

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.369-72, III, pp.5-6

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.5; *Vigat*, I, p.68; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p.118

³ *M.U.*, II, p.149; Ibrahim Husain Mirza a cousin of Emperor Akbar was the son of Mohd.Sultan Mirza a Timurid Prince and son-in-law of Babur. The Mirzas as they are referred in contemporary accounts continued to create trouble from the time of Humayun. During Akbar's reign Ibrahim Husain Mirza along with his brother Mohd. Husain Mirza also rebelled and after being defeated by the Imperial army fled to Gujarat and taking advantage of the confusion following the death of Ahmad Shah III, (1554-61) established himself in South Gujarat. Thereafter they attempted to capture Ahmadabad. (For details see *Akbarnama*, II, pp.279-81, III, pp.34-36,42-44, 50-51,56-58, 60-61; *Tuzuk*, pp.17-20, For a detailed biographical account see, *Z. Khawarin*)

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.34-35; *M.U.*, II, p.149

⁵ For more details about Muhammad Husain Mirza, see *Z. Khawarin*, I, pp.343-44

Mulk another rebel leader attacked imperialist forces, which led to complete confusion in the royal army. However, the rebels were again defeated and Muhammad Husain Mirza was killed by Rai Rai Singh.¹ Thereafter he returned to Jodhpur.

Rai Rai Singh along with Shah Quli Khan and Keshav Das in 1574 was appointed to suppress Chandra Sen the rebel ruler of Marwar, who had established himself in the Siwana and was creating disturbance in the region. When the imperial army reached Siwana, Rao Chandra Sen fled away towards Bhadrajun and the imperialist easily captured the fort of Siwana. Thereafter, Rai Rai Singh returned to Ajmer and presented himself before the Emperor. He also informed the Emperor that Rao Chandra Sen was still making disturbance in that region and imperial forces posted there were not able to put him down. The Emperor therefore again despatched an army under Rai Rai Singh to suppress the rebellious activities of Rao Chandra Sen. In 1575 however, the Emperor came to know that Rai Rai Singh and Shah Quli Khan were not conducting the campaign properly. The Emperor immediately summoned them to court and the command was given to Shahbaz Khan.² Shortly after his arrival to the presence Rai Rai Singh was despatched towards Sirohi to bring Surtan Deoda of Sirohi and Taj Khan of Jalore under imperial subjugation. On his arrival to Sirohi Surtan Deoda and Taj Khan accepted the overlordship of the Mughals without offering any resistance.³ Shortly afterwards Rai Rai Singh along with Syed Hashim Barha was sent to Nadot to block the egress and ingress of Rana Pratap and to subdue his rebellious activities in the area.⁴ In the meanwhile Surtan Deoda on account of his suspicious nature returned to his home town Sirohi without the permission of the Emperor. This action of Surtan

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.41-44,50-51,56-58,60-61; *Tuzuk*, p.20

² *Akbarnama*, III, pp.80-82, 110-11,167-68; *M.U.*, II, pp149-51

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.189-90; *M.U.*,II, p.150

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.189-90; *M.U.*, II, p.150

Deoda was considered as a rebellious act, therefore the Emperor immediately ordered Rai Rai Singh to led the campaign against him and besiege Sirohi. The rebels were defeated but Surtan Deoda succeeded in escaping to the fort of Abugarh (Mount Abu). Rai Rai Singh after capturing Sirohi marched to Abugarh and besieged the fort. Surtan Deoda not only surrendered the fort but also agreed to accept sovereignty of the Mughals. Soon afterwards Rai Rai Singh came to the court along with Surtan Deoda and presented him before the Emperor.¹ After that he was given leave to visit his *watan*.

In 1581 Rai Rai Singh was summoned to court and despatched along with Man Singh against Mirza Mohammad Hakim. After the end of the campaign he returned to the court at Sirhind and presented himself before the Emperor. After serving for sometimes in Punjab, Rai Rai Singh was allowed to visit his *Watan*.² In 1582 Rai Rai Singh was again called to court and despatched to Bengal to help Mirza Aziz Koka who was hard pressed in suppressing the rebellion of Masum Khan Kabuli in Bengal and Qutlu Khan in Orissa.³ In 1585 he was sent to assist Imad Quli Khan against the rebellion of local Zamindars in Baluchistan. After the successful completion of the campaign he returned to the court.⁴

In 1586 Rai Rai Singh married his daughter to Prince Salim. This new relationship considerably enhanced his prestige at the Mughal court⁵ and we find that immediately after this he was appointed as joint *Subedar* of the *Suba* of Lahore along with Bhagwant Das.⁶ It seems that sometimes after his appointment as joint *Subedar*, he left for his *watan*, possibly because of some

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.196-97; *M.U.*, II, pp.151-52

² For details of the campaign see *Akbarnama*, III, pp.337-38,345-46,353,359-61,371-73; *M.U.*, II, pp.151-52

³ Karni Singh, *The relation of the house of Bikaner with central power*, Bikaner, p.50

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.475-76,488

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, p.494

⁶ *Ibid*, p.511

misunderstanding with Bhagwant Das. The Emperor intervened and it was decided that either he should proceed to the Deccan to join the imperial forces or present himself at the imperial court. But Rai Rai Singh ignored the orders and continued to stay at his *watan*. Therefore, the Emperor sent him a strongly worded *farman* with orders to take up the work immediately otherwise the same may be assigned to some one else.¹ We do not know what was the response of Rai Rai Singh to this order, but from the *Akbarnama* we come to know that he came to the court in 1590 and very soon granted leave to visit his *watan*.²

Shortly afterwards (1590) Rai Rai Singh's son Dalpat and Rawal Bhim of Jaisalmer came to the court (Amarkot) and presented themselves before the Emperor. They were appointed to assist Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan who was being sent against Jani Beg the ruler of Thatta.³ It seems that at this time Dalpat was assigned the rank of 500.⁴ But in one the battles fought against Jani Beg, Dalpat, in spite of having a large force with him, out of cowardice did not participate in the battle and looked on as a spectator from a distance.⁵ Therefore, Khan-i-Khanan complained against Dalpat's behaviour and requested for reinforcement of both in men and material. In response to Khan-i-Khana's request, the Emperor immediately despatched Rai Rai Singh to Thatta to help Khan-i-Khanan in his campaign.⁶ After the conquest of Thatta, Rai Rai Singh returned to court and got leave to visit his *watan*. In 1593 a tragedy took place in his family; Balbhadra his son in law died of a fall from the palanquin. Akbar himself went to his house for sharing the grief and stopped his daughter from becoming *Sati* as her children were too young.⁷ In 1594 Rai Rai Singh

¹ Tirmizi, p.65, s.no.76

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.581

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.602,605-6; *M.U.*, II, pp.152-53

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.229; *M.U.*, II, p.153; *Ain*, I, p.163

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.605-6,609

⁶ *Akbarnama*, III, p.606; *M.U.*, II, p.151

⁷ *Akbarnama*, III, p.641; *M.U.*, II, pp.151-52

was appointed to serve in the Deccan and was assigned Junagarh in *Jagir*.¹ But from a *farman* of Akbar dated 12 July 1595 it appears that Rai Rai Singh did not follow the orders and continued to stay in Bikaner. As a consequence the imperial army was reduced to critical situation. The Emperor was so angry with him that he ordered him to proceed immediately on pilgrimage to some holy place and hand over the charge of the town and territories to the men of Dalpat.² We do not know whether he followed the instruction or not but from the contents of another *farman* of Akbar and from the scrutiny of the later events it appears that he took no notice of the order and stayed in Bikaner. The arrogance of Rai Rai Singh angered Akbar so much that his *Jagirs* in Gujrat were confiscated. But within a short period Rai Rai Singh was again forgiven and his *Jagirs* were restored. In 1596 a *farman* was issued which was addressed to the Chaudharis, Qanungos, and rayots of *Pargana* Nirvad, informing them that *Pargana* Nirvad is bestowed upon Rai Rai Singh by way of *Jagir* in exchange for the *Pargana* of Tahara, Qasur and Atgarh from the beginning of the Kharif of *Bichi-il*.³ Similarly in 1597 a *farman* addressed to *Jagirdars* of Gujrat, informing them that the wrongs of Rai Rai Singh were forgiven and the *Jagir* of Junagadh and other district was restored.⁴

Karni Singh on the authority of *Dayal Das ri Khyat* writes:

“in 1597 a friction occurred between the Emperor and Rai Rai Singh over an incident which happened while Rai Rai Singh was at Bhatner. The incident was that Nasir Khan one of Akbar’s father in law was staying at Bhatner with him. Rai Rai Singh who had deputed Teja (one of his servants) to look after the comforts of Nasir Khan reported that the Khan had misbehaved with a khatri girl. Rai Rai Singh accepted the version of Teja’s complaint and allowed Teja to use his discretion to bring Nasir Khan to his

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.646-47; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, ed. Ali Ahmad and Lees Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1864-69, pp.400,403

² Tirmizi, p.69, s.no.91

³ Ibid, p.71, s.no. 96

⁴ Ibid, p.73, s.no. 103

senses. Teja who was on the look out for an excuse, found one when Nasir Khan, on account of some defect in the supplies sent to him, addressed Teja in foul language; whereupon Teja and his men beat Nasir Khan. When Nasir Khan returned to Delhi, he complained to Akbar against Rai Rai Singh's men. The Emperor ordered Rai Rai Singh to send Teja to him. But Rai Rai Singh reported that Teja had fled. The Emperor was so put out that he deprived the Raja of the gift of Bhatner and granted it to Dalpat".¹

In the chieftaincy of Bikaner also after this incident attempt were made to remove Rai Rai Singh as the ruler of Bikaner and enthrone Dalpat in his place. The lead was taken by Karam Chand. As soon as Rai Rai Singh came to know of this conspiracy, he tried to arrest and kill Karam Chand. But he fled from Bikaner and came to the court where he reported to the Emperor that Rai Rai Singh was harassing the servants loyal to the Emperor and was himself indulging in rebellious activities. Having come to know of the arrival of Karam Chand at the court and his hostile activities, Rai Rai Singh himself came to the court to clear the misunderstanding which had been created by elements hostile to him. But the Emperor was so angry with him that he was not allowed to present himself before the Emperor². But Rai Rai Singh continued his efforts to clarify his position and bring the truth to the knowledge of the Emperor. Ultimately Rai Rai Singh was able to convince the Emperor that Karam Chand was actually a fugitive and had misled the court. Therefore, Rai Rai Singh was pardoned and restored to his previous position. He was also immediately despatched to the Deccan and in addition to the *Jagirs* earlier held by him, Sortath was also added in his *Jagir*.³ He started from the court towards Deccan

¹ Karni Singh, p.53

² M.U., II, pp.152-53

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.717-18; Tirmizi, p.73, s.no.103; M.U., II, p.153; Shyamal Das writes that Kishan Chand who was a servant of Rai Rai Singh wanted to kill him and enthrone his son Dalpat. When Rai Rai Singh came to know of this conspiracy he himself, tried to kill Kishan Chand but he fled away to the Mughal court and lodged a false complaint to save his life. (*Vir vinod*, II, p.487)

but after reaching Bikaner he stayed there. When the matter was reported at the court, Prince Salim sent him a *Nishan* with orders to proceed immediately to the Deccan and help Khan-i-Khanan to recover imperial glory.¹ But it seems that the order of Prince also had no effect and he continued to stay in his *watan* and made certain representation to the Emperor about Rawl Ham and Rawal Bara who were probably involved in some rebellious activities and now Rai Rai Singh had represented that they may be pardoned. Although the Emperor was unhappy with his delaying tactics, but probably keeping in view that he was a senior Rajput noble and with whom imperial family had matrimonial relations agreed to pardon then provided he was satisfied of their conduct and the rebels themselves were prepared to make amends for what they have done in the past.² But the Emperor also warned him that if he would not proceed on duty immediately, he will be brought to court and Salahuddin was actually deputed for this duty. Shortly after receiving this letter Rai Rai Singh came to the court but as he had ignored the imperial orders for long, for some time he was not allowed to present himself before the Emperor. However, in consideration of his past services the Emperor again pardoned him³ and appointed (1599) to serve in the Deccan under Prince Murad. But for his safe conduct his son and grand son were summoned to the court. The Emperor further advised to him that he should not break the journey at any place and negligence in any way will not be tolerated.⁴ Rai Rai Singh according to the instruction sent his son Dalpat to the court and himself marched towards Deccan. But while he was on his way Prince Murad died and he returned to the presence.

Some times in the same year (1600) Muzaffar Husain Mirza, who was imprisoned, fled from the court. As the Emperor was in the Deccan a very

¹ Tirmizi, p.73, s.no.102

² Ibid, p.73, s.no.104

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.717-18; *M.U.*, II, p.153

⁴ Tirmizi, p.74, s.no.107

awkward situation was created. Dalpat who was present at the court was immediately despatched to capture him. But soon after leaving the capital Dalpat himself fled to Bikaner¹ and started making disturbance in the region, because he was not satisfied with the *Jagir* assigned to him.² When Rai Rai Singh came to know of the rebellious activities of Dalpat he took leave from the Emperor and marched towards Bikaner.³ Within a short period he was able to re-establish peace in the region (1601). He also visited the court and apprised the Emperor about the state of affairs in the chieftaincy.⁴ But it seems that Rai Rai Singh was not able to completely quell the rebellion of his son. Therefore, when he visited the court in 1602 he was not allowed to present himself before the Emperor. After making repeated representation and apologies, he was pardoned and admitted to presence. The Emperor also seems to have pardoned Dalpat because at the same time in regard to Dalpat he is said to have remarked:

“until he attain the good graces of his father, who is his visible god and the pleasing of whom is bound up with the pleasing of God he can not participate in the favours of the sovereign.”⁵

Shortly afterwards in 1603 Rai Rai Singh was deputed with Prince Sultan Salim to serve in the Mewar expedition.⁶ The campaign however, failed as is well known due to carelessness of Salim and the imperial army returned to the court. Soon after his arrival the *Pargana* of Shamsabad was divided into two parts namely Shamsabad and Nurpur and both the *Parganas* were granted to him in *Jagir*.⁷ He held the *rank* of 4000 at the close of Akbar's reign.⁸

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, p.770; *Vir vinod*, II, p.487

² *Vir vinod*, II, p.487

³ *Akbarnama*, III, p.770,784,790; *M.U.*, II, p.154

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.798-99,809-10

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.809-10

⁶ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.822-23; *M.U.*, II, p.154

⁷ Tirmizi, p.78, s.no. 121; Karni Singh, p.56

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.23; *M.U.*, II, p.154

Rai Rai Singh had ten brothers ¹ but only one brother Amar Singh seems to have joined imperial service. But it seems he was not satisfied with his position; therefore, sometimes in 1587 he rebelled against the imperial authority. The Emperor appointed Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Hamza the *Jagirdar* of Bhimbhar along with some retainers of Rai Rai Singh to suppress the rebellion. In the battle fought between the imperialist and the rebels Amar Singh and his son Keshav Das were defeated and killed.² Another member of his family Kaka Singh was also admitted in service and served in Kashmir where in 1587 he performed meritorious service and saved the life of Qasim Khan, Mughal *Subedar* of Kashmir.³ His son Dalpat about whome we have discussed above held the rank of 500 at the end of Akbar's reign.⁴

During the closing year of Akbar's reign due to his serious illness a crisis developed for succession to the throne. The details of the whole drama are quite well known and hardly need any further explanation. Prince Salim who was then in a very difficult situation send a *Nishan* to Rai Rai Singh informing him about the crisis and also asked him to reach the court immediately.⁵ Soon after receiving the communication of the Prince, Rai Rai Singh came to court and openly supported the cause of Salim who was also his son in law. Although we are not informed about the activities of Rai Rai Singh but it seems that he remained firm in his loyalty of Salim and in reward for his service, after the accession, he was promoted to the rank of 5000.⁶

For the outstanding military services rendered by Rai Rai Singh in different military campaign, the Emperor rewarded him with lavish *Jagirs* in

¹ Namely, Rai Singh, Ram. Singh, Prithvi Raj, Amar Singh, Bhan, Surtan, Sarangdev, Bhakharsi, Gopal Singh and Raghav Das. (*Virvinod*, II, p.485)

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.596

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.521-22

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.111; *M.U.*, II, p.154; *Ain*, I, p.163

⁵ Tirmizi, p.79, s.no.124

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.23

different parts of the Empire. Early in his military career he was assigned Nagore, Sirsa, Maroth, Hansi, Hissar and a number of other *Parganas*.¹ Later in 1581 Rai Rai Singh also held Lakhipur in *Jagir* in *Suba* Punjab.² In 1585 he was granted the *Pargana* of Bhatner in the Sarkar of Hissar Firoza in exchange of Lakhipur.³ In 1596 he was granted the *Jagir* of Nirvad in exchange of Tahara, Qasur and Atgarh.⁴ In 1597 *Jagir* of Junagadh was restored to him. Later on he received the *Jagir* of Nurpur and Shamshabad.⁵ He is also said to have held Sojat and Merta.⁶

From the above it is quite clear that the relations of Bikaner, right from the time of joining imperial service under Rao Kalyan Mal down to the time of Akba's death, remained by and large extremely cordial. The relations were further strengthened with the marriage of Rai Rai Singh's daughter with Prince Salim. However, the favours of assignment of ranks and offices were not extended to other members of the family. Although, the Emperor was very kind to Rai Rai Singh but at least on two occasions he defied imperial orders and the Emperor got so angry with him that his *Jagir* was confiscated and he was debarred from personal presence. But there was apparently no reason for him to disobey the imperial order; possibly it was the result of some misunderstanding because on both the occasion within a short period of time on his personal pleading, he was pardoned. In spite of holding charge of a small principality, Rai Rai Singh was the only ruler after Kachhwahas who was assigned a high rank and important offices and military commands during the reign of

¹ *Dalpat Vilas*, pp.22-23, Karni Singh, p.62

² *Akbarnama*, III, pp.545-46; Tirmizi, pp.63-64, s.no.71

³ Ibid

⁴ Tirmizi, p.71, s.no.96

⁵ Ibid, pp.7,73,78, s.no. 96, 103, 121; Karni Singh, p.56

⁶ *Dalpat Vilas*, pp.30, 41-42

Akbar.¹ However, as mentioned above his other relations such as Shrang, Ram Singh, Prithvi Raj did not receive *mansab*.

Soon after ascending the throne as mentioned above Jahangir promoted Rai Rai Singh to the rank of 5000.² His son Dalip was also confirmed to his previous rank of 500.³ Rai Rai Singh remained at the court and at the time of Khusrau's rebellion when the Emperor himself proceeded in pursuit of the rebel Prince, he along with Sheikh Alauddin, Mirza Ghyas Beg Tehrani and Dost Muhammad, was made incharge of Agra with the specific task of conducting the ladies to Emperor's presence at short notice.⁴ While the armies were still marching in pursuit of Khusrau, the Emperor ordered Rai Rai Singh to reach the imperial camp along with the ladies. He started towards Punjab and after reaching the village of Mathura, he suddenly left the camp and fled towards his *watan* Bikaner and along with his son Dalip and unfurled the banner of revolt.⁵ In his memoirs Jahangir narrates in detail the causes of the revolt. He writes:

“when Khusrau fled and I pursued him, Rai Rai Singh asked Man Singh (a Jain Monk) what would be the duration of my reign and the chances of my success. That black tongued fellow, who pretended to be skilled in astrology and the extraction of Judgments, said to him that my reign would almost last for two years. The doting old idiot (Rai Singh) relied upon this and went off without leave to his home”.⁶

The Emperor ordered Raja Jagannath, Muizul Mulk, Zahid Khan and Rana Sagar who were deputed in Mewar, to immediately proceed towards

¹ Karni Singh on the authority of Bikaner's Gazetteers writes that Rai Rai Singh was appointed governor at least four different occasions, in 1581 governor of Punjab, in 1586 Burhanpur in Khandesh, 1593 Surat and in 1605-6, Burhanpur second time. (Karni Singh, p.59)

² *Tuzuk*, p.23

³ *Ibid*, p.111

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.40,62; *Iqbalnama*, pp.5, 9; *Maasir i Jahangiri*, p.71

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.36,40,62

⁶ *Ibid*, p.217

Bikaner and suppress the rebels. The imperial commanders marched towards Nagore which was under the control of the rebels and after a short encounter completely defeated them. However, both Rai Rai Singh and Dalip were able to escape from the battle field.¹ From a *farman* of Jahangir address to Rai Rai Singh it appears that Rai Rai Singh soon after his defeat send an *Arzdasht* (request) through his wakil pleading for mercy. From the *farman* it also appears that Rai Rai Singh also proceeded towards Lahore to personally offer his submission. When the Emperor came to know of this, he ordered him to leave his sons and other family members at Lahore and come to the presence alone. Rai Rai Singh fully complied with the orders, hence on his arrival he was pardoned of his fault.² However, he was not allowed to present himself before the Emperor. He stayed at the court and requested Amirul Umara Sharif Khan who was very close to the Emperor during this period to help him to present himself before the Emperor. His efforts yielded good results, Amirul Umara interceded on his behalf and the Emperor pardoned him. In the *Tuzuk* in this connection Jahangir writes: "To please Amirul Umara I ordered, the rank which he formerly held to be confirmed to him and his *Jagir* to remain as it was"³

Shortly afterwards his son Dalip also came to the court and at the request of Khan-i-Jahan the Emperor overlooked his offences and readmitted him in the service.⁴ Soon after both of them were appointed to assist imperial forces in the Deccan. We are not aware of the role that they played in the Deccan but a *farman* of the Emperor indicates that Rai Rai Singh was providing very useful

¹ *Tuzuk* p.36,40; *Vir vinod*, II, p.294

² Tirmizi, p.81, s.no.128

³ *Tuzuk*, p.62; *Vir vinod*, II, p.295

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.70; But Karni Singh on the basis of a *farman* writes that when Rai Rai Singh was troubled by the rebellion of Dalpat Singh in 1607, the Emperor immediately sent a *farman* to express his strong disapproval of the son's disgraceful conduct towards his father. The Emperor had at first thought of sending an army to Rai Singh's assistance. But on second thought he refrained from doing so as he had not heard from Rai Singh. (Karni Singh, p. 60)

help to the Prince and he was assured that after the successful completion of the campaign he will be suitably rewarded. A robe of honour was also sent to him through Sarang Deo.¹ He however, died at Burhanpur in 1612 before the completion of the campaign.² After his death, his eldest son Dalip came to the court from the Deccan and presented himself before the Emperor. He was honoured with the title of Rai and a dress of honour was also presented to him.³

Rai Rai Singh's another son Suraj Singh born of his most favourite wife also came to the court and represented to the Emperor that his father had nominated him as his successor and had also given him the *Tika*, therefore, he was the real claimant of the throne. Jahangir did not like the manner of his representation and in a fit of anger remarked "if they father has given the *Tika* to thee, we shall give it to Dalip." The Emperor was so much annoyed that he put the *Tika* on Dalpat Singh's forehead with his own hands and in confirmation of his decision, his father's *Jagir* and hereditary possession were also conferred upon him.⁴ However, it is important to note that Suraj Singh was also assigned the *Jagir* of Phalodi alongwith 84 villages which were earlier assigned to him by his father.⁵

Thereafter, Dalip was appointed to assist Mirza Rustam Safavi who had been sent as a governor of the *Suba* of Sindh. At the time of his departure to Sindh the Emperor promoted him to the rank of 2000/1000.⁶ But Dalip Singh instead of proceeding to Thatta, went to Bikaner and rose in rebellion.⁷ The Persian as well as Rajasthani sources are silent about the causes of his rebellion. It seems that Dalip who was already unhappy with the Emperor because he was

¹ Tirmizi, p.83, s.no.135

² *Tuzuk*, p.106; *Z.Khawanin*, p.132

³ *Tuzuk*, p.106

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.106; *Vir vinod*, II, p.298

⁵ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.289, 489

⁶ *Tuzuk*, pp.111-12

⁷ *Umrai Hunood*, p.194

given very small rank (only a part of his father's rank) as compared to the rank of other Rajput houses, decided to rebel on being posted to Sindh.

After reaching Bikaner, he captured the *Jagirs* of local chiefs and later on, on the advice of his minister Purohit Man Mahesh, he captured the entire area except Phalodi assigned by the Emperor to his brother Suraj Singh.¹ Suraj Singh along with his officials went to Bikaner and unsuccessfully pleaded with his brother to return the villages wrongly occupied by him. Thereafter he sent Purohit Laxmi Das his representative to the court to lodge a complaint against the hostile activities of Dalip.² As no action was taken on his complaint, he decided to approach the Emperor personally. On his way to court at Sangner he met Raja Man Singh and requested him to intercede on his behalf in the matter. When he reached Soram he received the summons of the Emperor to present himself at the court.³ About the same time the Emperor also summoned Dalip. But Dalip who had already unfurled the banner of revolt did not respond to the repeated calls of the Emperor. Sur Singh after reaching to the court presented himself before the Emperor, and apprised him of the wrong doings of Dalip. Therefore, the Emperor despatched a strong army under the command of Ziauddin Khan and Sarbarah Khan to expel Rao Dalip from Bikaner and install Suraj Singh on the throne of Bikaner.⁴ In a battle fought near Hissar on the borders of Bikaner, Dalip was completely defeated, due to the treachery of some of his important Sardars such as Bhim Singh, Devi Das and Tejsi. However, he escaped from the battle field and saved himself from being arrested.⁵ But shortly afterwards Hashim the *Faujdar* and *Jagirdar* of that

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, p.489

² *Vir vinod*, II, p.489; Ojha, V, part 1, p.208

³ Tirmizi, p.89, s.no. 155; *Vir vinod*, II, p.489

⁴ *Z. Khawanin*, p.411; *Vir vinod*, II, p.489

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.126; Shyamal Das in *Virvinod* writes that during the course of battle Sur Singh and Ziauddin sent out their agents to the sardars of Dalpat to garner their support for the imperial cause. For details the events and name of sardars see, *Vir vinod*, II, p.489

region (Hissar) arrested him and sent him as a prisoner to the Emperor who was at Ajmer.¹ The Emperor was much pleased to know the defeat and capture of Dalip. He immediately sent a *farman* to Rao Suraj Singh expressing his pleasure on the capture of Dalip and ordered him to come to court at once². The Emperor took very strong action against Dalip. On the charge of repeated act of misbehaviour and rebellions he was executed.³ No other Chieftain was awarded death sentence either in the reign of Akbar or in Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reign, although such rebellions were usual. Why such an harsh punishment was given to Dalip is unexplainable.

However, after execution of Dalip, Rao Suraj Singh with the approval of Emperor ascended to the throne of Bikaner.⁴ He came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. In reward for this service he received promotion of 500/200⁵. At the court he met Lakshmi Chand and Bhagchand sons of Karan Chand a former minister of the Bikaner state and persuaded them to return to Bikaner. After their return, Rao Suraj Singh to take revenge of their role in an attempt to supercede his father, treacherously killed them.⁶ He also took action against Purohit Man Mahesh on whose advice Dalip had confiscated his *Jagirs*.⁷ During his stay at Bikaner he regularly received *farmans* of Emperor Jahangir and offered his help to imperial officials

¹ *Tuzuk*, p. 126; *Vir vinod*, II, p.490

² Tirmizi, p.90, s.no.159

³ *Tuzuk*, p.126; But Shyamal Das on the authority of local sources writes that while Dalpat was imprisoned at Ajmer, Hathi Singh Champawat (a *Jagirdar* of Marwar) who on his way to visit his wife's family halted for a day at Ajmer and expressed his desire to see Dalpat. But being denied permission to meet him, he attacked and killed the guard and freed Dalpat. *Subedar* of Ajmer immediately marched in their pursuit, over powered them and killed both Dalpat and Hathi Singh. (*Virvinod*, II, pp.490-91)

⁴ *Nainsi Khyat*, II, p.199; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.491-92

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.126

⁶ *Virvinod*, II, p.492; It was Karam Chand who hatched a conspiracy in 1597 to remove Rai Rai Singh and enthrone Dalpat in his place. (*Vir vinod*, II, p.487)

⁷ *Vir vinod*, II, pp. 491-92; Dalpat had resumed all the *Jagirs* of Sur Singh on the advice of Man Mahesh in 1612. (*Vir vinod*, II, p.489)

Nizamuddin Asaf Khan and Alif Khan in the suppression of the revolt of Mansur, Bhati and the rebels of lakhi Jungle.¹ He also received several *Nishans* of Prince Khurram and acted according to his suggestions.²

In 1615 he was summoned to the court and appointed to serve in the Deccan campaign.³ Although Rao Sur Singh complied the imperial order and reported for duty in the Deccan but it appears that he wanted to go back to his *watan*. Probably in this connection he also made an appeal to Khan Khanan as well as to Prince Khurram because we get reference of a *Hukmnama* of Khan Khanan in which he is advised to remain in Deccan and wait for fresh order.⁴ In his two *Nishans* dated 14 July 1616 and 13 Feb 1617 Khurram also informed him that his representation had reached the Emperor who had promised him royal favour and that the orders to call him to court will be issued soon. Further he was also advised to discharge his duties carefully and whole heartedly.⁵ However, he was allowed to visit his *watan* only after the successful completion of the campaign. While he was in Bikaner in June 1617 he again received a *Nishan* of Prince Khurram ordering him not to interfere in the affairs of the *Pargana* of Phalodi and its villages because those *Pargana* were included in the *Khalisa Mahals*.⁶ Shortly afterwards he received two more *Nishans* dated 4th Dec. 1617 and 24th Dec. 1617 assuring him of royal favours for his devoted service to the cause of imperial authority.⁷ He was also order to take such step that may stop the migration of Tahara tenants to the villages of *Pargana* Bhatinda.⁸ About the same (Nov 16, 1617) time he also received a *Hukum* from

¹ Tirmizi, p.89, s.no.154

² For details of the *farman* see, Tirmizi, pp.90-94, s.no. 160, 161, 163, 167, 168, 170, 171

³ Tirmizi, pp.96, 99, s.no. 179, 187

⁴ Ibid, p.99, s.no. 187

⁵ Ibid, pp.100-1, s.no.189, 196

⁶ Ibid, p.102, s.no.198

⁷ Ibid, p.103, s.no. 203

⁸ Ibid, p.104, s.no. 204

Nurjahan Begum ordering him to pay some money to her treasurer Kishan Das and his son Barman from his estate and realise it afterwards from their salary.¹

Sometimes in 1619 again Rao Suraj Singh was appointed to serve in Deccan. He was also promoted to the rank of 2000/ 2000.² However, we hardly have any information about his activities in the Deccan in the next two years. But the situation in the Deccan continued to deteriorate and the hold of imperial officials considerably slackened. Khan-i-Khana's repeated appeals of reinforcements were not seriously taken up by the Emperor. Consequently imperial officials were expelled by the Deccanis from several forward positions. The Emperor who was in Kashmir, now decided to send Khurram to punish the Deccanis and re-occupy the imperial territories.³

About the same time (Jan 1621) the Emperor issued a *farman* to Rao Suraj Singh informing him that he himself along with Prince Khurram had left Lahore and that Khurram was being sent to the Deccan to strengthen the Mughal armies. He was ordered to guard his territories to the best of his ability and resources till the arrival of the imperial army under Khurram. He was also assured of royal favours.⁴ After about a month the Emperor sent him another *farman* dated 18 Feb 1621 providing him details of the movement of Khurram's army towards Deccan, specially pointing out that after reaching Burhanpur, Khurram will take rest for a few day and then proceeded to punish the rebels. Rao Suraj Singh was ordered to join the Prince's army and make every effort to uproot and annihilate the rebels completely.⁵ We have at least two other *farmans* of Emperor Jahangir addressed to Rao Suraj Singh regarding his action in the Deccan war. In the *farman* issued on 23 Feb 1621 the Emperor

¹ Tirmizi, p.103, s.no. 202

² *Tuzuk*, p.269

³ *Iqbalnama*, p.176; Saxena, p.27

⁴ Tirmizi, p.118, s.no.243

⁵ *Ibid*, s.no. 244

simply informed him that he had received a very favourable report about his exertions, devotion and attachment towards the Emperor from Khan Khanan and that the Emperor was very much pleased and that he will be duly rewarded.¹ In the second *farman* dated 7 May 1621 the Emperor again gives a reference of the report of Darab Khan, where in his important role in the conquest of Khirki was highlighted. The Emperor again expresses his satisfaction and assured him of promotion in rank.² Shahnawaz Khan writes that after the successful completion of the Deccan campaign Rao Suraj was actually promoted to the rank of 3000/2000.³

The situation in the Deccan as well as at the imperial court took a new turn with the invasion of Qandhar by the Persian in March 1622. The Emperor, as soon as he came to know of the march of the Persian army, ordered Khurram to lead a campaign to save Qandhar. But Khurram did not obey the orders, as is commonly known to all of us and consequently relation between Khurram and the Emperor became strained, ultimately leading to Khurram's revolt.⁴

During the period of Persian invasion of Qandhar when the preparations of a campaign under Khurram were being organised the Emperor also summoned Rao Suraj Singh to court, apparently to join the campaign.⁵ Rao Suraj Singh, it seems immediately started towards the court. But shortly after his departure, the Emperor sent him another *farman* directing him to proceed to Jalnapur near Amber, where he was now transferred. It was further mentioned that if he would not follow this order and came to the court it would be considered a hostile act and his *Jagirs* will be resumed.⁶ The above information is gleaned from a *farman* of the Emperor to Rao Suraj Singh but other

¹ Tirmizi, p.118, s.no.245

² Ibid, p.246

³ *M.U.*, II, pp.211-12

⁴ For details see *Tuzuk*, pp.345-47

⁵ Tirmizi p.120, s.no.252

⁶ Ibid, p.120, s.no.253

contemporary accounts, hardly provide any information about of these development. The anger of Emperor is hardly understandable unless we get a reference to indicate that Rao Suraj Singh at this time was close to Khurram and was acting at his behest. Rao Suraj Singh after receiving this order, pleaded with the Emperor that he had not acted in any manner against the imperial authority and requested for favours. Apparently in response to this *Arzdasht*, the Emperor responded favourably and in January 1623 Prince Shahryar send him a *Nishan* assuring him that the Emperor had accepted his pleadings. He further asked him to immediately proceed along with a well equipped army to join the Persian expedition.¹ But soon after receiving the above mentioned *Nishan*, Rao also received a *farman* of the Emperor, ordering him to punish Kesho Das and Askaran of Kandlot and Jogal clans of *Pargana* Bhatner, who were harassing imperial officials and *Jagirdars*.²

From the above it becomes quite clear that the Rao was able to regain the confidence of the Emperor; however, there is no reference in this *farman* of his appointment to Persian campaign. Possibly the matter was not referred because the campaign was not taken up seriously and in the meantime Khurram openly rebelled. As soon as the Emperor came to know of the rebellion of Khurram, he ordered important nobles posted in the Deccan under the Prince to come to the court. Rao Suraj Singh who was also summoned to the court, reached Delhi only after the battle of Bilochpur.³ It appears that from the Deccan he went strait to his *watan* and stayed there watching carefully the movement of rebellious army and decided to come to the presence only after defeat of the Prince at Bilochpur. Keeping in view the adverse political situation at the court, Emperor ignored his delay in reaching to the capital and appointed him to

¹ Tirmizi, p.123, s.no. 261

² Ibid, pp.123-24, s.no.265

³ *Tuzuk*, p.360; *Vir vinod*, II, p.492

accompany Parwez and Mahabat Khan deputed to punish Khurram.¹ In course of the campaign against Khurram, the activities of Rao Suraj Singh were closely monitored by the Emperor. The Emperor used to regularly send him *farmans*, informing him that he had received messages of his meritorious service in the campaign and assurances of continued favours.²

After the suppression of Khurram's rebellion he was appointed in the Deccan along with Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan. But as is well known Mahabat Khan was transferred to Bengal and Khan-i-Jahan was made incharge of the Deccan. The transfer of Mahabat Khan was strongly opposed by Parwez and Mahabat Khan himself consequently a very awkward situation was created. Therefore to warn the nobles against any hostile move, the Emperor issued a *farman* to Rao Suraj Singh informing him that Khan-i-Jahan had been appointed as the commander of the army of the Deccan and if any one hereafter will visit to the house of Khan-i-Khanan and acts upon his advice he would not only be dismissed from service but would also be awarded exemplary punishment.³ Shortly after the above strongly worded *farman*, the Emperor issued yet another *farman* where in he was informed that the Emperor was much pleased to know of his devotion and sincerity for the imperial cause which the Emperor had come to know from the letter of Fidai Khan. Further, he was ordered to obey the orders of Khan-i-Jahan and discharge his duties faithfully.⁴ The Emperor, even after that send him several *farmans*, and in each of these, he was ordered to follow the advice of the Prince and discharge his duties faithfully. In one of the *farmans*, he was informed of the death of Malik

¹ *Iqbalnama*, pp.204-5; I.A.Zaidi, 'The Rajput Chiefs and Prince Shah Jahan's revolt', *Islamic Culture*, 1987, pp. 67-68, 71

² Tirmizi, pp.125-26, s.no.272, 275; *Dutch Chronicle*, pp.69-70; *The English factories*(1622-23) ed. Foster, Oxford, 1908, p.218

³ Tirmizi, pp.127-28, s.no.281; 'The Rajput Chiefs and Prince Shah Jahan's revolt', *Islamic Culture*, 1987, pp.74-75

⁴ Tirmizi, p.128, s.no.283; 'The Rajput Chiefs and Prince Shah Jahan's revolt', *Islamic Culture*, 1987, 74-75

Ambar, and directed to take advantage of the situation in extirpating the rebels completely. It was further added that Raja Sarang Deo was being send with more information in this connection.¹ But shortly afterwards he was transferred to Multan. He was also informed that Mahabat Khan was being posted to Thatta 'to fight against the rebels.'² It seems that after his transfer to Multan, the situation in the Deccan aggravated, hence the Emperor ordered him to proceed to Burhanpur immediately to punish the rebels and retrieve the situation.³ But from the later events it is apparent that he did not go to Burhanpur and proceeded towards Bikaner. In the meantime Mahabat Khan attempted a *coup*. The imperialist were able to overcome the crisis and Mahabat Khan left the imperial camp. Armies were deputed to pursue him. The Emperor sent a *farman* to Rao Suraj informing him of the action taken against Mahabat Khan and also ordered him that if Mahabat Khan or any of his men entered his territories they should be attacked and killed.⁴ Nurjahan Begum also issued him a *Hukum* asking him to obey the *farman* issued by the Emperor and serve with complete devotion and sincerity. He was also promised favours.⁵

As soon as the problem of Mahabat Khan was overcome, the Emperor again issued him a *farman* ordering him to immediately proceed to Burhanpur and join Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.⁶ But it seems Rao still remained in Bikaner and made representation for additional *Jagirs*.⁷ Soon afterwards another *farman* was issued with a reference to an earlier *farman* with orders to immediately proceed to Burhanpur. He was further informed that Jamal Muhammad was being send

1 Tirmizi, pp.130-32, s.no.296, 299, 304

2 The appointment was made just before his rebellion. Tirmizi, pp.132-33, s.no.306, 307

3 Tirmizi, p.133, s.no.309; For more details, see 'The Rajput Chiefs and Prince Shah Jahan's revolt', *Islamic Culture*, 1987, pp. 76-77

4 Tirmizi, p.133, s.no.310

5 Ibid, s.no. 311

6 Ibid, p.134, s.no.313

7 Ibid, p.136, s.no. 323

to his presence to conduct him to Burhanpur. In the end it was mentioned that his request for additional *Jagir* had been accepted.¹ A separate *farman* later on was issued about the details of the additional *Jagir* assigned to him.²

Shortly afterwards Jahangir died at Bhimbhar (28 Oct. 1627) and a succession war started among his sons and grand son (Shah Jahan, Shaharyar and Dawar Bakhsh). Rao Suraj Singh preferred to stay in Bikaner and cautiously watched the development at the court. Dawar Bakhsh, although raised only as an escape goat, issued *farmans* to leading nobles of the Empire informing them of the sad demise of Emperor Jahangir and his own accession to the throne. He also asked them to discharge their duties honestly and remain in regular communication with the imperial court.³ Rao Suraj Singh also received a similar *farman* immediately after Dawar Bakhsh's accession. However, we are not informed of his reaction after receiving this *farman*. We hardly get any reference about Rao Suraj Singh during the whole period of the crisis at the court and Khurram's march from the Deccan towards Delhi. It seems as mentioned above, he remained at Bikaner, and kept on waiting for the dust of succession to settle down. But soon after the accession of Shah Jahan he came to court and offered his submission.⁴

From the above discussion it is quite clear that Jahangir's relations with the rulers of Bikaner remained cordial except for a brief period, between 1606 and 1613, when the Emperor was displeased with Rai Rai Singh and Dalip. The rulers of Bikaner, in spite of their small principality, acquired important position at the court and the Emperor also relied upon them. Rao Suraj Singh served the Emperor with sincerity and devotion. He remained completely loyal to the Emperor during the rebellion of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan's coup.

¹ Tirmizi, p.134, s.no.315

² Ibid, p.136, s.no.323, 324

³ Tirmizi, pp.136-37, s.no.325

⁴ *Iqbalnama*, pp.294-99; Lahori, Ia, p.120; Inayat Khan, p.14

However, after death of Rai Rai Singh, neither Rao Dalip nor Rao Suraj Singh could get the rank of 5000. Rao Suraj Singh at the end of Jahangir's reign held the rank of 3000/ 2000,¹ which was quite low as compared to the ranks held by other chiefs of Rajputana. There is another point to take note of. We have found a large number of *farmans* addressed to Rao Suraj Singh. These are related to his appointments, assignment of *Jagirs*, reply to his representations as well as advises relating to his conduct during campaigns in the Deccan. From a close scrutiny of these *farmans* it appears that the Emperor was suspicious of his conduct especially during his last years.

As mentioned above after Shah Jahan's accession Rao Suraj Singh came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. He was received cordially and promoted to the rank of 4000/2500.² Soon afterwards he was ordered to accompany Mahabat Khan who was being despatched to take action against Nazar Muhammad. But the army was called back because Nazar Muhammad was expelled by Lashkar Khan the *Subedar* of Kabul.³ After his return to the court Rao Suraj Singh was despatched along with Abdullah Khan to suppress the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundila.⁴ Jujhar Singh being unable to face the imperial forces, sued for peace. The imperial commanders recommended his case and the Emperor pardoned his offences. Thereafter Rao Suraj Singh was ordered to assist imperial forces deputed to suppress the rebellion of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. The imperialist forces overtook the rebels at Dholpur where a battle was fought and Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was defeated and fled to Ahmad Nagar where he was given shelter by Nizam Shah. The Emperor took the matter seriously, and he himself marched towards Deccan to suppress the rebellion and also to punish Nizam Shah who had given support to the

¹ Lahori, Ia, p.120; *M.U.*, I, pp.211-12

² Lahori, Ia, p.120; Inayat Khan p.19

³ Lahori, Ia, p.212; Tirmizi, pp.41-42, s.no.2, 3, 6

⁴ Lahori, Ia, pp.203-4, 242, 246, 294, 302; *M.U.*, III, pp.599-603; For more details see, Saxena, pp.80-82

rebels. Armies under the command of Iradat Khan, Raja Gaj Singh and Shaista Khan were despatched to take action against both, the rebels and Nizam Shah. Rao Suraj Singh was sent to join the contingent of Shaista Khan.¹ In the campaign Rao Suraj Singh along with his contingent fought bravely specially in the battle fought near Bir. The Emperor send him a *farman*, appreciating the exertion made by him and in recognition of his service increased his *mansab* by 500 *sawar*.² Thereafter he was deputed in the Balaghat region to fight against the Nizam Shahis and remained posted there until his death in 1631.³ At the time of his death he held the *mansab* of 4000/3000.⁴

After his death his eldest son Rao Karan succeeded to the throne⁵ and soon after along with his brother Shatrusal came to the court. Shah Jahan recognised him as the ruler of Bikaner and awarded the rank of 2000/1500. The title of *Rao* and hereditary *Jagir* of his homeland Bikaner was also conferred on him.⁶ Shatrusal was also admitted in imperial service and assigned a small rank of 500/200.⁷ Although, Shatrusal took active part in the Deccan campaign and lived up to 1638, he could not rise above the rank of 700/600.⁸ Except for these stray references we hardly get any details of Shatrusal's career in any contemporary or near contemporary sources.

Soon afterwards Rao Karan was appointed to assist imperial forces under Wazir Khan to punish Fateh Khan son of Malik Ambar and to conquer

1 Lahori, Ia, pp.294-98; *M.U.*, II, p.212

2 Lahori, Ia, pp.295-96, 350-51; Tirmizi, p.45, s.no.19; *Vir vinod*, II, p.333

3 Lahori, Ia, p.319; Tirmizi, p.46, s.no.21; *Vir vinod*, II, p.493

4 Lahori, Ib, p.297, 398

5 According to *Khyat* he had three sons namely Karan Singh, Shatrusal and Arjun Singh. (*Khyat*, II, p.200); Shyamal Das writes that he had only two sons namely Karan and Shatrusal. (*Vir vinod*, II, p.493)

6 Lahori, Ia, p.398, Ib, 302; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.334, 493; But Shahnawaz Khan writes that he was granted *mansab* of 2000/1000. (*M.U.*, II, p.212) According to the author of *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, the Emperor at the request of Mahabat Khan assigned the *mansab* and *Jagir* of Bikaner to Rao Karan. (*Z. Khawanin*, p.399)

7 Lahori, Ia, pp. 398; *M.U.*, II, p.212; *Vir vinod*, II, p.493

8 Lahori, Ib, p.316; *Umrai Hunood*, p.257

Daulatabad.¹ But before the imperial army could take any action, Fateh Khan accepted the subordination of the imperial authority and the army was recalled. But very soon he was again appointed to assist imperial army under Khan-i-Jahan in the Deccan against Shahji and Randola Khan of Bijapur and to conquer the fort of Daulatabad. The imperialist forces after defeating the Adil Shahis marched to Daulatabad and laid the siege of the fort. Meanwhile Mahabat Khan who was already present in the Deccan also reached there and vigorously press the siege operation. To create confusion in the enemy camp Khan-i-Jahan and Rao Karan were sent to plunder the enemy camp.² The commandant of the fort Khariat Khan managed to escape and went to Mahakot. Mahabat Khan immediately marched forward and took position at Amarkot and send a detachment to besiege Mahakot. But about the same time it came to the notice of Mahabat Khan that Khiloji and Bahlol were marching towards Berar and Telingana to create disturbance there. He therefore, sent Rao Karan and other officials to take action against them.³ Hard pressed from all sides, the Deccanies finally handed over the fort of Daulatabad to Mahabat Khan. Rao Karan played an important role in the campaign and in appreciation of his service during the siege of Daulatabad the Emperor send him a *farman*, pointing out that the facts of his devotion, valour and loyalty have been brought to his notice by Khan-i-Khanan. He was also assured of favours and increase in his *mansab* on the recommendation of Khan-i-Khanan. He was further advised to serve in such a manner that Khan-i-Khanan was pleased with him.⁴

After the conquest of Daulatabad he was ordered to assist Mahabat Khan and Khan-i-Zaman in the conquest of Parenda.⁵ The imperia forces however,

¹ Lahori, Ia, pp.409-10; *M.U.*, II, p.287

² Lahori, Ia, pp.496-510; Inayat Khan , p.105; *Vir vinod*, II, p.395; *Z.Khawanin*, pp.144-46, 399; For more details see Saxena, p.137-41

³ Lahori, Ia, p.519; *Z.Khawanin*, pp.144-46, 399

⁴ Tirmizi, p.50, s.no.43

⁵ *M.U.*, II, pp. 287-88

failed to achieve any success in the campaign and after raising the siege returned to Burhanpur. The retreating imperial army was attacked by the enemy but Rao Karan and Rao Satarsal Hada repulsed their attack and safely conduct it to Burhanpur.¹

Farid Bhakkari writes that Mahabat Khan took much pain in patronising Rao Karan that within a short period he was raised to the *mansab* of 3000/3000.² After the death of Mahabat Khan in 1634 he was attached to Khan-i-Dauran, the governor of Burhanpur.³

When Emperor Shah Jahan came to the Deccan for the second time to personally supervise the campaign, Rao Karan was ordered to assist Khan-i-Jahan Barha against Adil Shah of Bijapur.⁴ *Virvinod* is of the view that Rao Karan played an important role in bringing Adil Shah under imperial submission and returned to the court along with the Emperor.⁵ In 1642 while he was in Delhi a boundary dispute arose between the state of Bikaner and Marwar. Amar Singh elder brother of Jaswant Singh who held the *Jagir* of Nagore took possession of Lakhania (in 1638) a border village in the territory of Bikaner. On being informed Rao Karan Singh who was at Delhi, requested Amar Singh to return the captured territories but he refused to do so. Therefore, Rao Karan ordered his *Diwan* Muhta Jaswant to take back the village forcibly. *Diwan* Muhta Jaswant launched an attack and in a battle fought at Silva, defeated Amar Singh's army and took possession of the village. When Amar Singh came to know of these developments in Delhi, he requested the Emperor to allow him to visit his *watan* to bring about a settlement to the dispute. Rao Karan who was also present at the capital immediately met the

¹ Lahori, Ib, pp.35, 44-46; *M.U.*, II, pp.287-88; For more details see Saxena, pp.159-61

² *Z.Khawanin*, p.399

³ *M.U.*, II, pp.287-88

⁴ *M.U.*, II, pp.287-88; *Vir vinod*, II, p.494; Saxena, pp.144-48

⁵ *Vir vinod*, II, p.494

Emperor and apprised him of the full facts of the dispute and resulting battle. The Emperor therefore, did not allow Amar Singh to visit his *watan*. Although Amar Singh obeyed the imperial orders but ordered his minister to forcibly recapture the village. On being informed of the movement of Amar Singh's forces Rao Karan immediately requested Salabat Khan Bakhshi to intervene in the matter and settle the dispute through the office of the *Amin*. Salabat Khan took cognisance of the issue and reported the matter to the Emperor and on his instructions an *Amin* was appointed to settle the matter.¹

After the settlement of the dispute Rao Karan was granted leave to visit his *watan*. At the same time the Bhatīs of Pungal revolted under the leadership of Bhati Rao Sunder Sen, a feudatory chief of Rao Karan. Rao Karan marched against the rebels and put to siege the fort of Pungal and after a long fighting captured the fort. However, Sunder Sen escaped and carried on the rebellious activities for sometime. Rao Karan left a detachment at Pungal to suppress the rebels and himself returned to Bikaner.²

In 1649 Rao Karan came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. He was promoted to the *mansab* of 2000/2000 and appointed *Qiledar* of Daulatabad.³ In the very next year he was further raised to the rank of 2500/2000.⁴ Thereafter he remained posted in the Deccan along with his sons Kesari Singh and Padam Singh and rendered valuable service. In 1652 he was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000;⁵ and deputed to serve under Aurangzeb on

¹ Amar Singh perhaps considered the whole action of Salabat Khan as siding with Rao Karan and in 1644, when he presented himself before the Emperor, he attacked Salabat Khan with a dagger and killed him in the court but in reaction he was also killed by Arjun son of Bithal Das and Khalilullah Khan. (Lahori, II, p.382; Inayat Khan, pp.315-16; *M.U.*, I, pp.233-34; *Vir vinod* II, p.496)

² *Vir vinod*, II, pp.496-97

³ Waris b, p.49; *M.U.*, II, pp.287-88

⁴ Waris b, p.87; *M.U.*, II, pp.287-88

⁵ Waris b, p. 145

his second viceroyalty of Deccan.¹ Soon after joining his service, the Prince ordered him to conquer Sarkar Jawar in the Province of Aurangabad, where Sripat the Zamindar of the area was creating trouble. But before the military operation could actually start Sripat offered his submission to the imperial authorities and also agreed to pay tribute regularly. However, he requested that the right of collection of land revenue of Jawar be given to him. His request was accepted and the hostilities came to an end. Rao Karan returned to the headquarters along with the son of Sripat and presented him before the Prince.²

After his return from the Jawar campaign, Rao Karan remained in the service of Aurangzeb when the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan started. However, he decided to leave Aurangzeb when nobles posted in the Deccan including himself were summoned to the court.³ He left Deccan against the wishes of Aurangzeb but in place of going to the court proceeded to Bikaner. He left the Deccan in such haste that he could not bring his sons Kesri Singh and Padam Singh with him. After his arrival to Bikaner, we are completely unaware of his movements. It is also very surprising that at this critical juncture neither Shah Jahan nor Dara Shukoh approached him for his support, although such requests were made to other Chieftains of Rajasthan. Possibly the presence of his two sons with Aurangzeb made his position very vulnerable and during the entire period of the succession war he remained neutral and followed the policy of wait and watch.⁴

As mentioned above Kesri Singh and Padam Singh the sons of Rao Karan who remained in the Deccan, accompanied Prince Aurangzeb and loyally

¹ Shahnawaz Khan writes that when the fort of Daulatabad was given to Prince Aurangzeb, 500/500 *mansab* of Rao Karan withdrawn which he had received on the condition of governing the fort of Daulatabad. (*M.U.*, II, pp.288-89) But Wris and Salih recorded him as a mansabdar of 3000/2000 up to 1658. (Waris a, p.261; Salih, III, p.455)

² *M.U.*, II, pp.288-89

³ *M.U.*, II, pp.288-89; *Vir vinod*, II, p.498

⁴ *M.U.*, II, pp.289-90; *Vir vinod*, II, p.498

fought in the battles for the cause of Aurangzeb.¹ They were rewarded by the Emperor after his succession to throne but the Emperor was extremely unhappy with Rao Karan for his attitude during the war of succession. Therefore, soon after coronation an army under the command of Amir Khan Khwafi was sent to take action against him. But as soon as the army reached on the borders of Bikaner, Rao Karan submitted before Amir Khan without fighting and came to the court with imperial forces. He apologised for his past conduct and requested to be pardoned. The Emperor agreed to his request and conferred on him his previous rank of 3000/2000.² On this occasion he also met his sons.

The account of Bikaner house discussed above makes it quite clear that Shah Jahan by and large followed the same policy which his father Jahangir had initiated. His relation with Rao Karan remained cordial, however, he was neither given charge of a *Suba* or a higher rank. At the end of Shah Jahan's reign he held the rank of 3000/2000 and deputed to serve as one of the commanders under Aurangzeb.

¹ *Dayal Das Khyat*, II, p.176; Karni Singh, p.81

² *Maasir i Jahangiri*, p.32; *Alamgirnama*, p.559; *M.U.*, II, pp.289-90

CHAPTER-V

THE SISODIAS OF MEWAR

Mewar is situated in the south-west of Rajputana. During Mughal period it constituted Sarkar of Chittor of Ajmer *Suba*. Mewar was a very important state from economic point of view because the entire trade from the Yamuna-Ganga doab to the ports of the west coasts passed through Mewar or close to its boundary. The country had for centuries been ruled by the Sisodia clan of Rajputs. They undoubtedly were the most respected rulers among the Rajputs and enjoyed the position of unchallenged supremacy for many centuries.

From the very beginning of the establishment of the Mughal rule in India the relation between the Mughals and the rulers of Mewar continued to remain hostile until the year 1615. The founder of the Mughal Empire Babur came into contact of Mewar even before his invasion of India. He had entered into an alliance with Rana Sangram Singh the ruler of Mewar against Ibrahim Lodi¹. In his memoirs Babur gives details of his alliance in the following passage:

“While we were still in Kabul, Rana Sanga had sent an envoy to testify to his good wishes and to propose this plan: “if the honoured Padshah will come to near Dihli from that side, I from this will move on Agra”. But I beat Ibrahim, I took Dihli and Agra, and up to now that pagan has given no sign so ever of moving.”²

But the alliance remained short lived. Rana Sangram Singh did not come to his help as promised, against Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat. On the contrary he started making preparations to expel Babur,³ and at the head of a large army headed towards the plan of Khanva.⁴ After this defeat the power and

¹ *Baburnama*, tr., S. Baveridge, volume 2, p. 98

² *Ibid*, II, p. 529

³ *Ibid*, II, pp. 529-30; Ojha I, pp.373-74

⁴ For details regarding the development upto Khanva see *Baburnama*, II, pp. 529-30, 545-50, 556-58, 562-63, 568-73; *Humayunnama*, tr., Baveridge, p.98; *M.U.* II, p.202

prestige of the state of Mewar considerably declined.¹ Unfortunately Rana Sangram Singh died on 30 Jan. 1527 and after his death succession crisis started among his sons, which further weakened the state of Mewar. Although Ratan Singh succeeded to the throne but Rani Karmeti still espoused the cause of Udai Singh and approached Babur with the offer of submission provided he helped Udai Singh to succeed on the throne of Mewar. But Babur declined to interfere in the internal matters of Mewar.² The dissension among Sardars of Mewar however, continued. Ratan Singh died after a brief rule of about four years in 1531 and was succeeded by his half brother Vikramajit. He was an extremely incompetent ruler, and because of that very soon he became unpopular among his Sardars. A group of nobles hatched a conspiracy, killed him and raised Vanvir on the throne in 1536.³ But shortly afterwards the situation at the court took an ugly turn because a large number of nobles not only refused to accept him as the ruler of Mewar but raised Udai Singh son of Sangram at Kumbhalmer in 1537.⁴ Mewar was divided into two rival groups and each group tried to humble the other by its military power. Both groups made hectic preparation for a final war to settle the issue of succession, but at the last moment Vanvir left the claim of gaddi and Udai Singh succeeded to the throne of Chittor in 1540.

Due to continuous struggle which lasted for almost a decade (1530-1540) Mewar became militarily so weak that Bahadur Shah the ruler of Gujrat attacked Chittor twice, and in his second attack captured Chittor.⁵ On both the occasions the Raja and his mother Karmeti appealed to the Mughal Emperor

¹ *Baburnama*, II, p.597

² *Baburnama*, II, pp.612-13; *Vir vinod*, II, p.4

³ Vanvir was the prince of the same clan and son of Prithviraj

⁴ *Virvinod*, II, p.63; *Tod I*, pp.253-54

⁵ *Akbarnama*, I, pp.130-31; *Nainsi Khyat*, I, p.54; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.28-33

Humayun to come to his rescue.¹ In 1535 as soon as he came to know of the attack on Chittor by Bahadur Shah, Humayun immediately proceeded towards Chittor and on the way he also received a message of the ruler of Mewar. As he was already on his way to Chittor, and he continued his journey to that direction, after meeting the emissary of the Rana one may believe that Humayun's response to the appeal was quite positive.² But after reaching Gwalior he did not move any further.³ It is still a matter of inquiry as to why he did not launch an attack on Bahadur Shah and preferred to follow the policy of wait and watch. However, with the coming of Humayun so close to the theatre of war, Bahadur Shah was forced to accept the terms of treaty already offered by Vikramajit. Although the terms of the treaty were quite humiliating but Chittor was saved from complete defeat.⁴ The second attack on Chittor by Bahadur Shah was more serious and was part of a grand offensive launched by Bahadur Shah on Mughal Empire. Humayun took this campaign much more seriously and marched towards Chittor from Delhi at the head of a large army.⁵ He is also said to have received an appeal of help from the ruler of Mewar. Rani Karmawati also sends him a Rakhi a mere emotional way for securing help from Humayun. On this occasion again Humayun's initial response was very positive and he rapidly moved on and reached Sarangpur. However, at this point he received a message from Bahadur Shah who requested him not to attack him at this juncture as he was engaged in a holy war (*jihad*) with the Rajputs. Whether in response to this appeal of Bahadur Shah or because of some other considerations, Humayun did not move any further until the fall

¹ For details see, K.R.Qanungo, *Sher Shah and his times*, Orient longman, 1965, pp.163-66; Tod, I, pp.360-69; *Vir vinod*, II, p.27

² *Humayunama*, p.116; Satish Chandra, *Mughal religious policies, the Rajputs and the Deccan*, NewDelhi, 1993, pp.11-12

³ *Vir vinod*, II, p.127; *Sher Shah and his times*, pp.163-66

⁴ *Nainsi Khayat*, I, p.54; *Vir vinod*, II, p.27

⁵ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.29-30

of Chittor¹.

Bahadur Shah succeeded in humbling Chittor and in a way he emerged as one of the most powerful ruler of India. He was now in a position to confront Humayun and seriously challenge his position as the ruler of Northern India. It is another matter that he could not capitalise with the advantages, but Humayun gained nothing by remaining neutral even after reaching so close to Chittor that too when Chittor was still in the possession of Rajputs.² Had he helped Mewar at that juncture not only Chittor would have been saved, Humayun would have also gained immense laure and affection of not only the ruling family but also of a large number of Mewar chiefs. Besides that Bahadur Shah would have been defeated in that very battle.

The power and prestige of Mewar among the rulers of Rajputana as a consequence of the humiliation suffered at the hands of the rulers of Gujrat considerably declined. Although Rana Vikramajit recovered Chittor in 1535, but due to internal dissension and growing power of Rao Maldeo of Marwar, Mewar remained a weak state until the emergence of Rana Udai Singh (1540). He made sincere efforts to end internal dissension and taking advantage of the conflict between Sher Shah and Rao Maldeo forced local chiefs to accept his overlordship.³ After defeating Maldeo in 1544 at Sumel, Sher Shah marched towards Chittor.⁴ Rana Udai Singh realising his inability to defend the fort, surrendered its keys without offering any resistance. Sher Shah apparently appreciated this gesture and allowed the Rana to remain in possession of his territories.⁵ Rana recovered Chittor and made earnest efforts not only to

¹ *Akbarnama*, I, pp.130-31

² *Akbarnama*, I, p.132; *Virv inod*, II, pp.32-33; Ojha I, p.400

³ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.32-33; Ojha I, p.400

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, p.138; *Sher Shah and his times*, p.329, 332

⁵ For details see, *Mughal religious policies, the Rajputs and the Deccan*, p.15; A.R.khan, p.98; G.N. Sharma, p.62

consolidate but also expand his kingdom.¹ He even supported Haji Khan in his campaign against Marwar in 1556.² But this alliance broke down shortly and we find that the region of Rajasthan was divided into two hostile camps comprising Haji Khan and Marwar on the one side and Mewar alongwith about ten local chiefs including Rao Durga Sisodia on the other side.³ Rana Udai Singh however, had to suffer a humiliating defeat at the hands of Haji Khan at Harmada in 1557 and lost Merta.⁴

However, situation changed after the reconquest of India by Humayun and his sudden death in 1556. Taking advantage of the internal dissension among Rajputs, Mughal forces under Qasim Khan captured Ajmer and Jaitaran (territories of Haji Khan and Marwar) and in a way left Rana Udai Singh free to strengthen his power and position.⁵ However, for about a decade (1556-66) we have hardly any evidence to indicate any direct contact of the ruler of Mewar with the Mughal authorities. In 1559 Akbar sent an expedition under Qasim Khan against Rao Surjan Hada of Ranthambhore an ally of Rana Udai Singh. But the siege on Ranthambhore was raised because of Bairam Khan's revolt and the campaign failed.⁶ However, in 1561 when Akbar marched on Malwa and passed through Ranthambhore, Rao Surjan offered his submission but requested exemption from personal presence.⁷ Our sources are silent about the details of settlements. But it is important to note that Rana Udai Singh on both the occasions did not come out openly to support his ally. It seems, Rana at that moment was more interested in consolidating his position and therefore avoided

¹ Haji Khan was a distinguished slave of Sher Khan, *Akbarnama*, III, p.20; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.64-65, 69-70; *Nainsi khayat*, I, pp.59-60,127

² *Akbarnama*, II, p.46; *Vigat*, II, p.60; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.70-71, 812

³ *Nainsi Khayat*, I, pp.60-61; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.70-71,812; A.R.Khan, p.99

⁴ *Akbarnama*,II, pp.46160; *Vir vinod*, II, p.72, 812; V.S.Bhargava, p.37. But G.N. Sharma writes that Udai Singh and his allies defeated Haji Khan Pathan in 1556. (G.N.Sharma, p.64)

⁵ *Akbarnama*, II, p.45-46, 66; *Vigat*, II, p.495

⁶ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.45-46,66, 88

⁷ *Ibid*, II, p.140

any direct confrontation with the Mughal Empire.¹ However, it is important to note that in 1566 Shakti Singh brother of Udai Singh came to Mughal court and joined imperial service.²

The Rana was largely successful in his efforts because he was able to bring under his control large areas of Mewar and emerged as the most powerful territorial chief in Rajputana. Abul Fazl writes that:

“whole of the Sarkar of Chittor corresponds to it (Mewar). Its length is 40 kuroh and the breadth is 30 kuroh. It has three very famous forts Chittor the capital, Kumbalgarh and Mandal. The chief of the country was formerly called Rawat but for a long time past has been known as Rana. He is of the Gehlot Clan and considers himself a descendant of Nausherwan the just”.³

He further writes:

“the strength of this bumi consists of 16,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry but formerly they possessed many other territories so much so that Rana Sanga commanded 1,80,000 cavalry and numerous infantry.”⁴

As mentioned above Rana Udai Singh had grown much powerful and started behaving in hostile manner against Mughal Empire. He started giving protection to all those elements who were either expelled by the Mughal forces or were rebels against the Empire. In 1562 he welcomed Jaimal of Merta who was defeated by the Mughal commander Sharfuddin Hussain Mirza.⁵ He had also given shelter to Baz Bahadur of Malwa in 1563.⁶ Therefore, after the suppression of the revolt of Uzbeks, Akbar started making preparations for a campaign in Rajputana and sometimes in 1567 he marched towards that region

¹ Rana captured the territories of Juda, Ogha, Panwara, phulia, Barod, Bransore, Bhomarand and Badnor during this period(*Vir vinod*, II, p.87; G.N.Sharma, p.65)

² *Akbarnama*, II, p.69; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.73-74

³ *Ain*, II, p.128

⁴ *Ibid*, p.129

⁵ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.196-97; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 283

⁶ *Akbarnama*, II, p.69

at the head of large army with the intention of conquering Chittor, and punishing Baz Bahadur who had taken shelter there. Shakti Singh who had joined imperial service also accompanied the Emperor. After reaching Dholpur, the Emperor asked him to help imperial army in the successful completion of the campaign. Shakti Singh promised to do his best for the success of the imperial army but escaped to Chittor and informed the Rana about the real state of imperial army.¹ In spite of Shakti Singh's flight, Akbar continued his journey towards Chittor. When the Rana came to know of the approach of the Mughal army close to Chittor, he called a meeting of his Sardars² and after a discussion decided to retire into deep valley leaving the fort of Chittor to the care of Jaimal and Patta with 5,000 troopers³. The Mughal forces led by the Emperor marched on and captured Supar, Mandalgarh and Rampur and afterwards laid the siege of Chittor.⁴ After a siege of four months, the fort of Chittor was conquered and assigned to Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan (1568).⁵ The capture of Chittor was followed by a short siege and surrender of Ranthambhore in 1569. The conquest of Chittor was quite significant for the young Mughal ruler because soon after this victory almost all important states of Rajputana such as Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Bundi, Sirohi and Dungarpur accepted the overlordship of Akbar. Rana Udai Singh however still defied imperial authority from his new headquarter at Rajpipli in southern hills of Mewar.⁶ But for the moment he could not create any serious problem for the Empire.⁷ Akbar also did not take any immediate action against him because he

¹ *Akbarnama*, II, p.302; *M.U.* II, pp.201-2; *Tod I*, pp.269-70; *Vir vinod*, II, p.74

² *Virvinod*, II, pp.74-75

³ *Akbarnama*, II, p.395; *Virvinod*, II, p.75

⁴ Akbar rejected all talks of a compromise till the Rana came and tendered personal allegiance. (*Akbarnama*, II, pp.303,313-23,395-98; *M.U.* II, pp.201-2; *Vir vinod*, II,p.76)

⁵ *Akbarnama*, II, pp.324, 408-9; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.72-73,76

⁶ *Akbarnama*, II, p.358; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.82-83

⁷ In 1571 Rana Udai Singh again gave shelter to Baz Bahadur when he was wandering after his expulsion from Malwa. (*Akbarnama*, II, p.358)

was called upon to tackle problem in Marwar, which at that moment appeared to be much more important.

After the conquest of Gujarat, Mewar again drew the attention of the Emperor. He knew fully well that without resolving the Mewar problem, his alliance with other Rajput states could not become stable. Incidentally in the same year (1572) Rana Udai Singh died and after a brief war of succession Rana Pratap succeeded as the ruler of Mewar at Gogunda.¹ Shortly afterwards he transferred his capital to a much safer place called Kumbalgarh.² Anxious to bring Mewar under the subordination of the Mughals on the same terms and condition which were offered to other Rajput chieftains, Akbar sent successive embassies to the court of Rana Pratap³. The first emissary sent was Jalal Khan Qurchi (sept.1572).⁴ The court historian writes that he failed to convince Pratap to accept the overlordship of the Mughals and returned disappointed. Raja Man Singh who was sent in June 1573⁵ also failed to achieve the desired result, although according to Abul Fazl he was courteously received by Rana Pratap.⁶ In Oct. 1573 Akbar yet another attempt to woo Pratap and dispatch Raja Bhagwant Das the Kachhwaha chief and the leading Rajput noble at the Mughal court. Rana Pratap now responded positively; he agreed to accept the subordination of the Mughals and also agreed to send his son Amar Singh to

¹ Rana Udai Singh had nominated his favourite son Jagmal to the throne in preference to his eldest son Pratap Singh. Shakti Singh second son of Udai Singh was out of question as during the lifetime of his father he had left Chittor and joined the service of Akbar. But Rana Pratap with the help of his maternal uncle Rai Akhai of Jalor, Ram Prasad of Gwalior and some other leading chiefs of Mewar dethroned Jagmal and succeeded to the throne. Then Jagmal left Mewar and Joined the Mughal service. (*Akbarnama*, II, p.380; *Vir vinod*, II, p.146; Tod I, p.282)

² *Virvinod*, II, p.146

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.40, 66-67; *Mughal religious policies, the Rajputs and the Deccan* , p.25

⁴ *Mughal religious policies, the Rajputs and the Deccan* , p.25

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.5, 33-34, 40

⁶ *Albarnama*, III, p.40; G.N.Sharma, pp.79-80

serve in the imperial army. But at the same time he requested that he may be excused from personal presence at the court because he himself and his well wishers have certain misgivings. However, he promised that as soon as his apprehensions were removed he would attend the imperial court personally¹ From the above it is quite clear that Rana Pratap was willing to accept the subordination of the Mughals but before coming personally to court he wanted to see the reaction of his own people to the alliance and the reaction of the Emperor on his request. But when the Emperor was informed about Rana Pratap's reluctance to submit personally, he overreacted and completely rejected the terms of the understanding reached between Bhagwant Das and Rana Pratap, insisting on Rana Pratap's personal presence. After the failure of the attempt made by the embassies, the attitude of Akbar hardened and consequently a powerful army under the command of Man Singh was sent to punish Rana Pratap. The Emperor personally went to Ajmer on March 1576 to supervise the plan of action.² As is well known the Mughal forces defeated Rana Pratap in the battle of Haldi Ghati on June 1576.³ Rana Pratap however, escaped from the battle field and took shelter at Koliyari a hilly town in the west of Gogunda (southern Mewar).⁴

After this victory the Emperor returned to the capital. Rana Pratap on the other hand after recovering from his injuries too returned to Kumbalgarh and started making efforts to recover his lost position.⁵ He also successfully formed

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.40, 66-67

² *Akbarnama*, III, pp.166, 173-75, 185; *M.U.* II, pp.161-62

³ For details see *Akbarnama*, III, pp.166, 173-75, 185, 191-93, 195, 216-18; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.150-53

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, p.153

⁵ He harassed the Mughal troops by cutting off supplies and succeeded in re-establishing his power in Gogunda and expelled the Mughal garrison from there. (*Akbarnama*, III, p.238; *Vir vinod*, II, p.155; G.N.Sharma p.107)

an alliance of a group of Rajput chiefs against the Mughals.¹ Having come to know of these hostile activities of Pratap, Akbar personally moved to Ajmer alongwith Bhagwant Das and Man Singh to take action against him and other hostile Rajput chiefs. The presence of the Emperor at Ajmer followed by strong military action had desired results. The rulers of Idar, Sirohi, Banswara, and Dungarpur surrendered one after the other and accepted the overlordship of the Mughals.² Rana Pratap too was forced to flee from Gogunda which was reoccupied.³ Although he continued to defy the imperial authority until his death in 1597 but he was completely isolated in Rajputana. None of the Rajput chiefs henceforth came out to support him at any stage of his life. However, he continued to offer resistance taking advantage of the imperial campaign in the eastern region.⁴ Although several important military commanders such as Bhagwant Das(1577),⁵ Shahbaz Khan Kamboh(1577),⁶ Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (1580)⁷ and Raja Jagannath (1584)⁸ were dispatched against him one after the other, but they failed to compel Rana to join Imperial service. However, the region of Mewar was completely devastated due to these campaigns and Rana's strength further declined. The Rana however got some respite when after the death of Mirza Hakim (1581) Akbar moved towards Kabul and after returning from there stayed at Lahore for several years to contain Abdullah Khan Uzbeks the ruler of Central Asia. The Rana along with

¹ For further strengthening his position the Rana formed an alliance of a powerful number of chiefs of Rajputana such as Narain Das of Idar, Rao Surtan of Sirohi and Chandra Sen of Marwar. (*Akbarnama*, III, p.164)

² For details regarding these development see *Akbarnama*, III, pp.164-65,190-92

³ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.190-94

⁴ For more details see, *Akbarnama*, III, pp.218, 238-39,413,468; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.146, 157-59,163-64

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.169-70

⁶ Ibid, pp.204-5, 221

⁷ Ibid, p.221

⁸ Ibid, p.442

his son Amar Singh utilised this opportunity in recapturing large portions of Mewar.¹ He also laid the foundation of a new capital at Chavand.

After his death in 1597 his eldest son and successor Amar Singh continued the policy of his father for some time.² But due to continuous wars, his military power considerably declined and he lost much of his territories. As a consequence his feudal chiefs became quite powerful and Chandawats³ and Shaiktawats⁴ started fighting among themselves to extend their power and position. In these circumstances any serious attempts to recover the lost territories of Mewar was not possible. Amar Singh worked hard to improve the internal working of his state and also tried to improve his relationship with his Samants. But while he was still busy in bringing his house to order, Akbar once again launched an offensive on Mewar in 1599. He appointed Prince Salim as the commander of the army along with Raja Man Singh with headquarters at Ajmer.⁵ But Salim took no direct interest in the operations as he was more seriously engaged in hatching a conspiracy to capture the Mughal throne. After making a short visit to Udaipur, he left it completely on Man Singh.⁶ In these circumstances Mughal forces succeeded only in establishing outposts at Untala, Mohi, Bagore, Mandal, Mandalgarh, Chittor and other places,⁷ but failed to achieve the desired result. Shortly afterwards Man Singh had to go to Bengal due to Usman's revolt and Salim marched away towards Agra.⁸ Akbar was greatly displeased with the outcome of the campaign, but due to Salim's rebellion no action could be taken immediately. In 1603 once again Akbar decided to launch

¹ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.218, 238-39, 413, 468; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.146, 157-59, 163-64

² *Vir vinod*, II, p.241

³ A clan so called after Chunda. (G.D.Sharma pp.120-21)

⁴ The clan which claimed its descent from Sakta a son of Udai Singh. (G.D. Sharma, pp.120-21)

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.575, 763, 831, 1140-41, 1155

⁶ *Iqbalnama*, II, p.468

⁷ *Akbarnama*, III, p.819

⁸ *Akbarnama*, III, p.831; *Tuzuk*, p.7; *Iqbalnama*, II, p.468

a campaign on Mewar. Prince Salim along with a number of leading nobles of the Empire (i.e. Jagannath, Madho Singh, Sadiq Khan etc.) was ordered to proceed towards Mewar to complete the task left unfinished in 1599. But Salim refused to comply with the orders. Without waiting any further Akbar appointed Khusrau to take up the command but the campaign could not make much progress because of Akbar's illness and subsequent confusion at the court following his death.¹

From the above discussion it is quite clear that Akbar during his life time failed to bring his contemporary Sisodia chiefs Rana Pratap and Amar Singh to accept the overlordship of the Mughals. But by his large scale military operations, he was able to establish from time to time a number of thanas in the territories of Mewar and the authority of Sisodias was confined to the south-western hilly tracts of Mewar.² Besides that he was also successful in winning over Jagmal and Shakti Singh two prominent princes of Mewar to his side. Rai Durga Sisodia of Rampura and several other vassal chiefs of Mewar such as Dungarpur, Banswara, Jaisalmer and Sirohi also accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. A brief account of Jagmal, Sakti Singh and Rai Durga is being given in the following pages.

Jagmal a younger brother of Rana Pratap, after the death of his father challenged the claims of his elder brother Pratap and organised his own group to seize the throne. But having failed to dethrone Pratap, he left Mewar and with the help of the Subedar of Ajmer, joined Mughal service and obtained Jahazpur in *jagir*.³ Later on in 1581 he got half of Sirohi in *Tiyul*.⁴ He was killed in 1583, when a conflict arose between him and Rao Surtan of Sirohi, the

¹ *Iqbalnama*, II, p.496; *Vir vinod*, II, p.243

² *Akbarnama*, III, p.413; *Vir vinod*, II, p.146

³ *Vir vinod*, II, 146; Ojha, Ib, p.424

⁴ *Akbarnama*, III, p.413; *Nainsi Khyat* I, pp.131-32

nominee of his father-in-law Rao Man Singh.¹

Shakti Singh alias Sakta another brother of Pratap had joined Mughal service during the life time of his father in 1566. But he left Akbar and joined his father again in 1567.² After the death of his father he rejoined Mughal service as he had no chance of getting the throne of Mewar. But we have very little information about his later career; even the date of his joining Mughal service is not available to us. *Ain* however, records him among the *mansabdar* of 200.³

Rai Durga Sisodia is generally called in the *Akbarnama* as Rai Durga Chandrawat. The home of the family was the *Pargana* of Rampura near Chittor. Rai Durga Sisodia loyally served Emperor Akbar and Jahangir in various military campaigns.⁴ He was also assigned several important administrative assignments. In 1583 when large scale administrative reforms were introduced, he was associated with the administration Khalsa, specially looking after the appointment and dismissal of the Khalasa officials.⁵ In 1586 he was appointed *Subedar* of Ajmer along with Jagannath.⁶ From the above it may be suggested that apart from Kachhwahas and Rathors, Akbar also made some efforts to associate Sisodias in his administration. Jahangir in his memoirs writes that Rai Durga served Akbar for about 40 years and held the *mansab* of 4,000.⁷ He died

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, p.146

² *Akbarnama*, III, pp.442-43

³ *Ain*, II, p.164

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.63; *Akbarnama*, III, pp.404-5,511; In 1581 he accompanied Prince Murad against Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Kabul. In 1583 he was dispatched under Mirza Khan to Gujrat and in 1586 with Mirza Aziz Koka in the Deccan. In 1592 he accompanied Prince Murad to Malwa and thereafter continued to serve him in the Deccan until his death. He also served Abul Fazl after Murad's death. (*Ain* I, p.459)

⁵ *Akbarnama*, III, pp.404-5

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 511

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp.16-17, 63; But *Ain* mentioned him among the mansabdar of 1500. *Ain* I, p.161

towards the end of the second year of Jahangir's reign.

In an earlier chapter we have discussed that during the closing years of Akbar's reign, due to his serious illness a conspiracy was hatched to enthrone Khusrau by a powerful section of the nobility. Although conspiracy failed and Jahangir succeeded to the throne but the crisis deepened and the attention of all concerned was directed only towards the activities at the court.¹ In these circumstances administrative and military control slackened. Rebels like Amar Singh got an opportunity to reoccupy many of his lost posts.² It seems Jahangir was conscious of the fact that due to his indifferent attitude Amar Singh had succeeded in regrouping his supporters. Therefore, soon after ascending the throne he gave top priority to Mewar affairs. In October 1605 a powerful army under the command of Parwez and leading nobles of the Empire such as Asaf Khan and Raja Jagannath were dispatched to punish Amar Singh.³ Rana Shankar/Sagar a brother of Rana Pratap was also appointed with Parwez. He was given Chittor alongwith the major portion of Mughal territory in Mewar, with a view that his presense would inspire confidence and hope among the people of Mewar, who would eschew the policy of defiance to the Mughal Emperor and rally round him.⁴

Although the orders were issued to vigorously pursue the campaign but from a comment of Jahangir in his memoirs, it appears that Parwez was also given the latitude of negotiating a settlement to end the war if Rana Amar Singh agreed to send his eldest son Karan to imperial presence.⁵ Amar Singh was also

¹ For details see Chapter, I; *Z .Khawanin* I, pp.81-82; *Vir vinod*, II, p.294

² *Vir vinod*, II, pp.222-223

³ *Tuzuk*, pp.7-8,23,27; *Iqbalnama*, III, pp.512-13; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.222-223

⁴ Sagar was called as Shankar by Jahangir.He was step brother of Rana Pratap and uncle of Rana Amar Singh.He had joined the Mughal service on account of his displeaser with Rana Pratap.Akbar had gave him the title of Rana and sent him to Chittor as a Mughal Jagirdar.He was also send with Khusrau against the Rana. (*Tuzuk*, p.7; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.220-23)

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.11,35

anxious to end the war because he was finding it difficult to maintain his position under the pressure of huge deployment of Mughal army. He himself opened negotiations with Parwez and through Asaf Khan offered to send his son Bagha to serve at the imperial court, provided peace was established. The Prince rejected the proposal but at the same time he showed his willingness to reconsider it if Kr. Karan was sent to the imperial court.¹ Unfortunately before further negotiations could take place Khusrau rebelled and he was summoned to the presence.² However, the negotiations that took place were a clear indication of a change in Mughal policy towards Mewar and vice-versa. Both the parties were ready to give up their hard positions, and now there was a scope for a negotiated settlement. Although as mentioned above, the proposal of Amar Singh was rejected, but Bagha who had apparently reached the camp of Parwez accompanied him to the court, and was presented at Lahore where the prince met Jahangir.³

Parwez along with Asaf Khan returned to court leaving the command of the army to Raja Jagannath.⁴ About the same time taking advantage of the rebellion of Khusrau, Rai Rai Singh along with his son Dalip rebelled in the region of Nagore. The imperial administration considered this rebellion as a serious challenge to its authority and immediately ordered the Mughal forces posted in Mewar to proceed along with Jagannath and Muizzul Mulk to punish Rai Rai Singh.⁵ As a consequence of the partial withdrawal of forces from Mewar, hardly any progress could be made in the Mewar campaign. However, Rana Shankar who was attached with this campaign was promoted to the rank of 2500/1000.⁶ Therefore, in July 1608 Mahabat Khan was given the

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.11,35

² *Tuzuk*, pp.33,35; *Vir vinod*, II, p.223

³ *Tuzuk*, pp.33,35; *Vir vinod*, II, p.223

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.35

⁵ *Ibid*, pp.36,40,62

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.54

command.¹ Raja Kishan Singh, Raja Jagannath and Rana Sagar were ordered to accompany him. After making initial gains² by capturing some *thanas*, Mahabat Khan suffered a humiliating defeat at Untala and the Mughal forces were forced to flee leaving their baggage to be plundered by Rajputs.³ Mahabat Khan was recalled and for the time being Chittor was left under the charge of Sagar and Mandal under Jagannath.⁴

Shortly afterwards (1609) Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung was given the command of Mewar campaign.⁵ Although Abdullah Khan achieved some major victories in his war against Rana at Mehrpur and succeeded in setting up *thanas*⁶ but he too failed to achieve the main objectives and as the war prolonged Abdullah Khan also had to suffer defeat at Rampur.⁷ However, he recovered his position very soon and inflicted a crushing defeat on Kunwar Karan.⁸ In reward for his meritorious service the Emperor raised him to the rank of 5000/5000 and given the title of Firoz Jang.⁹ But in 1611 he was recalled and transferred to Gujarat¹⁰ as governor because of the exigencies of the Deccan war and the command of Mewar was now given to Raja Basu.¹¹ But Raja Basu proved to be a careless commander having failed to achieve any major success. Besides that he was also suspected of being in secret alliance with the Rana¹². Therefore, he was replaced by Mirza Aziz Koka who had requested the

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.69-70; *Z.Khawanin*, p.117; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.224-25

² *Tuzuk*, 72; *Iqbalnama*, III, pp.521-22; *Vir vinod*, II, p.224

³ *Z.Khawanin*, p.117; *Vir vinod* II, p.225

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.74-75; *Vir vinod*, II, p.225

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.74-75; *M.U.*, II, pp.777-789

⁶ *Z.Khawanin*, pp.174-75; *Tuzuk*, p.75

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp.75-76; *M.U.* II, pp.778-79; *Virvinod*, II, p.126; *Tod I*, p.281

⁸ *Vir vinod*, II, p.126

⁹ *Tuzuk*, pp.74-75; *Maasir i Jahangiri*, pp.62-63; *M.U.*II, pp.778-79

¹⁰ *Tuzuk*, pp.74-75,97; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, pp.62-63; *M.U.*II, pp.778-79; *Virvinod*, II, p.227

¹¹ *Tuzuk*, p.97; *M.U.*II, pp.157-60; *Vir vinod*, II, p.22

¹² Amar Singh presented an idol, which Mira Bai, a 15th century queen of Chittor used to worship, to Raja Basu as a token of friendship. (*M.U.*II, pp.157-60; *Vir vinod*, II, p.227)

Emperor that the command be given to him.¹ Although Jahangir was unhappy with Aziz Koka because of his adverse role in the accession crisis but keeping in view his seniority in service and successive failure in Mewar the command was given to him and on his request the Emperor personally came to Ajmer.² On his request Prince Khurram was also dispatched to Mewar.³ The Mughal forces after the arrival of Khurram made good progress in the campaign by occupying Mandal, Ontala and certain other places. But soon after differences arose between Aziz Koka and Khurram; Khurram complained that on account of being Khusrau's father in law, the Mirza was not acting properly and exploiting the situation.⁴ The Prince even took him into custody. Jahangir accepted the version of Khurram and dispatched Mahabat Khan to bring Mirza Aziz Koka from Udaipur. On 15 April 1614 Mirza Aziz was presented at the court and Jahangir ordered that he should be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior in the charge of Itiqad Khan.⁵

Meanwhile Prince Khurram conducted the campaign with ruthless severity.⁶ Fields and orchards were burnt and villages and towns were plundered. He also succeeded in establishing military post to effectively control the movement of the enemy.⁷ The rebels were so hard pressed that once again they fled to their hilly shelters. But Khurram did not allow them any respite there too. He sent four divisions of his army under the command of Abdullah Khan, Dilawar Khan, Sayyid Saif Khan and Raja Kishan Singh Rathore and

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.114,126; *M.U.*, I, p.675-93

² *Tuzuk*, pp.124-25; *M.U.I.*, pp.675-93; *Iqbalnama*, p.72; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p.89; *Vir vinod*, II, p.229

³ *Tuzuk*, pp.125-26

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.126-28; *Iqbalnama*, pp.73-74; *Z.Khawanin*, pp.81, 88-89; *Vir vinod*, II, pp. 230-31

⁵ *Z.Khawanin*, pp.88-89; *Tuzuk*, pp.127-28

⁶ *M.U.I.*, pp.402-3; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.230-31

⁷ The following were some of the important military posts which were established by Khurram: Kumbhalmer, Jhandal, Gogunda, Anjano, Chawand, Bijapur, and Jawar. (*M.U.I.*, p.402-3; *Vir vinod*, II, p.232)

Mir Muhammad Taqi¹ into the interior of Mewar to devastate there new shelters. Although the Rajput displayed great courage and vigour but they failed to repulse the Mughal forces due to their superior military power. They suffered very heavy losses and found themselves incapable of any further resistance.² The author of *Vir Vinod* writes that the *Samants* of Mewar have suffered so much in these wars that they requested the Rana to come to some kind of understanding with the Mughals. He further writes that Kr. Karan also advised the Rana in the same manner.³ Rana Amar Singh too tired of prolonged war, opened negotiations with Khurram through Subh Karan his maternal uncle and a prominent samant Hari Das Jhala.⁴ He offered to accept the overlordship of the Mughals, provided he was excused from his personal presence at the court. However, he agreed to send Karan to the court to serve in the imperial army 'in the manner of other Rajputs'.⁵ Prince Khurram immediately communicated to the Emperor about these offers of the Rana and along with Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi and Sunder Das his own secretary he sent the envoy of the Rana to the court to Ajmer. He also sent a personal letter requesting him to accept the offer. The Emperor received the Rajput emissaries favourably and authorised Khurram to conclude a peace treaty with Amar Singh. Jahangir remarks: "My lofty mind was always desirous, as far as possible not to destroy the old families".⁶

The Emperor was so pleased with this information that Mulla Shukrullah was given the title of Afzal Khan and Sunder Das with that of Rai Rayan.⁷ He also takes credit of the submission of the Sisodias of Mewar before him, by

¹ *Iqbalnama*, III, p.536; *Vir vinod*, II, p.231

² *Tuzuk*, pp.126, 29; *Iqbalnama*, III, p.535, 734; *Vir vinod* II, p.231

³ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.234-36

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.133-134; *Iqbalnama*, III, p.536; *Vir vinod*, II, p.236, 238

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.133-34; *Vir vinod*, II, p.236

⁶ *Tuzuk*, pp.134; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.236-37

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp.133-34; *Nainsi Khyat* I, pp.73-74; *Vir vinod*, II, p.236

specially pointing out that they have not submitted before any other ruler of India. Jahangir in his memoirs writes:

“The real point was that Rana Amar Singh and his fathers, proud in the strength of their hilly country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the Kings of Hindustan, this should be brought about in my reign.”¹

He further adds that on the request of his son he pardoned the Rana of his offences and for the satisfaction of the Rana issued a *farman* with the impression of his palm.² Khurram who had also received a *farman* immediately dispatched the royal *farman* addressed to Amar Singh.³ After meeting the officials of the Prince, Rana agreed to come to the presence of Khurram to offer his submission along with his sons. Jahangir in his memoirs further adds that Rana on his arrival presented himself before the Prince in the manner in which the servants offer their homage and offered a ruby, seven elephants and nine horses. Khurram on his part also treated the Rana with princely generosity. He offered him a chair by his side and also presented him dresses of honour and other rarities of the court.⁴ *Vir Vinod* adds that along with Amar Singh three of his sons, two brothers and five leading Rajput sardars also offered their submission. To each of them costly presents were given by the Prince.⁵ Following the tradition of Rajputs, Kr. Karan who was the higher apparent came to offer his submission after the departure of his father Amar Singh.⁶ Next day Khurram along with Kr. Karan proceeded towards Ajmer to meet the Emperor and Amar Singh was given leave to go to his homeland.⁷

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.134

² *Tuzuk*, p. 134; *Iqbalnama*, III, p.536; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.236-37

³ *Tuzuk*, p.134; *Vir vinod*, II, p.236

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.135; *Iqbalnama*, III, pp.535-37; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.237-38; *Tod I*, p.288

⁵ Three sons were Bhim Singh, Surajmal and Bagh singh. *Vir vinod*, II, pp.237-38

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.135; *Vir vinod*, II, p.237; *Tod I*, p.288

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.135; *Vir vinod*, II, p.238

On his arrival and after presenting himself before the Emperor, Khurram requested him to allow Karan too, to present himself before him.¹ The Emperor agreed to his request and Karan was presented before the Emperor, in the traditional manner of the presentation of servants.² But soon after, again on the request of Khurram, the Emperor ordered him to be brought on the right side of the royal pavillion.³ Jahangir writes:

“As it was necessary to win the heart of Karan who was of a wild nature and had never seen assemblies and lived among the hills, I every day showed him some fresh favours so that on the second day of his attendance a jewelled dagger and on the next day a special Iraqi horse with jewelled saddle were given to him.”⁴

He was brought to female apartment where Nurjahan Begum presented him with ‘a rich dress of honour, a jeweled sword, a horse and saddle and an elephant.’⁵ Not satisfied with what had already been given to him, Jahangir awarded him with more presents. In this connection he writes:

“At the end of the month I ordered that all sorts of cloth stuffs, with carpets and cushions and all kinds of perfumes with vessels of gold, two Gujrati carts and cloths should be placed in a hundred trays. The *ahadis* carried them in their arms and on their sholders to the public audience hall, where they were bestowed on him.”⁶

Shortly afterwards at the time of the celebration of tenth year of his reign Kr. Karan was also assigned the rank of 5000/5000.⁷ On the same day Jahangir writes that Khurram who had come to pay his respect presented the same ruby which Rana Amar Singh had offered in submission before Khurram.⁸ He also

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.135; *Iqbalnama*, p.277; *Vir vinod*, II, p.239

² *Tuzuk*, p.135-36; *Vir vinod*, II, p.239

³ *Tuzuk*, pp.135-36; *Tod I*, p.288

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.136

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.136; *Vir vinod* II, p. 239

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.136; *Vir vinod*, II, p.239

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.138; *Iqbalnama*, III, p.535, 553; *Vir vinod*, II, p.239

⁸ It was sold by Chandrasen Rathor to Rana Udai Singh. From him it went to Rana Pratap and afterwards Rana Amar Singh. (*Tuzuk*, p.140)

writes as to how that precious stone had reached him (Karan) and also that the ruby was not of a very high quality. He adds that "I ordered thm to engrave on the ruby that at the time of paying his respect Rana Amar Singh had presented it."¹

Few days after this Jahangir again writes "As the hour of the leave taking of Kr. Karan was at hand, I was desirous of showing him my skill in shooting with a gun."² On the same day on his request Karan was given a Turkish gun. He was also given 100,000 darab. Shortly afterwards twenty horse, a qaba of Kashmiri cloth, twenty deer and ten Arabian dogs were also given to him.³ In the next three days 101 more horses were presented to him. Sometimes in the Nov. 1616 after a stay of about eight months at the court Karan was granted leave to visit his *watan*. He was given a dress of honour, a horse , special elephants and a strung of pearls of the value of 50,000 and a dagger costing 2000 rupees.⁴ On this occasion Jahangir writes:

"from the time of his waiting on me till he obtained leave what he had in the shape of cash, jewellery, jewels, and jewelled things was of the value of 200,000 rupees with 110 horses, five elephants, in addition to what my son Khurram bestowed on him at various times."⁵

After the departure of Karan his son Jagat Singh came to Emperor's presence. Jahangir writes that he was only twelve years old but "signs of nobility and high birth were evident on his face."⁶ He presented himself before the Emperor and handed over petitions of his father and grandfather. Although *Mansab* was not assigned to him but Jahangir writes that "I pleased him with a

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.140

² *Tuzuk*, p.140; *Vir vinod*, II, p.250

³ *Tuzuk*, pp.140-42; *Vir vinod*, II, p.250

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.144; *Vir vinod*, II, p.250; Tod I, p.289

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.144; *Vir vinod*, II, p.250

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.145; *M.U.II*, pp.203-4; Tod I, p.289

dress of honour.”¹ After a stay of few days he was allowed to go to his native country. A dress of honour, a horse, an elephant and 20,000 rupees were presented to him. Hari Das Jhala his guardian was also given 5000 rupees. Jahangir adds that through him he sent a mace of gold (Shashpari) to Karan.²

Thus Jahangir completed the task left unfinished by his father Emperor Akbar. After the conclusion of the treaty all the territories of Mewar which were captured by the Mughals including the fort of Chittor were restored to Rana Amar Singh.³ The rulers of the principalities of Dungarpur, Banswara and Sirohi who were subordinate chiefs of Mewar and during Akbar’s reign when war with Mewar was going on have directly accepted the subordinates of the Mughal imperial authority, were now again placed under the overlordship of Mewar. In addition to the territories which already belonged to the Ranas of Mewar the Emperor also assigned him *jagir* of Ratlam in Malawa and Phullia in *Suba* Ajmer. *Vir Vinod* had given complete details of the *Jagirs* assigned to Amar Singh at this time.⁴

Rana Shankar brother of Amar Singh who held the title of Rana and was also recognized as ruler of Chittor was now removed from that position. He was now given the title of Rawat and assigned *Jagir* in the eastern region of Mewar (Umri Bhadaura).⁵ Jahangir also established a new tradition by exempting the Rana of Mewar from personal presence at the court as well as from imperial service. In this connection it may be pointed out that Rana Amar Singh was not offered a rank, thus making it quite obvious that the Rana was not an imperial servant despite having accepted the subordination of the Mughals. It was indeed a great favour given to Mewar. The Emperor also made no proposal for a

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.145

² *Tuzuk*, p.152; *Vir vinod*, II, p.252

³ *Nainsi Khyat*, I, p.74; *Vir vinod*, II, p.252; Gehlot I, p.448

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.240-49

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.7,138; *Khyat*, p.64; *Vir vinod*, II, p.252

matrimonial relationship with the Mughal imperial family, a practice which was regrously followed both by Akbar and Jahangir.

From the above it is quite clear that Jahangir accepted almost all those proposal which Pratap had offered to Akbar, and a peace treaty was signed broadly on those terms. In accepting these terms Jahangir had already shown extraordinary courage and common sense. Not only an unnecessary war which had destroyed Mewar and incurred heavy burden on the Mughal exchequer, came to an end but also the last and most important state of Rajputana accepted Mughal overlordship.

We have extensively quoted *Tuzuk* in our discussion on the treaty with Mewar. We have also referred to other contemporary and near contemporary Persian and non-Persian sources in this connection. But in none of them we find any reference pertaining to the clause that Rana will not repair the fort of Chittor. Although, the clause formed as part of the treaty as we will discuss in the next section of the chapter.

The question thus arises as to why this clause was not clearly mentioned at the time of settlement. To my mind it appears that the understanding in this regard was reached at the highest level but as by putting it in writing would have created bad blood among the Sisodias chiefs, it was not discussed in public. Jahangir was so anxious to make this settlement as a model of a settlement by giving unusual favours and concession to Sisodias that he ignored the reference of this clause altogether. Jahangir was anxious to end the war in Rajputana because the affairs in the Deccan were not moving satisfactorily and demanded his full attention.

In the settlement with Mewar, Jahangir's relation with Kachhwahas also played a very important role due to Man Singh's open support to Khusrau at the time of Akbar's serious illness. Jahangir became extremely unhappy with Man Singh and in a way lost confidence in the Kachhwahas. It seems to counter

them he was eager to establish cordial relations with Mewar and also he wished to admit them in his service. It is clearly born out by his advise to Parwez in his first Mewar campaign that:

“if the Rana himself and his eldest son who is called Karan to should come and wait upon you and he preffer service and obedience, you should not do any injury to his territory”¹

Although the campaign as well as the proposal of peace settlement at that time failed as mentioned above, but the Emperor was so anxious to have more Rajputs in his service that inspite of Rai Rai Singh's poor records of loyalty, he was promoted to higher rank and assigned important duties. Raja Suraj Singh Rathor and Rao Ratan Hada were also given higher ranks and important assignments.² But these Rajput houses were inferior in prestige as compared to Mewar and with all of them Akbar had already established friendly relations. By compelling Rana to accept the overlordship of Mughals, Jahangir wanted to show that he had achieved something that no other ruler before him could achieve. In his memoirs he actually mentions this aspects more clearly:

“The real point was that as Rana Amar Singh and his father, proud in the strength of their hilly country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the Kings of Hindustan, this should be brought about in my reign.”³

After the settlement cordial relations were established between the Mughals and the Sisdias. In 1616 Kr.Karan returned to court and presented himself before the Emperor. But shortly afterwards he was given leave to visit his *Watan* to solemnise his own marriage.⁴ The Emperor built two life size statues of Rana Amar Singh and Kr. Karan and placd them in the imperial

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.11

² See chapters, II, III and IV for more details. *Tuzuk*, pp.49, 76, 84, 131, 140-41, 153; *Virvinod*, II, p.294

³ *Tuzuk*, p.134

⁴ *Tuzuk*, pp.155,159; *Vir vinod*, II, p.365

garden below the *jharokha* at Agra.¹ After the departure of Karan, his son Jagat Singh also came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor.² He was received graciously and after a few days granted leave for his native place.³

In 1617 when Prince Khurram proceeded towards the Deccan and entered Rana's country, Rana and his sons presented themselves before the Prince at Dodpur on the border of Udaipur.⁴ Khurram honoured the Rana and his son with dresses of honour. It was also decided that Kr. Karan should accompany the Prince along with 1500 horse and serve in the Deccan campaign.⁵ We are not informed about the activities of Kr. Karan during the campaign, but apparently after the completion of the campaign he was given leave to visit Mewar.⁶ In 1618 when the Emperor was returning from Gujrat to Agra and reached Sindla Kr. Karan came to his presence and congratulated on the victories achieved in the Deccan.⁷ He also made an offering of 1000 muhrs and 1000 rupees, jewels, horses and elephants. The Emperor also presented him a dress of honour, horses and elephants.⁸ Thereafter he accompanied the Emperor to the capital. But as the capital city at that time was affected with plague, Jahangir decided to stay at Fatehpur and Karan was granted leave to go to his *jagir*.⁹ It is important to note that on all those occasion when Jahangir met Karan he remembered Rana Amar Singh and specially sent for him in gift elephants and horses.¹⁰

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.162

² *Tuzuk*, p.163; *Vir vinod*, II, p.365

³ *Tuzuk*, p.169

⁴ *Tuzuk*, p.170; *Iqbalnama*, p.93; *Vir vinod*, II, p.265; Tod I, p.292

⁵ *Tuzuk*, p.170; *Vir vinod*, II, p.266; But Shahnawaz Khan writes that Jagat Singh son of Karan accompanied Prince with 1500 horses. (*M.U.II*, pp.203-4)

⁶ *Tuzuk*, p.189; *Vir vinod*, II, p.266

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.253; *M.U.II*, pp.204-5; *Vir vinod*, II, p.303; Tod I, p.290

⁸ *Tuzuk*, p.253

⁹ *Tuzuk*, p.260; Tod I, pp.290-92

¹⁰ *Tuzuk*, p.261

Although, as discussed above Jahangir was over courteous towards Amar Singh and his sons and grand son, but except for Kr. Karan none of them were given a rank; and because they were not admitted to imperial service, none of them were given any important administrative duty. Kr. Karan like other Rajput nobles was also sent to serve in the Deccan.

In 1620 Amar Singh died and was succeeded by Kr. Karan Singh. Jagat Singh his grand son and Bhim his other son at that time were in attendance of the Emperor.¹ The Emperor offered them his condolences and immediately sent them to Chittor with Raja kishan Das with a gracious *farman* conferring the title of Rana on Karan. A dress of honour, a horse and an elephant were presented to Karan along with a condolence message.² In the same year (1620) Bhim was honoured with the title of Raja.³ On the recommendation of Khurram he was also assigned *jagir* of Jalore.⁴ Karan's son Jagat Singh was also summoned to the court and sent as an auxiliary to the army of the Deccan.⁵ After the completion of the Deccan campaign Jagat Singh returned to Mewar. Rana Karan had been camping at Mewar since 1620 when his father Amar Singh died. Raja Bhim who was in the service of Khurram stayed in the Deccan along with Khurram.⁶ Therefore, shortly after the arrival of Jagat Singh to Mewar Jahangir issued a *farman* to Karan Singh asking him to send his son along with his contingent to court.⁷

Meanwhile Khurram rebelled in Deccan in 1623 and at the head of a large army proceeded towards Agra and Delhi. He had the support of a number

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.289; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.266, 304

² *Tuzuk*, p.289; *Iqbalnama*, III, p.559; Tod I, p.290

³ *Tuzuk*, p.308; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.270, 304

⁴ *Vigat*, II, pp.105-6; G.D Sharma, p.28

⁵ *Tuzuk*, pp.322-23; *Vir vinod*, II, p.304

⁶ *Vir vinod*, II, p.270

⁷ *Tuzuk*, p.347

of nobles, including Raja Bhim brother of Rana Karan.¹ But in the famous battle of Bilochpur Khurram was defeated and fled towards Gujrat via Rajputana.² About this time Jahangir summoned important nobles of the Empire to his presence.³ But we have no information about Rana Karan Singh. Had he been summoned to the court at that time, the Emperor must have made some adverse comments about him also. But he is not referred at all in the *Tuzuk* during this period of grave crisis. The complete silence of Jahangir in this connection is really intriguing. However, Khurram on his way to Mandu stayed for sometime in Udaipur, probably to get his help.⁴ Some Rajasthani sources mention that Rana Karan Singh accorded a friendly welcome to the fugitive Prince and exchanged his turban with that of Khurram as a symbol of friendship and brotherhood. He is also said to have allowed his brother Bhim to continue in the service of the rebel Prince.⁵ But the Persian chronicles make no such reference, although Khurram's presence in Rajputana on his way to Mandu is mentioned in all these works.⁶ Jagat Singh, Rana Karan's son during this period remained in the presence of the Emperor. He was however, granted leave in Nov. 1623 after the rebels have preceded towards Bangal.⁷ But the attitude of Jahangir towards the Rana of Mewar during the period Khurram's revolt is unexplainable.

It is really a matter of enquiry as to why Karan was not called to court; although *farmans* were issued to other Rajput chiefs to come to the court as

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.357; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.274-80

² *Tuzuk*, pp.357,359-60,361-62; However, after this battle Raja Bhim was promoted by Khurram to the rank of 5000/5000 with the title of Maharaja. (Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The Rajput chiefs and Prince Shahjahan's revolt: consequences'. *Islamic Culture*, 1987, p.66

³ *Tuzuk*, pp.357-58; *Vir vinod*, II, p.30

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, p.270; Tod I, p.295

⁵ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.270-73; Tod I, p.295; Gehlot I, pp.448-49

⁶ For details regarding his movement in that direction see, *Tuzuk*, pp.358-62; *Dutch Chronicle*, p.160; Afzal Husain, pp.156-57,173

⁷ *Tuzuk*, pp.367,374; *M.U.* II, pp.204-5; *Vir vinod*, II, p.306

early as possible. It is also important to note that inspite of Bhim's open support to Khurram no action was taken against Mewar.¹ On the contrary Jagat Singh was given leave to visit Mewar and at the time of his departure he was presented a dress of honour and jewelled dagger.²

Kr. Bhim however remained close to Khurram and accompanied with him in his campaign to Bengal and Bihar. He had such a strong influence on Khurram that on the teeth of opposition of Abdullah Khan he forced the Prince to fight the imperial army at Tons.³ The rebels were completely defeated and Kr. Bhim himself was killed (1624).⁴ After this defeat the Prince suffered several other reverses and forced by circumstances appealed the Emperor for clemency which was granted; he was also assigned Balaghat in *Jagir*.

Sisodias were on very friendly terms with some of the Mughal nobles such as Mahabat Khan.⁵ Farid Bhakkari writes that when Mahabat Khan left Burhanpur in great despair from the court by way of Chanda Pass and reached the fort of Ranthambhor (which was his fief), he was helped by the Rana of Chittor with one thousands fully equipped and well armed horsemen.⁶ With the help of these Rajput retainers Mahabat Khan made Jahangir prisoner in his own camp. But he could neither maintain his control over Mughal administration nor on his own Rajput retainers. As a result within a short period of time, he was forced to leave the imperial camp and proceeded towards the territory of the Bhils between Mewar and Gujrat by way of Marwar.⁷ On reaching Pokhran (forty Krohs south side of Jaisalmer) a dependency of Jaisalmer, he stayed there

¹ *Tuzuk*, pp.357,368; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.286-87

² *Tuzuk*, pp.367,374; *M.U.*, II, pp.204-5

³ *Iqbalnama*, pp.221-22; *Z.Khawanin*, pp.122-23; *Maasir i Jahangiri*, p.198; *M.U.* III, pp.428-30

⁴ For details see *Tuzuk* pp.357,368,378,381-82,384-85,388-89; *Z.Khawanin* pp.122-23

⁵ *Z.Khawanin*, pp.132-33; *Tod I*, pp.294-95

⁶ *Z.Khawanin*, pp.132-33; *Iqbalnama*, p.252

⁷ *Z.Khawanin*, p.141

for some time to pass the rainy season. He married the daughter of the Pokhran Chief (a relative of Rawal Kalyan of Jaisalmeri) to his son. After the rainy season he went to the Rana of Mewar, but the Rana did not show him much courtesy. Thereafter he fled into the territory of the Bhils.¹

During the entire period of the revolt of Khurram and in the last years of Jahangir's reign we hardly get any information about Rana Karan. Apparently he was at his *watan* and deliberately avoided taking any position in the struggle, and on occasions even sympathised Khurram in his exploits.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Jahangir's death was followed by quarrel for succession between Shahryar a son of Jahangir and Dawar Bakhs son of Khusrau. While the contest was going on Asaf Khan secretly informed Shah Jahan about these developments and requested him to hurry immediately towards Agra.² Soon after receiving the message Shah Jahan marched towards Agra by way of Gujrat. On reaching Gogunda he was warmly received by Rana Karan.³ As a matter of fact he openly came out to support his candidature. Shah Jahan too responded favourably by bestowing a robe of honour and confirming him on his previous rank of 5000/5000.⁴ Rana went a step further by deputing his brother Arjun with a contingent of troops to accompany him to fight for the throne.⁵ This was a very significant development in Mughal-Mewar relation; for the first time the Sisodias took active part in court politics to decide the issue of succession.

However, Rana Karan died within two months of Shah Jahan's succession to throne.⁶ He was succeeded by his eldest son Jagat Singh whom

¹ *Z.Khawanin*, pp.141-42

² For details see chapter, I

³ Lahori, Ia, p.80; *M.U.*, II pp.204-5; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.270, 290

⁴ *Iqbalnama*, pp. 298,306,598; *Lahori*, Ia, p.80

⁵ *Iqbalnama*, p.598; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.270, 290

⁶ Shyamal Das writes that Rana Karan Singh in 1628 defied the settlement of 1615 and started repairing the fort of Chittor. (*Vir vinod*, II, p.290)

Shah Jahan not only recognised as the hereditary ruler of Mewar but also assigned him the rank of 5000/5000 and conferred the title of Rana.¹ Rana Jagat Singh unlike his father was very ambitious. Immediately after the completion of Tika ceremony he began interfering in the affairs of neighbouring Rajput states of Dungarpur, Dewliya, Sirohi and Banswara. In 1628 he sent a strong army under the command of Akhay Raj against Dungarpur.² The town of Dungarpur was plundered and Mahrawal Punja finding himself unable to resist fled his chieftaincy and proceeded to Mughal court personally to lodge a complaint against the Rana. Soon afterwards the relation between Jaswant Singh the ruler of Devliya, who had been under the nominal suzerainty of Mewar since 1615 also got strained.³ Being apprehensive of Rana Jagat Singh's hostile activities, Jaswant Singh instigating Jan Nisar, Mughal *faujdar* of Mandsores to attack Rana's territory. Jan Nisar without seeking permission of Shah Jahan sent a large force against Mewar and captured *Pargana* Bastar on the out post of Modi. Rana Jagat Singh did not offer any resistance to the invading army but immediately brought the matter to the notice of the Emperor. Shah Jahan immediately issued a *farman* on 29 November 1628 ordering Jan Nisar to hand over the *Pargana* to the Rana.⁴ Although the matter was settled in favour of Jagat Singh but he was extremely unhappy with Rana Jagat Singh. He hatched a conspiracy, inviting Jaswant Singh to Udaipur and got him killed.⁵ Thereafter he sent an army and the city of Devliya was plundered.⁶ Emboldened with the success achieved by his forces in Dungarpur and Dewliya, he sent his army to Sirohi which was also sacked.⁷ Shortly afterwards Bhag Chand Kayastha led an

¹ Lahori, Ia, p.161; *Vir vinod*, II, p.318

² *Vir vinod*, II, p.319

³ *Vir vinod*, II, p.318

⁴ Tirmizi, pp.42-43, s.no.8; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.1058-59

⁵ *Vir vinod*, II, p.319

⁶ Ibid, pp. 318-319

⁷ *Vir vinod*, II, p.320

army against Rawal Samar Singh of Banswara who was compelled to surrender.¹

From the above it becomes quite clear that Jagat Singh was determined to bring its earestwhile feudatory states of Dungarpur, Devliya, Sirohi and Banswara under his complete subordination. It is important to note that in spite of complaints made by the chiefs of these states, the Emperor took no notice. Thereore, it may be conclude that the Mughal Emperor also recognised the right of Mewar over these states. On the other hand as mentioned above when Jagat Singh lodged a complaint that Jan Nisar Khan had captured one of his *Parganas*, the Emperor ordered Jan Nisar to immediately hand over that *Pargana* to the Rana. However, Rana Jagat Singh being apprehensive of adverse reaction of the Emperor for his aggressive policies continued to maintain close contact with the court. He sent Jhala Kalyan of Delwada with offering and with a request that he be pardoned of any omissions and commissions.² He also sent his uncle Arjun with 500 troopers to render service in the Deccan against Khan i Jahan Lodi.³ For some time Arjun personally served in the expedition and thereafter it was decided that Mewar would continue to serve Mughal army in the Deccan with 500 troopers under the command of a responsible officer.⁴ Therefore the Rana dispatched Bhopat Rai of Dhariyawad with a contingent to the Deccan to assist the Mughal army.⁵

Shortly afterwards Rana dispatched Kalyan Jhala to Mandu to congratulate the Emperor on his victory in the Deccan (1636) and when the Emperor along with Dara Shukoh reached Ajmer on his way to the capital, the Rana also sent Kr. Raj Singh along with his senior nobles to offer his

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, p.321

² *Ibid*, II, p.321

³ Lahori, Ia, p.518; *M.U.*, II, pp.205-6

⁴ Inayat Khan, p.196; *M.U.*II, pp.205-6

⁵ Lahori, II, pp.370-71; *Vir vinod*, II, p.322

obesience.¹ The Emperor was much pleased and sends a dress of honour, a horse and elephants to Rana Raj Singh. Two of his prominent nobles Ballu Chauhan and Rawat Man Singh were also given robes of honour, horses and elephants.²

Thereafter, we do not get references of any direct contact between the Emperor and Rana Jagat Singh until 1643. Although during the same period several Sisodia chiefs such as Sujan Singh, Gharib Das, Duda, Rai Singh Jhala, Gokul Das, and Sadadi came to Mughal court after leaving the service of Rana and joined imperial army. They were also assigned ranks.³ Although the relations between the Sisodias and the Mughal imperial authority appeared more or less normal, but the Emperor was not happy with Rana's attitude towards his feudatories.⁴ As a result in 1644 when the Emperor was informed that during the course of a pilgrimage undertaken by Rana Jagat Singh's mother some untoward incident leading to clashes between Rana's men and the Muslim of the area took place and some Muslims were killed, the Emperor immediately marched towards Ajmer to take action against him.⁵ Realising the gravity of situation Rana Jagat Singh immediately dispatched Kr. Raj Singh to Ajmer to apologise for the unfortunate incident and also convinced him of the complete loyalty of the house of Mewar.⁶ The Emperor received him favourably and after a stay of few days Kr. Raj Singh was granted leave with the usual exchange of gifts and offering.⁷ It seems that the Emperor got satisfied with the conduct of Jagat Singh because he also returned to court without taking

¹ Inayat Khan, pp.195-96; *Vir vinod*, II, p.322

² Inayat Khan, p.202; *Vir vinod*, II, p.322

³ Ranawat Manohar Singh, *Shahjahan ke Hindu Mansabdar*, p.45, 47

⁴ At that moment the Emperor had not reacted strongly against him but from the account of *Vir vinod* it appears that the Emperor was not happy with these actions. (*Vir vinod*, II, pp.321-323)

⁵ Her name was Jambuwati Bai (*Vir vinod*, II, pp.322-23)

⁶ Inayat Khan, pp.303-4; Lahori, II, p.345; *Vir vinod*, II, p.324

⁷ Inayat Khan, p.304; *Vir vinod*, II, p.324

any action against the Sisodias. Although presently the crisis was averted but it seems Jagat Singh was not sure of the future of this truce. Therefore, shortly after the departure of the Emperor, in Sep.1644 he sent Kalyan Jhala to the court with costly presents to appease the Emperor¹ and also to make efforts to clear misunderstanding that may have cropped up because of the partisan role of some elements at the court.

By and large Rana Jagat Singh's relation with Mughal imperial authority remained cordial for most part of his reign. With the cooperation of the imperial authority he was able to establish peace and prosperity in the region and also succeeded in bringing the erstwhile feudatory states under his subordination. Being anxious to retrieve the glory of Mewar state he wanted now to repair the fort of Chittor at any cost.

Therefore, sometimes in 1652 he secretly started repairing the fort.² It was certainly an act of defiance of the treaty 1615 and as soon as the matter was brought to the notice of the Emperor, he instituted an enquiry to look into the whole affairs of the repair of the fort.³ But in the meantime after a rule of 24 years Rana Jagat Singh died in oct. 1652. The Emperor on being informed of the sad demise of the Rana recognised Raj Singh as ruler of Mewar.⁴ While the enquiry was still in progress and from all account it was quite clear that repair of the fort was in progress, he was given *Tika* and assigned rank of 5000/5000 with the hereditary title of Rana.⁵ Dresses of honour and other mark of favour were also sent to the new Rana through Pardoman Gaur and Kalyan Das Jhala. The Rana was further ordered to proceed to Qandhar to join the campaign with

¹ *M.U.*, II, pp.205-6

² Inayat Khan, p.501; *M.U* II, pp.205-6; *Khulasa i Shahjahannama*, Zahid Khan, p.239; However, Shyamal Das in *Vir vinod* writes that Rana Karan Singh in 1628 defied the settlement of 1615 and started repairing the fort of Chittor. (*Vir vinod*, II, p.290)

³ *M.U.*II, pp.205-6

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.342, 401; Tirmizi, II, p.102, s.no.252

⁵ Waris, a, p. 25; *M.U.*, II, pp.205-6; *T.U.* pp.36-37

the full contingent of 1000 troopers.¹ He was also informed that as he had failed to depute 1000 troopers as per the agreement after the return of the Emperor from the Deccan (1636) the revenue of the *Pargana* of Mandalgarh and Badnaur were being resumed and transferred to *Khalisa*.² As soon as these orders were received, Rana informed the court authorities that 500 troops under the command of Bhupat son of Sambha had already been dispatched and remaining troops would be send soon. The Rana also promised to send 1000 troops to Qandhar. When these reports were confirmed by the *Faujdar* of Ajmer, the Emperor pardoned him and the *Parganas* mentioned above were bestowed again on the Rana for his personal expences.³

The Qandhar campaign of Dara Shukoh (1653) as is well known miserably failed and he was recalled by the Emperor. Sometimes afterwards Emperor was informed that the two gates out of the seven gates of the fort have been repaired by the Rana.⁴ The Emperor who was already unhappy with the Rana because of his failures to report on duty in Qandhar and also his failure to send full quota of 1000 troopers for service, immediately ordered Saadullah Khan to launch an attack on Chittor and dismantle all the gates and other buildings recently constructed.⁵ Raja Jai Singh was asked to join Saadullah Khan with a well equipped army to assist him in the campaign.⁶ The Emperor himself moved to Ajmer professedly on a pilgrimage but actually to supervise the operations personally.⁷ After reaching Ajmer the Emperor further ordered

¹ Inayat Khan, pp.478-79; Tirmizi, II, p.102, s.no.252

² Ibid

³ Tirmizi, II, p.102, s.no.252; Inayat Khan, pp.478-79

⁴ *M.U.II*, pp.205-6

⁵ Inayat Khan, pp.500-501; *M.U.II*, pp.205-6

⁶ Tirmizi, II, p.107, s.no.275

⁷ Inayat Khan, p.501

Saadullah Khan to declared a full scale war on Mewar if the Rana did not apologise for his misconduct and offer complete subordination.¹

On his being informed of the march of imperial army towards Mewar followed by Emperor himself, the Rana got alarmed and immediately send his *wakil* to the presence of the Emperor. The *wakil* met the Emperor in his camp at Khalilpur and requested him to withdrew the invading army from Mewar. He also met Dara Shukoh and appealed him to act as an intercessor.² The later events indicate that on the request of Dara Shukoh the Emperor agreed to postpone the hostility for the time being, and dispatched Chandra Bhan to Chittor to apprise Rana of his wrong doings which had forced the Emperor to take military action against him.³

Munshi Chandra Bhan sent a detailed report to the Emperor pointing out that following 'faults and blunders' have been committed by him:⁴

1. Rana had got repaired the fort of Chittor in complete defiance of the agreement reached in 1616.
2. The Rana after the departure of imperial army to Akbarabad led a large army from Udaipur into the imperial territory on the pretext of *ziarat* (pilgrimage and *ghusl* (Holy bath). This act of Rana was a breach of faith and 'blunder of the most heinous type'.
3. Rana had not send the required number of troops to Qandhar.
4. Rana had send a very small number of troopers to Deccan against the agreed 1000 troopers to be posted there regularly.⁵

¹ Inayat Khan, p.501; *M.U.*II, pp.206

² Inayat Khan, p. 501; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.402-3

³ Tirmizi, II, p.108; Inayat Khan, pp.501-2; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.403-8

⁴ Tirmizi, II, pp.108-9; Inayat Khan, pp.501-2; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.403-405

⁵ Tirmizi, II, pp.108-9; Inayat Khan, pp.501-2; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.403-5

After receiving this report the Emperor ordered Chandra Bhan to communicate to Rana that the imperial army will attack Mewar and devastate the whole of it, if he failed to carry out the following orders of the Emperor:

1. To demolish all the new constructions in the fort of Chittor.
2. *Sahib Tika* (Crown Prince), should immediately be despatched to present himself before the Emperor at Ajmer.
3. The required number of troops under the command of his brother should immediately be sent to Deccan. Regarding the assignment of *Parganas* in *Jagir* in the vicinity of Ajmer, the Rana was informed that the Emperor will decide this issue in due course of time.¹

Rana agreed to accept all these terms, although he pleaded that 'his father was more responsible for these blunders than he was'. He also gave an assurance that in future he would do nothing against the wishes of the Emperor and that he would be more loyal and faithful to the Emperor than his ancestors.²

Chandra Bhan adds that after the discussion that he had with him, Rana held a separate meeting with his chiefs and informed him that he had decided to send an *Arzdasht* through Ballu Chauhan to the Emperor to the effect that 'it would be possible for him to send his son only after the departure of the imperial army which had arrived at Chittor and had struck fear in the hearts of all'³

However, in the meantime Saadullah Khan who reached Chittor on 17 October 1654 started making preparations for the demolition of the fort

¹ Tirmizi, II, pp.108-9; Inayat Khan, pp. 501-2; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.403-8

² Tirmizi, II, p.109; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.408-409; Inayat Khan, p.503

³ Tirmizi, II, p.109; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.409-10; But Shahnawas Khan writes that Rana Raj Singh himself went to Prince Dara Shukoh to plead his case. He agreed to send his son to the court and also agreed to demolish the repaired and newly constructed portion of the fort. (*M.U.II*, p.206)

while the negotiations were in progress.¹ Therefore, Rana Raj Singh dispatched Madhusudan Bhatt and Ram Singh Jhala to Saadullah Khan with the request that the destruction of the fort be postponed till the outcome of the negotiations.² However, it is really surprising to note that while negotiations at the highest level as mentioned above were in progress, Saadullah Khan without any provocation launch an attack on the fort and in a matter of fifteen days raised it to the ground.³ Inayat Khan adds that the imperial troops were so ruthless in their action that the Rana withdrew his army to save the peasantry and inhabitants of the area from their wrath.⁴ But what is more intriguing is the attitude of the Emperor who took no notice of Saadullah Khan's action and allowed the fort to be destroyed. In spite of these unfortunate developments the Rana fully co-operated and his crown Prince who had started for imperial court continued his journey and presented himself before the Emperor at Malpur.⁵ In the meantime Munshi Chandrabhan sent an *Arzdasht* to the Emperor through Jamal Aquil Khan with all the details of his discussion that he had with the Rana. He also informed the Emperor that Raghunath Singh a servant of Raj Singh had agreed to join the imperial army.⁶ Thereafter, Rana also addressed an *Arzdasht* to Prince Dara Shukoh, requesting him to send his *Diwan* so that under his care his heir apparent might be sent to the court. Dara Shukoh agreed to the request and dispatched Shaikh Abdal Karim his *Diwan* to escort the Prince to the court.⁷ Sometimes in Nov.1654 the Emperor issued a *Farman* to the Rana informing him that on the request of Dara Shukoh and the assurances given to Chandrabhan the imperial emissary, the imperial army had been

¹ Inayat Khan, p.503; Tirmizi, II, p.109; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.402, 412

² *Virvinod*, II, p.412

³ Inayat Khan, pp.502-3; *Vir vinod*, II, p.413-14

⁴ Inayat Khan, p.503

⁵ Inayat Khan, p.503; *Vir vinod* II, p.413; *M.U.* II, p.206

⁶ Tirmizi, II, p.109; *Virvinod*, II, pp.407-9

⁷ Inayat Khan, p.502; Tirmizi, II, p.110, s.no.281; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.409,413

withdrawn from Mewar.¹ Further, he was asked to send his brother along with a fully equipped contingent as agreed, to the Deccan to perform imperial service.² Chandrabhan who was present at the court of Rana informed the Emperor that the Rana, after getting the information of the withdrawal of the imperial forces, had sent his son to the imperial presence in the company of Shaikh Abdal Karim and other imperial servants.³

The Emperor received him favourably and presented him a robe of honour and other gifts. It appears that the Prince who had yet not been named by the Rana, was now styled as Sohag Singh by the Emperor.⁴ The *Samantas* who accompanied him were also favoured with robes of honour and horses. After staying for a few days at the imperial camp on 6 Dec.1654 Sohag Singh was given leave to return to his *Watan*.⁵ A *Farman* addressed to Rana Raj Singh ordering him to send his son forthwith to the Deccan, was also handed over to him.⁶ Although once again peace was established in Mewar but Rana's prestige had suffered a great set back; not only the fort of Chittor was demolished again but a large part of Rana's territory comprising Pur, Mandal, Khairabad, Mandalgarh, Jahajpur, Sawar, Phullia, Banera and Badnaur were taken away and merged in *Suba* of Ajmer.⁷ *Vir Vinod* writes that 'though Rana had accepted these humiliating conditions, but this renewed submission was very painful to the Rana's sense of honour,' and from then onwards he started making preparations to take a revenge at an opportune time.⁸ However, for the next four years we did not get any reference of hostile activity on the part of

¹ Tirmizi, II, p.110, s.no.281

² Ibid, p.110, s.no.281

³ Ibid, p.110, s.no.282; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.411-12

⁴ Inayat Khan, p.503; *Vir vinod* II, p.413; *M.U.*II, p.206

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

⁷ *Vir vinod*, II, p.414

⁸ Ibid, pp.413-414

Rana Raj Singh. Apparently relations with Mewar in all these years remained normal.

Mewar again came into limelight when the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan started and each Prince started making efforts to enlist the support of the leading nobles and chieftains of the Empire.¹ In earlier chapter we have mentioned that Raja Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh the two noted Rajput nobles of Kachhwaha and Rathor houses respectively were summoned to court and were dispatched against Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad to check their advance towards Agra. But it is quite strange to note Rana Raj Singh of Mewar was not summoned to the court even at this critical juncture, although Dara at the request of Raj Singh had played a very crucial role in the settlement of 1654. On the contrary, soon after Aurangzeb started from the Deccan, he contacted Raj Singh and a regular correspondence between the two continued through out the period of struggle.²

In the first *Nishan* of 1657 Aurangzeb informed the Rana that Udai Karan Chauhan and Shankar Bhatt have been given leave as desired by him. He further informed him that he was proceeding on the campaign of Bijapur and that whole contingent of Mewar was with him. He added that Indra Bhatt one of his most trust worthy servant who had also gone with Udai Karan and Shankar would inform him all the details verbally. This *Nishan* clearly indicate that Rana Raj Singh and Prince Aurangzeb had very close relations much before the beginning of war of succession.³

In the second *Nishan* Aurangzeb informed Rana that he had send some verbal message through Indra Bhatt and requested him to send reply within three days. A robe of honour and a ring of Almas was also send for the Rana.⁴

¹ Salih, b, p.6; *Adab-i Alamgiri*, I, pp.157-169

² *Vir vinod*, II, pp.416-24

³ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.415-16; Tirmizi, II, p.118, s.no.314

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, p.417; Tirmizi, II, p.110, s.no.283

The third *Nishan* which was issued after he (Aurangzeb) started towards Agra to fight for the throne. These documents clearly indicated that Aurangzeb was not only in regular correspondence with the Rana but some understanding had already been reached between them. In this *Nishan* Aurangzeb had actually assured him that *Pargana* of Mandal along with the *Pargana* of Idar will be assigned to him after he fulfills his commitments. He was further asked to immediately send a well equipped army under some close relation to join the advance guard of his army. He was also informed that his (Rana Raj Singh's) letter send through Raghunath had been received with favour. He showed his concern for the delay in dispatching an army to assist him. Rana was also assured that he would enjoy the same position at his court that Rana Jagat Singh enjoyed earlier. Aurangzeb in this *Nishan* also claimed himself as *Khalifa-i-Bhaq* and *Sarbarah-i-Mumlikat*.¹

In the next *Nishan* Aurangzeb acknowledged the receipt of the letter as well as verbal message through Indra Bhatt and Brajnath. It appears that the Rana had promised to send a well equipped army under the command of his son. In the *Nishan* Aurangzeb had also assured him that if the commitments would be fulfilled, he would be given much more favours than what were given to Rana Jagat Singh and he would enjoy much higher position than Rana Sanga ever enjoyed. He advised him to remain firm on his commitment and dispatch his son to join his army as soon as it crosses Narmada.²

After his victory at Ujjain Aurangzeb once again send a *Nishan* to Raj Singh informing him of the details of the battle fought with Jaswant Singh and the great victory achieved by him in the war. He again asked him to fulfill his commitment of sending an army under the command of his son. Besides that he also requested him not leave Udaipur at this juncture. Further he ordered him to

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.418-21

² *Ibid*, pp.421-22

immediately occupy those *Parganas* which were taken away from him and merged in Ajmer *Suba* by the order of Emperor Shah Jahan.¹

In the meanwhile Aurangzeb and Murad after their victory in the battle of Dharmat marched towards Agra.² A decisive battle was fought at Samugarh (7 June 1658) where Dara was defeated and fled towards Shahjahanabad and then towards Lahore.³ Immediately after this battle Rana Raj Singh sent his son Sohag Singh along with his brother Ari Singh to congratulate Aurangzeb on his victory at Samugarh.⁴ Sohag Singh and Ari Singh met Aurangzeb at Salimpur, who was marching in pursuit of Dara Shukoh and congratulated him.⁵ They have also brought an *Arzdasht* of Rana Raj Singh which they handed over to the Prince. Aurangzeb received them favourably and presented robes of honour and other usual gifts. Both of them accompanied Aurangzeb up to Mathura from where Sohag Singh was given leave to go back to Udaipur.⁶ Ari Singh however, accompanied Aurangzeb and stayed with him until his first coronation. He was granted leave at a place called *Ray Rayan Ki Srai* on 16 Aug. 1658.⁷ While Ari Singh was leaving for Udaipur Aurangzeb issued a *Farman* addressed to Rana Raj Singh.⁸ The *Farman* acknowledged the receipt of his *Arzdasht* and informed him that as per his request he had been granted all those territories which were held by his father Jagat Singh. His *mansab* was raised from 5000/5000 to 6000/6000 (1000, *do aspa, sih aspa*)⁹ and two crore *Dams* were also given to him in *Inam*.¹⁰ The *Pargana* of Badnaur, Mandal, Dungarpur,

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.423-24; Tirmizi, II, p.111, s.no.285

² Inayat Khan, pp.549-50; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, pp.16-17

³ Inayat Khan, pp.550-51; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, pp.20-23

⁴ Sometimes he was also called Sultan Singh. *Vir vinod*, II, p.424; *Alamgirnama*, pp.166-67

⁵ *Vir vinod*, II, p.424

⁶ Ibid, pp.424-25

⁷ Ibid, p.425

⁸ Ibid, pp.425-26

⁹ *Alamgirnama*, p.194; *Vir vinod*, II, pp.426-27

¹⁰ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.426-31; Tirmizi, II, p.140, s.no.421

Banswara, Ghyaspur and Basawar were also conferred upon him on account of an increase in his *mansab* and *Inam*.¹ In the end Rana was asked to remain faithful and loyal to him. The *farman* was handed over to Ari Singh to be personally handed over to the Rana. Aurangzeb thereafter set off with the main army in pursuit of Dara Shukoh. When he reached Multan, he was informed that Shah Shuja was marching towards Allahabad at the head of large army. Therefore, Aurangzeb left the pursuit of Dara Shukoh in the hands of his able officer and hurried back towards Shahjahanabad and then towards Allahabad to check the advance of Shuja.² While Aurangzeb was on his way to Allahabad, Sardar Singh youngest son of Raj Singh joined his army and fought against Shuja in the battle of Khajwa.³ Leaving the charge of the army in the hands of Muazzam Khan and Sultan Muhammad to pursue Shuja⁴ he himself rapidly marched towards Gujrat to take action against Dara Shukoh who in the meanwhile on receiving an invitation from Jaswant Singh proceeded towards Ajmer.⁵ After reaching Sirohi, Dara Shukoh sent a letter to Rana Raj Singh, informing him that he had reached Sirohi and within a short time will reach Ajmer. He appealed for his help in the war against Aurangzeb. He also informed him that Raja Jaswant Singh had agreed to join his army shortly. He further added that as Prince .Sardar Singh had now returned to Mewar, he should rally all the Rajputs under his banner and render all possible help in releasing His Majesty (Shahjahan) from imprisonment. Dara Shukoh pleaded that his help at this juncture will be remembered for years and decades by his family. In the end Dara wrote that if he finds it difficult to come personally, he

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.426-27

² Inayat Khan, p.556; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, p.36

³ *Vir vinod*, II, p.432

⁴ Inayat Khan, p.557; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, p.47

⁵ *Alamgirnama*, pp.229, 300, 311; Inayat Khan, p.557; *Waqiat i Alamgiri*, pp.41, 81-82; *Vir vinod*, II, p.434

may dispatch some of his relations along with two thousands troopers to join him at Merta.¹

But these pleading of Dara Shukoh had no effect on Rana's attachment to the cause of Aurangzeb. He maintained his close contact with him and while Aurangzeb was on his way to Ajmer, at Fathpur, (in the territory of Mewar) he was received by Raj Singh's *Samants* and presented jeweled swords and other valuable gift.² Jaswant Singh on whose assurance Dara had come to Ajmer also did not join him. Therefore Dara Shukoh had to fight Aurangzeb alone at Deorai (22nd march 1659) near Ajmer, where he was completely defeated and his career was finally sealed.³

From a study of the events of war of succession particularly the *Nishans* of Aurangzeb issued to Raj Singh from time to time it becomes quite clear that ever since 1657 Raj Singh and Prince Aurangzeb were in close contact with each other and exchanged letters regularly and in the war of succession the Rana openly sided with Aurangzeb. However, it is also important to note that in spite of his repeated assurances to send troops and Aurangzeb's repeated reminders for such a help, the Rana did not oblige him with troops. Even then Aurangzeb remained very friendly towards him and soon after his first coronation, promoted him to the rank of 6000/6000 (1000x2-3h) and also assigned all those territories which were held by Rana Karan in Jahangir's time.⁴

It is also important to note that several other Sisodias of the house of Mewar were admitted in imperial service specially during the reign of Shahjahan and rose to higher ranks. Prominent among them were Rai Rai Singh Sisodia, Sujan Singh Sisodia, Biram Deo Sisodia, Sabal Singh Sisodia, Rao

¹ *Vir vinod*, II, p.433; Tirmizi, II, p.138, s.no.412

² *Vir vinod*, II, p.434

³ Inayat Khan, p.558; *Waqiat -i- Alamgiri*, pp.42-43; *Hukumat ri Bahi*, p.252

⁴ *Vir vinod*, II, pp.425-31; *Alamgirnama*, p.194

Duda, Hathi Singh, Rup Singh, Amar Singh and Gokul Das Sisodia. Besides that several other Sisodia Rajputs were also admitted in Mughal service during this period.¹ We have briefly discussed the career of these nobles in the following pages.

Rai Rai Singh Sisodia son of Bhim after the accession was taken into imperial service. His father Bhim had been a close associate of Shah Jahan and lost his life in his cause in 1624.² Rai Rai Singh was granted the *mansab* of 2000/1000 and the title of Raja was also conferred upon him soon after the accession of Shah Jahan.³ In 1633 he was again raised to the rank of 3000/1200⁴ and shortly afterwards dispatched against Jujhar Singh Bundila.⁵ In 1637 he was again promoted to the rank of 3000/1500⁶ and dispatched to serve Prince Dara Shukoh in Qandhar. After returning from Qandhar he was sent along with Said Khan to suppress the rebellion of Jagat Singh Zamindar of Jammu. In the second Qandhar campaign also he was dispatched to serve under Dara Shukoh. At the time of departure he was promoted to the rank of 4000/2000.⁷ Rai Rai Singh also served in Balkh and Badakhshan campaign under Prince Murad (1646) and Aurangzeb (1647), and Qandhar campaign under Aurangzeb (1649, 1653) and Dara Shukoh (1653).⁸ In these campaign he showed rare feats of valour and in reward for his meritorious services was raised to the rank of 5000/2500.⁹ Rai Rai Singh was also dispatched to the Mewar expedition along with Saadullah Khan to demolish those portions of the fort of Chittor which

¹ See Appendix A5 and B3 for details of their mansab and appointments.

² *Iqbalnama*, pp.232-34; *Z. Khawanin*, pp.122-23

³ Lahori, Ia, p.195; *M.U.* II, pp.297-98; *T.U.*, p.261

⁴ Lahori, Ia, p.421; *M.U.* II, pp. 297-98

⁵ Lahori, Ia, p.535, Ib, p.99

⁶ *Ibid*, p.142,299

⁷ Lahori, II, p.294; Waris, p.276; *M.U.* II, pp.297-301

⁸ Salih, III, p.71; *M.U.* II, pp.298-99

⁹ Waris, p.276; *M.U.* II, pp.298-99

were recently repaired.¹ There after he was deputed to serve in the Deccan under Aurangzeb. In the battle fought against Adil Shahis of Bijapur Rai Rai Singh played very important role and in appreciation of his service, he was promoted to the rank of 5000/4000.² During the war of succession he was on Dara's side and was appointed along with Jaswant Singh against Prince Aurangzeb and Murad. But in the course of battle (at Dharmat) he left the battle field and proceeded towards his *Watan*.³ After Aurangzeb's victory at Samugarh, he came to Agra and offered his submission before Aurangzeb.⁴

Biram Deo Sisodia son of Surajmal and grandson of Rana Amar Singh apparently had good relation with both Jagat Singh and Raj Singh and remained with them until 1648. But sometimes in 1648 he joined imperial service and was granted *mansab* of 800/400.⁵ Shortly afterwards he was raised to the rank of 1000/500 and deputed to serve in Qandhar under Prince Aurangzeb.⁶ Biram Deo Sisodia continued to serve in all future military campaign of Shah Jahan's reign and attained the rank of 3000/1000.⁷ In the war of succession he was on Dara's side and fought against Aurangzeb in the battle of Samugarh.⁸ But shortly after wards like Rai Rai Singh, he also joined Aurangzeb and actively participated in the campaign against Shuja and Dara.⁹

Sujan Singh was another important Sisodia noble of Rana's family in imperial service. He was also a son of Suraj Mal and grandson of Rana Amar Singh. For some time he served the Rana Jagat Singh but in 1637 he left his

¹ *M.U.* II, pp.298-99

² *M.U.* II, pp.298-99; *T.U.* p.262

³ *Alamgirnama*, pp.70-71; *M.U.* II, pp.300

⁴ *M.U.*, II, p.142, 144, 300

⁵ *Salih*, III, p.18

⁶ *M.U.*, II, pp.452-54; *T.U.*, p.282

⁷ *Salih*, III, p.188, 204; *Waris*, a, p.261; *M.U.* II, pp.452-54

⁸ *Alamgirnama*, p.95

⁹ *M.U.*, II, pp.452-54

service and joined imperial service. He was assigned the rank of 800/300.¹ He was given promotion of 1000/400 in 1644 and 1000/500 in 1645.² Like several other Rajput nobles he was also deputed to serve in Balkh-Badakhshan and Qandhar campaigns, and received promotions in rank. At the closing year of Shah Jahan's reign he held the rank of 2000/800.³ During the war of succession he was sent with Jaswant Singh against Aurangzeb, where in the course of battle he was killed (April, 1658).⁴ After his death his son Fateh Singh was admitted in service and granted the *mansab* of 500/200.⁵

Sabal Singh Sisodia a grand son of Rana Amar Singh seems to have been in the personal service of Dara Shukoh for quite sometime. In 1650 he was formally admitted in imperial service and given *mansab* of 2000/1000.⁶ He was deputed to serve in the Balkh-Badakhshan and Qandhar campaigns and by earning promotion reached to the rank of 2500/1500.⁷

Rao Duda son of Rao Chanda and grandson of Durga Das Sisodia like his father and grand father served the imperial Mughals. Soon after the accession of Shah Jahan he presented himself before the Emperor and received the rank of 1500/1000.⁸ The title of Rao and the hereditary *Jagir* of Rampura was also assigned to him.⁹ Thereafter he was appointed against Khan i Jahan Lodi and as a reward for his service he was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500.¹⁰ He also served in the Deccan campaign under Asaf Khan and

¹ Lahori, Ib, p.315

² Salih, III, p.394; *M.U.* II, pp.452-54

³ Waris b, pp.74-76, 90-91, 166-69; *M.U.* II, pp.452-54

⁴ Waris a, p.270; *M.U.* II, pp.452-54

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Waris a, p.261; *M.U.* II, pp.468-69; *T.U.* p.294

⁷ Lahori, II, p.747; *Alamgirnama*, p.847

⁸ Lahori, Ib, p.302

⁹ Lahori, Ia, p.299; *M.U.* II, pp.142-48; *T.U.* p.259

¹⁰ Lahori, Ib, p.302; *M.U.* II, pp.142-43

Mahabat Khan where during the siege of Daulatabad he was killed (1634).¹ After his death his son Hathi Singh was admitted in service and given the *mansab* of 1500/1000. The title of Rao and Rampura was also conferred on him.² Like his father he also served in Deccan where he died in 1644. As he died childless he was succeeded by Rup Singh son of his father's uncle Rup Mukund. He was given the *mansab* of 900/900³ and the hereditary *Jagir* Rampura was also conferred on him.⁴ He was deputed to serve in the Balkh-Badakhshan and Qandhar campaign and rose to the rank of 2000/1200.⁵ In 1651 after his death, as he was also childless, Amar Singh son of Hari Singh along with other grand children of Rao Chanda came to court with Rup Singh's contingent and presented themselves before the Emperor. Amar Singh was recognised as successor of Rup Singh and the hereditary title of Rao, the territory of Rampura was also conferred on him. He was also given *mansab* of 1000/900.⁶ His brother also received suitable *mansab* and gifts. Amar Singh was deputed to serve in the Qandhar campaigns under Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh and received the promotion of 1500/1000 (1653)⁷ and 2000/1000 (1656).⁸ In 1656 he was dispatched to the Deccan to serve under Prince Aurangzeb. After the end of Bijapur campaign (1657) he was summoned to court and during the war of succession he was appointed to serve under Jaswant Singh against Aurangzeb. But soon after the beginning of the hostility he left Jaswant Singh and fled towards his native country Rampura. After the battle of Samugarh he came to Agra and presented himself before Aurangzeb. He was

¹ Lahori, Ia, pp.304-5, Ib, p.302; *M.U.* II, pp.142-43; *T.U.* p.259

² Lahori, Ib, p.305; *M.U.* II, pp.144-46

³ *M.U.* II, pp.144-46

⁴ *M.U.* II, pp.144-46; *Umrai Hunood*, p.228; *T.U.*, p.276

⁵ Waris, a, p.202; *M.U.* II, pp.145-46

⁶ *M.U.* II, pp.146-47; Waris, b, p.106

⁷ Waris, b, p.156; *M.U.* II, pp.146-47

⁸ Waris, a, pp.202-5; b, p.262

admitted in service and was appointed along with Prince Muhammad Sultan to persue Shuja.¹

Besides the Sisodias of the house of Mewar, several other Sisodia Rajputs were also admitted in imperial service. They were given ranks and important assignments. Prominent among them were Gokul Das Sisodia (1500/800),² Fateh Singh son of Mansingh (800/200),³ Madho Singh son of Shyam Singh (500/250),⁴ Hari Singh younger son of Chandu Singh (500/400),⁵ Fateh Singh son of Sujan Singh (500/200),⁶ and Narain Das Sisodia 700/700.⁷

The account of the Mewar house discussed above makes it abundantly clear that the Sisodias chiefs ever since their submission in Jahangir's time by and large remained faithful to imperial authority. Jahangir as discussed above had very special regard for Rana Amar Singh and Kr. Karan remained favourite of both Emperor Jahangir and Prince Khurram. However, during the reign of Jahangir besides Karan only two other Sisodias were admitted in service and their total rank was only 6000/600.

During the rebellion of Khurram Karan was the only Rajput chief who openly supported him and after the death of Jahangir too when Khurram, on his way to Delhi reached Gogunda Karan again came out openly in his support and despatched Arjun with a contingent of troops to accompany him to fight for the throne.

Shah Jahan after his accession specially favoured Sisodias. After Karan's death Jagat Singh was immediately recognised as the ruler of Mewar. During Shah Jahan's reign besides the members of the family of Sisodia chief several

¹ *M.U.*, II, pp.146-47

² Lahori, Ia, p.323, Ib, p.312; *Umrai Hunood*, p.310

³ Lahori, Ib, p.316

⁴ Lahori, Ib, p.323

⁵ Lahori, Ib, p.322

⁶ Waris, a, p.270

⁷ *T.U.* p.275

other Sisodias were also admitted in service and their strength in the nobility considerably increased. Table given below will show that as many as sixteen Sisodias were in service and the total mansab held by them now reached to 30500/20250.

Table

Year	Total No	Zat	Sawar
1616	4	11000	8200
1626	3	11000	5600
1628	5	10200	7700
1641	9	13800	8930
1657	16	30500	20250

However, none of them were given any important administrative duty and after the death of Rana Jagat Singh for a brief period on the problem of the repair of the fort of Chittor relation were strained. Even after prolonged negotiations, the repair portion of the fort of Chittor was destroyed. However, working relationship was established by the Rana who was extremely unhappy with Shah Jahan and probably during that time he established close relationship with Prince Aurangzeb.

CONCLUSION

In our study we have discussed in detail the political career of the Rajput chiefs of Amber, Marwar, Mewar, Bikaner and Bundi and their relations in the service of the imperial Mughals during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. We have also examined the career of other Rajputs also who served these rulers. Akbar came into contact of Rajputs during the period of the regency of Bairam Khan and was greatly impressed with their bravery and steadfastness and is reported to have said, 'we will look after you'¹ and after taking over the reigns government in his hands he not only admitted them in imperial service in large numbers but also reposed complete confidence in them by appointing them as central ministers, provincial governors and commanders of important military campaigns². By and large with the sole exception of Rathors of Mewar all other Rajput houses joined imperial service and served loyally in the entire period of Akbar's reign³.

Table A

Year		Total No. of Mansabdar	Turanis	Iranis	Rajputs	Indian Muslims
1575-95	500 & above	184	64	47	30	34
			37.78 %	25.54 %	16.30 %	18.48 %
At the death of Akbar	500 & above	95	30	21	17	5
			31.58 %	22.26 %	17.89 %	5.26 %

¹ Akbarnama, II, p., 45

² For details see, M. Athar Ali, Apparatus of the Empire

³ See Chapter on the Chiefs of Mewar for more details.

A reference to table 'A' will show that in the nobility of Akbar the numerical strength of Rajputs was between 16 to 17 percent of the total number of the mansabdars holding ranks of 500 and above of various racial groups including Turanis, Iranis and Indian Muslims. However among the Rajputs the Kachhwahas the first among Rajputs to have joined imperial service by virtue of their close personal relationship with the emperor and loyal service, enjoyed pre-eminent position at the court with about 36 percent of the total Rajput nobles followed by Rathors of Marwar house that held about 23 percent¹. Similarly the total mansabs held by the Kachhwahas was also much higher than the mansabs of other clans of Rajput nobles². Rathors of Bikaner, Sisodias of Mewar, Hadas of Bundi and Rathors of Mewar have very little presence in the nobility both in numerical strength as well as in total mansabs during this period³.

The Kachhwahas however, lost their pre-eminent position among Rajputs after the accession of Jahangir because of Man Singh's active participation in the conspiracy to enthrone Khusrau in place of his father Salim. Although in terms of their total mansabs and numerical strength no significant decline had taken place but Jahangir lost confidence in them (specially in Man Singh) and consequently none of the Kachhwahas were appointed as governors or given charge of an independent military command during his reign. But Kachhwahas have enjoyed such a high position in Akbar's reign that their decline (only in respect offices and military commands being denied to them) was considered even by Hawkins who lived in Agra between 1609 and 1611 as the decline of the entire Rajput nobility. But we have shown that though

¹ See table A for details. For reference see *The nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*. A.Husain, Appendix A- III and V, p.191

² The Rajput nobles held a total of 41000 *zat* and 10450 *sawar* out of which Kachhwahas have share of 23300 *zat* and 9500 *sawar*. For more details see, *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir*, pp. 96,99-101.

³ For details see appendix A

Jahangir was unhappy with Man Singh (he used to call him and Mirza Aziz Koka as old wolfs of the empire) he continued to maintain cordial relationship with other members of the Kachhwaha clan and also entered in to matrimonial relations with them. His decision to grant *tika* to Bhao Singh a grand son of Man Singh in preference to Maha Singh son of Man Singh whom the latter wished to have as his successor was considered as an act of hostility towards Kachhwahas. But Jahangir himself had stated that Bhao Singh was preferred because he had been his supporter through out. This confidence was expressed in his subsequent action in awarding Bhao Singh the title of Mirza Raja signifying special status of the Kachhwahas in their relationship with the imperial family¹.

Besides that Jahangir also established friendly relations with the Sisodias of Mewar ending long periods of war in which both the Mughal Empire and Mewar had suffered immensely. Rana. Amar Singh was exempted from personal presence and his eldest son Kunwar Karan was given the rank of 5000/5000. His younger sons were also given ranks and other marks of favour. In establishing peace in Mewar Jahangir showed remarkable statesmanship; he accepted almost all those terms which were made precondition by Rana Pratap before entering in to imperial service and rejected by Akbar². During his reign Rathors of Marwar also improved their position mainly because Jahangir's wife Manmati belonged to this house³. Rao Ratan Hara was also raised to the rank of 5000/5000 and made in charge of the Deccan during the absence of Khan-i Jahan Lodi. Rai Rai Singh and his son Rao Sur Singh of Bikaner also remained a favourite of the Emperor.

Rajput nobles by and large remained loyal to the emperor with the exception of Rai Rai Singh the ruler of Bikaner a favourite of the Emperor who

¹ See for details Chapter on Kachhwahas

² See Chapter on Mewar for details

³ See Chapter on Marwar and appendix A 3,4

rebelled in the first regnal year of his accession. But the rebellion was not because of any hostile action or any change in policy of the emperor towards him or the Rajputs in general but on account of Khusrau's rebellion and a prophecy made in that context by a Jain monk that the reign of Jahangir would come to an end within two years. An army was sent against him and he was defeated. He was however pardoned at the intercession of Amir-ul Umara Sharif Khan, and his rank and *jagirs* were restored. But after his death his son Dalip who was given the *Tika* by the Emperor also rebelled probably because he was granted only part of his father's *mansab* (2000/1000) which in his view was quite low. Therefore a strong army was despatched, which completely defeated him. He was arrested and brought to court where he was executed on the charge of repeated misbehaviour and rebellion. The punishment given to Dalip was unusually very harsh and to our knowledge no other Rajput chieftain of Rajasthan was ever awarded death sentence on such charges¹. Similarly Abhay Ram, Bijoy Ram and Shayam Ram the cousin of Man Singh were attacked and killed by the imperial soldiers on charges of misbehaviour. What is really surprising in this case was the attitude Rajput nobles including Kachhwahas who were present at the court refused to stand surety for them. It seems that none of the Rajput nobles were prepared to help an erring member of their own faction apparently on account of Jahangir's hostile attitude². In a similar incident in 1615 Sur Singh the chieftain of Marwar state and his brother Kishan Singh in a family feud fought a pitched battle just beneath the Jharokha in the presence of the emperor in which as many as 78 Rajputs from both sides including Kishan Singh were killed³. The emperor neither took any measure to stop the fighting nor initiated any action against the culprits. In the light of these incidents one may suggest that Jahangir was surely indifferent towards

¹ *Tuzuk*, p.126

² *Tuzuk*, p.12; *M.U.*, II, pp.155-56

³ *Tuzuk*, p.144; *Z.Khawarin*, II, pp.298-300

them if not openly hostile. Nevertheless the table 'B'¹ given below clearly shows that the numerical strength as well as total *mansabs* of the Rajput nobles increased considerably during Jahangir's reign. On their part Rajput nobles

Table 'B'

Total No. of nobles and total mansabs held at the death of Akbar	Kachhwahas	Rathors	Sisodias	Hadas	Bikaner
	20 34800/1637	6 4550/2600	2 4200	1 1000	2 4500
At the accession of Jahangir (1605-6)	10 30400/17450	5 6500/5000	2 5500/120	1 900	2 5500
1615-16	10 23300/14250	5 12500/6800	4 11000/8200	1 2000/1500	1 2000/2000
1626-27	6 12700/7400	7 9300/600	3 11000/5600	2 6000/5600	1 3000/2000

including Kachhwahas remained faith full to him and served loyally in Mewar as well as in the Deccan campaigns. During the rebellion of Khurram also the entire Kachhwaha clan remained loyal to Jahangir with the sole exception of Mannrup son Jagnath who joined Khurram. The Rathors also did not join Khurram. However, Rana Karan Singh the Sisodia Chief is said to have given some helps to Khurram when he reached Udaipur on his way to Mandu. Besides that he also allowed his brother Kunwar Bhim to remain in the service of the rebel Prince. As had already been mentioned, that he remained with the Prince until his death in the battle of tons fought with the imperial army under the command of Mahabat Khan. During the *coup* of Mahabat Khan, despite his repeated requests for their support none of the leading Rajput nobles came out openly to help him although Rajputs in general have very intimate relation with him and were also unhappy with actions taken by the imperial authorities against him. In the succession crisis following the death of Jahangir also most

¹ This table is based on Appendix A and B

of the Rajput nobles, with the sole exception of Rana Karan Singh who openly came out in the support of Khurram and deputed his brother Arjun with a contingent to support the Prince and remained neutral, preferred to wait and watch the outcome of the struggle.

After the accession of Shahjahan in the very first year of his reign there was significant increase in the numerical strength as well as in *mansabs* of Rajput nobles particularly in the clans of Kachhwahas, Rathors and Sisodias from the time of Jahangir. Although, Raja Gaj Singh and Raja Jai Singh who were in the Deccan at the time of Jahangir's death did not come out openly to support him and went to their *watan* and made no contact with him during the period that he marched from Gujrat to Agra via Ajmer, where he also stayed for some time. However after the coronation when they came to court to offer their submission the emperor received them warmly and also confirmed them to their previous ranks. Other nobles of their family were also confirmed to their previous ranks. But Manrup who remained loyal through out his period of rebellion was promoted to the rank of 3000/1000 and along with him several other Kachhwahas were admitted in service and given ranks ranging from 1000 to 500. The strength of Rathors also substantially increased both numerically as well in total ranks. Although, those nobles who were already in service were not given promotion at that time but as many as seven new Rathors were admitted in service and given ranks. Shahjahan also confirmed Rao Ratan Hada to his previous rank although he was not happy with him for his activities in the Deccan during the period of his revolt and especially during the closing years of Jahangir's reign. Rao Sur Singh was also promoted to the rank of 4000/2500 when he presented himself soon after his coronation.

However, of all the Rajput nobles the most special favours were granted to Rana Karan Singh and to his clan of Sisodias with whom Shahjahan had cordial relations from the time of his Mewar campaign when through his

initiative peace settlement between the Mughals and the Sisodias were concluded. At the time of his rebellion also Rana Karan provided him much needed help when after his defeat at Bilochpur he fled from the battlefield and reached Udaipur on his way to Malwa. Rana Karan personally came to meet him and as a symbol of friendship and brotherhood exchanged turbans. He also allowed his brother Bhim to remain in the service of the Prince at this critical juncture. Besides that after the death of Jahangir when Shahjahan reached Udaipur on his way to Agra to contest for the throne of Hindustan Rana Karan Singh again came out openly to support him and deputed a contingent of his army under the command of his son Arjun to accompany the prince and join his forces in the ensuing war with the other contender. Shahjahan was so pleased with this gesture of Karan Singh that he confirmed him to his previous rank at that very moment. Unfortunately Rana Karan Singh died within two months of Shahjahan's accession. But the emperor immediately recognised his son Jagat Singh as the ruler of Mewar and promoted him to the rank of 5000/5000 and along with him five more Sisodias were also assigned ranks.

Table 'C'

Numerical Strength and total mansabs

	Rathors	Kachhwahas	Sisodias	Hadas	Bikaner
1627-28	13	18	5	2	1
	17800/1025	23200/11850	10300/7700	6500/5600	6000/2500
1640-41	20	24	9	5	3
	23510/16600	21300/12575	13800/8930	7900/6400	3500/2700
1657-58	35	18	16	7	4
	37450/23080	21900/15850	30500/20250	9300/6800	7000/4500

The clan wise break up of numerical strength and total mansabs given above in the table 'C' indicates the picture more clearly. It not only shows the increase of Rajput nobles in the first year of his reign but in the entire period of Shahjaha's reign. Rajput nobles were also given very high ranks and important administrative duties such as governorships and military commands. In the campaign against rebels Juhjhar Singh Bundela and Khan-i Jahan Lodi the Rajputs formed the majority among the mansabdars who were sent against them. A large number of Rajputs were also deputed in the Deccan wars and in Balkh, Badakhshan and Qandhar campaigns and in recognition of their remarkable services they were promoted to higher ranks. Shahjahan's relations with almost all sections of his Rajput nobility remained cordial through out his reign except with the Sisodias of Mewar. Jagat Singh after becoming the ruler of Mewar started making efforts to bring under his subordination the states of Dungarpur, Devliya, Sirohi, and Banswara the erstwhile feudatories of Mewar. He also secretly started repairing the fort of Chittor in complete disregard of the treaty of 1615-16. He was accused of ignoring certain other terms of the treaty of 1615. As we have discussed in detail in the chapter on Mewar the Emperor send an army and the newly constructed and repaired structures were raised to the ground. Although peace was established but according to *Vir Vinod*, 'though Rana Raj Singh had accepted these humiliating conditions but this renewed submission was very painful to Rana's sense of honour'. However we do not get any reference of any hostility or any hostile action taken by him against imperial authorities before the beginning of war of succession. During this period another important development was the decisions of the Emperor to divide the chieftaincy of Hadas into two division namely Bundi and Kota independent of each other under the direct subordination of the Mughals. It is significant to note that both the sections without any resistance accepted this action of the emperor.

We have also discussed in detail the role of the Rajput nobles particularly of the chieftains of mentioned states. From the evidence that we have presented it becomes quite clear that the Rajput nobles like any other noble of the Empire were primarily concerned about their own future and their basic loyalty was only with emperor Shahjahan. It seems that the manner in which Dara had build up his position at the court and conducted the campaign against Aurangzeb and Shah Shuja and the extent to which both Shuja and Aurangzeb pursued their military campaign seriously as well as aggressively to defeat Dara and capture the throne, it led almost every noble to believe that Shahjahan had become quite irrelevant and after the war which seemed inevitable only one of the sons of Shahjahan would succeed to the throne. The Rajput nobles remained on the side of Dara only in the initial stages of the struggle but after Aurangzeb's victory at Dharmat the attitude of both the leading nobles of the empire Raja Jai Singh and Raja Jaswant Singh completely changed. They became more concerned about their own future and started shifting their loyalties with the shifting fortunes of the princes. However, even during this period of utter confusion and shifting of loyalties the Sisodia chief Rana Raj Singh remained firm in his support of Aurangzeb. We have shown that he had established close contact with Aurangzeb from the time of his second viceroyalty of the Deccan and we have references that both of them regularly exchanged letters. When he started on his campaign to contest for the throne of Hindustan he informed Rana Raj Singh and also requested for military help. The Rana assured him to send a well-equipped army under the command of his son in his service. Aurangzeb kept him informed of his victories at Dharmat and Samugarh and the Rana also send his son to congratulate him on his victories.

From the above one may conclude that after the admission of Rajput in the imperial service under Akbar, who greatly favoured them by assigning high

ranks and important offices, it became the basic policy of the Mughal rulers to follow friendly relation with them and to keep them in good humour high ranks and important offices should also be given to them.

Table D

	1595	1621	1637-38	1647-48	1656-57
	200 and above	500 and above	500 and above	500 and above	500 and above
Princes	4	4	3	4	8
Iranis	75	68	113	126	139
Turanis	93	48	85	103	123
Rajputs	40	34	60	73	87
Afghans	10	15	39	26	34
Indian Muslims	36	35	67	65	59
Other Muslims	18	31	36	29	49
Marathas	-	1	8	10	12
Other Hindus	7	6	8	7	7
Total-	283	242	419	443	518

Table 'D' given above clearly indicate that from Akbar's time to the closing years of Shahjahan's reign Rajputs continued to have very substantial presence in the nobility. Their numerical strength throughout this period was below only to Iranis and Turanis with whom the Emperor had very personal relationship. All other local elements in the nobility including Indian Muslims were far below to their strength. Both Jahangir and Shahjahan like Akbar also have very good relations with Rajput nobles in general but they have their own favourite Rajput nobles and clans who were given more prominence at court.

Jahangir for instance gave more importance to Rathors and Bundelas ignoring completely Man Singh and Kachhwahas. Shahjahan however maintained a balance, he undoubtedly liked Sisodias and Rahors much more than Kachhwahas and other clans but in the nobility they were properly represented and important assignments were also given to them.

APPENDIX A

I- Rajput mansabdars at the time of Akbar's death

RATHORS OF MARWAR

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCES
1-Raja Suraj Singh	2000/2000	Vigat,I,p.93,112; (U.H.1000/1000)
2-Sakat Singh	1000/300	A.N.III, p.836; Vigat,II, p.592; Iqbalnama p.508 gives 1000/20
3-Dalpat s/o Mota Raja	500	Vigat, II,492; Ain,I,228
4-Sabal Singh s/o Mota Raja	500	Ibid
5-Keshav Das Rathore	300/300	Vigat,II,492; Ain,I,229
6-Ram Das Rathore	250	A.N,III,670; Vigat,II,492

KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

1-Raja Man Singh	7000/6000	A.N.,III,839; M.U.,II,16,held 7000/7000
2-Raj Singh s/o Askaran	4000/3000	Iqbalnama, 510; A.N.,III, 839
3-Madho Singh	3000/2000	Iqbalnama, 494; Z.Khawanin, 41; Tuzuk,7

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCE
4-Raisal Darbari	2500/1250	Tuzuk,7;T.U.152 held 3000 and Ain,I,161,1250
5-Jagannath	5000	Tuzuk,7; A.N.,III,789 held 5000/3000
6-Ram Das Kachhwaha	2000/2000	A.N., III,837
7-Maha Singh	2000/300	A.N.,III,839; Tuzuk,7
8-Raja Khangar s/o Jagmal	2000	Tabakat II,443
9-Pratap Singh	1000/500	A.N.,III,836
10-Sakat Singh	1000/20	Iqbalnama,508; T.U.,p.292; Ain,I,163 held 400
11-Ram Singh	1000	Z.Khawanin,b,42
12-Bhao Singh	700/500	.N.,III,837;Iqbalnama,508; Tuzuk,9, 2000/1200
13-Karan	900	Vigat,II,490
14-Salhadi s/o Bharamal	700/400	A.N.,III,837;T.U.,292
15-Sabal Singh s/o Man Singh	500	Ain,I,163,228; T.U.,292
16-Manohar	400/400	Vigat,II,490-92; Ain,I,228
17-Ramchand	400	Vigat,II,490-92; Ain,I,163
18-Man Singh Kachhwaha	300	Ain,I,229
19-Kala	200	Ibid,231
20-Pratap Singh s/o Bhagwan	200	Ibid,230

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

1-Rai Durga Sisodia	4000	Tuzuk,63
2-Shankar Sisodia	200	Vigat, II,491

HADAS OF BUNDI

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCE
Raja Bhoj	1000	Iqbalnama, 481; Z.Khawanin,a,43

RATHORS OF BIKANER

1-Rai Rai Singh	4000	Tuzuk,23; Ain, I,223
2-Dalpat s/o Rai Rai Singh	500	Vigat, II, 492 .

2- Rajput Mansabdars at the time of Jahangir's accession (1605-6)

RATHORS OF MARWAR

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCES
1-Raja Suraj Singh	2000/2000	Vigat, I,112
2-Kishan Singh s/o Mota Raja	2000/1500	Tuzuk, 72
3-Keshav Das Maru	1500/1500	Ibid,9,37
4-Dalpat s/o Mota Raja	500	Vigat, II,492
5-Sabal Singh s/o Mota Raja	500	Ibid

KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

1-Raja Man Singh	7000/7000	Tuzuk,7
2-Jagannath	5000/3000	Ibid
3-Raj Singh	4000/3000	Tuzuk,75,156; Iqbalnama,510
4-Madho Singh	3000/2000	Tuzuk,17; Z.Khawanin,163
5-Rasal Darbari	3000/1250	Tuzuk,17; Z.Khawanin,110
6-Ram Das	3000	Tuzuk,21
7-Maha Singh	2500/1500	Tuzuk,8,106
8-Bhao Singh	1000/500	Iqbalnama,508; M.U.,III,360
9-Narain Das	2000	Vigat II, 492-93
10-Manohar	400/400	Tuzuk,54;Vigat,II,492

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

1-Rai Durga	4000	Tuzuk,63
2-Shankar	1500/1200	Ibid,7

HADAS OF BUNDI

Raja Bhoj	1000	Iqbalnama 481; M.U.I,142

RATHORS OF BIKANER

1-Rai Rai Singh	5000	Tuzuk,23
2-Dalip	500	Ain,I,228

3- Rajput Mansabdars during the year 1615-16

RATHORS OF MARWAR

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCES
1-Suraj Singh	5000/3300	Tuzuk,148
2-Kishan Singh	3000/2000	Ibid,137,300
3-Keshav Das Maru	2000/1200	Ibid,146
4-Kishan Das	1500	Ibid,147
5-Karamsi Rathore	1000/300	Ibid,143

KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

1-Bhao Singh	4000/3000	Tuzuk,130
2-Raj Singh	4000/3000	Ibid,148
3-Maha Singh	3500/2000	Ibid,161
4-Raisal Darbari	3000/1250	Ibid,7,204
5-Karam Chand s/o Jagannath	2000/1500	Tuzuk,74; M.U.,I,516
6-Narain Das	2000	Vigat,II,493
7-Satarsal	1500/1000	M.U.,II,3
8-Ram Das Narwari	1500/700	M.U.,II, 172
9-Rai Manohar	1000/1000	Tuzuk 112
10-Girdhar	800/800	Ibid,146,332

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

1-Karan	5000/5000	V. Vinod,II,248
2-Shankar	2500/1000	Tuzuk,54
3-Shiyam Singh	2500/1400	Ibid,138
4-Raja Man	1000/800	Ibid,310

HADAS OF BUNDI

Rao Ratan

2000/1500

Tuzuk,147

RATHORS OF BIKANER

Rao Sur Singh

2000/2000

Tuzuk,269;
Iqbalnama,127; Vigat,I,493

4- Rajput Mansabdars at the time of Jahangir's death (1626-27)

RATHORS OF MARWAR

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCE
1-Raja Gaj Singh	5000/5000	Tuzuk,361; Lahori,I,158
2-Karamsi Rathore	1000/300	Tuzuk,143; U.H.,290
3-Hari Singh s/o Kishan Singh	1000	T.U., 305
4-Jagannath Rathore	800	Ibid, 256
5-Sabal Singh	500/250	Tuzuk, 277; Vigat,I,95;T.U.,292
6-Raja Nathmal s/o Kishan Singh	500/225	Tuzuk, 268
7-Jagmal s/o Kishan Singh	500/225	Ibid; T.U. ,285

KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

1-Jai Singh	4000/3000	Tuzuk,359; Vigat, II,492-93
2-Karam Chand	2000/1500	Tuzuk,74; M.U., I,516
3-Ram Singh Narwari	2000/1000	Tuzuk,358
4-Narain Das	2000	Tuzuk,370; Vigat,II,493
5-Satarsal	1500/1000	M.U.,II,3
6-Raja Girdhar	1200/900	Tuzuk,356

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

1-Karan	5000/5000	Tuzuk,289; Lahori,I,80
2-Rao Durjan s/o Shankar	4000	Vigat,II,492-93
3-Man Singh	2000/600	Tuzuk,234,310

HADAS OF BUNDI

1-Rao Ratan	5000/5000	Iqbalnama,244
2-Madho Singh	1000/600	Lahori,184

RATHORS OF BIKANER

Rao Sur Singh	3000/2000	Lahori,I,120; M.U.,II,910

**5- Rajput mansabdars at the time of the accession of
Shah Jahan (1627-28)**

RATHORS OF MARWAR

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCES
1-Raja Gaj Singh	5000/5000	Lahori,I,158
2-Karamsi Rathore	1500/800	Ibid,226,306
3-Jagmal s/o Kishan Das	1500/700	Ibid,121,306
4-Bhim Rathore	1500/600	Ibid,186; T.U.,281
5-Prithvi Raj Rathore	1500/600	Ibid,186; T.U.,284
6-Kishan Singh	1000/600	Ibid,184
7-Bharamal s/o Kishan Singh	1000/500	Ibid,185
8-Chet Singh	1000/500	Ibid,119
9-Girdhar s/o Keshav Das	1000/500	U.H.,290; T.U.,p.269 held 1500
10-Hari Singh s/o Kishan Singh	1000	T.U.,305
11-Jagannath Rathore	800	Ibid, 256
12-Sabal Singh	500/225	Vigat,I,95; T.U.,p.292 held 900
13-Nathmal s/o Kishan Singh	500/225	T.U.,304

KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

1-Jai Singh	4000/3000	Lahori, I, 318; M.U., I, 725
2-Manrup	3000/1000	Lahori, I,318; M.u., I, 725
3-Ram Das Narwari	2000/1000	Lahori,I,303
4-Satarsal s/o Madho Singh	1500/1000	Ibid,184,305
5-Bihari Chand/Das	1500/1000	Ibid, 302,305
6-Rai Dwarka Das	1000/800	Ibid,121; T.U., 259

7-Hirday Ram s/o Banka	1000/650	Lahori, I, 121; T.U., 305 held 1500
8-Balbhadra	1000/600	Lahori,I,184,309; T.U.,281
9-Tilock Chand	1000/500	Lahori,I,314
10-Raja Girdhar	1000/500	Ibid, 182
11-Ram Das	1000/500	Qazwini,a 130; T.U.,26 held 1000
12-Bala	1000	T.U.,281
13-Rao Har Chand	900/400	Lahori, I,322
14-Muluk Chand	800	Ibid, 327
15-Bhoj Raj s/o Raisal	800	T.U.,281
16-Bhim Chand	600/400	Ibid,282
17-Ram Chand	600/400	Lahori, II,745
18-Hirday Narayan	500/100	Lahori,I,319

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

1-Rana Jagat Singh	5000/5000	Lahori, I, 80
2-Rai Rai Singh	2000/1000	Ibid,195; M.U., II, 572
3-Rao Duda	1500/1000	Lahori, I,302; Qazwini, b, 45
4-Shiyam Singh	1000/500	Lahori ,I, 199
5-Fateh Singh s/o Bhim Singh	800/200	Ibid,316

HADAS OF BUNDI

1-Rao Ratan	5000/5000	Lahori, I, 185
2-Madho Singh	1500/600	Ibid, 184

RATHORS OF BIKANER

Rao Sur Singh	4000/2500	Lahori, I, 120; I.Khan,19

6- Rajput Mansabdars during the years 1640-41

RATHORS OF MARWAR

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCES
1-Jaswant Singh	5000/5000	Lahori, II, 230
2-Amar Singh	3000/3000	Ibid, 97
3-Prithwi Raj Rathore	2000/1700	Lahori, Ib, 301
4-Hari Singh s/o Kishan Singh	1500/900	Lahori, II, 102, 731
5-Bhim Rathore	1500/800	Lahori, Ib, 306
6-Sabal Singh	1000/1000	Lahori, II, 121
7-Mahesh Das Rathore	1000/800	Ibid, 230
8-Raj Singh	1000/600	Ibid, 156; T.U., 290
9-Ram Singh s/o Karamsi	1000/600	Lahori, II, 198; M.U., II, 590
10-Udai Bhan s/o Girdhar Rathore	800/400	Lahori, I, 319; U.H., 290
11-Jagannath s/o Karamsi	700/300	Lahori, I, 317
12-Govardhan Rathore	700/200	Lahori, II, 163
13-Shiyam Singh s/o Karamsi	600/400	Lahori, I, 319
14-Dilip s/o Mandal Rathore	500	T.U., 288
15-Ratan s/o Mahesh Das	400/200	M.U., II, 35
16-Har Ram s/o Karamsi	400/50	Apparatus, 162
17-Hansa Ram s/o Karamsi	300/100	Ibid, 159
18-Nanda Ram s/o Karamsi	300/100	Ibid, 134
19-Mohan Singh s/o Karamsi	250/80	Ibid, 159
20-Ratan Singh s/o Sabal Singh	60/20	Ibid, 124

KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCES
1-Jai Singh	5000/5000	Lahori, I, 294; II, 145
2-Ram Das Narwari	2000/1000	Ibid, 83, 303
3-Gopal Singh s/o Manrup	1000/700	Lahori, II, 48
4-Amar Singh g/o Ram Das	1000/600	Lahori, II, 174
5-Tilock Chand	1000/500	Lahori I, 314
6-Bhoj Raj s/o Raisal	1000/500	Lahori, I, 314; Waris, b, 264
7-Muluk Chand	1000	T.U., 273
8-Jagram s/o Hirday Ram	900/600	Lahori, II, 739
9-Ajab Singh	800/300	Waris, b, 266
10-Narsingh Das s/o Dwarka Das	800/400	Lahori, Ib, 314; Appar. 160 held 600/550
11-Ugarsen	800/400	Lahori, I, 314
12-Udai Bhan s/o Girdhar	700/300	Apparatus, 161
13-Har Ram s/o Bhagwant Das	700/300	Lahori, I, 312, 317; T.U., 305
14-Rup Singh	700/300	Lahori, I, 314
15-Sara s/o Jagannath	700	T.U., 292
16-Mathura Das	500/400	Lahori, I, 318, 322
17-Chandrabhan	500/400	Ibid, 322
18-Ugarsen g/o Man Singh	500/200	Lahori, I, 749; T.U., 279
19-Kanhi s/o Balbhadra	500/200	Ibid, 730, 750; Apparatus, held 500/100
20-Ananda Ram	300/150	Apparatus
21-Gopinath s/o Balbhadra	300/50	Ibid
22-Jai Chand s/o Har Chand	400/200	Ibid
23-Kishore Singh s/o Balbhadra	100/50	Ibid
24-Surat Singh s/o Balbhadra	100/25	Ibid

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

1-Jagat Singh	5000/5000	Lahori,I, 161
2-Rai Rai Singh	3000/1500	Ibid, 142
3-Hathi Singh s/o Duda	1500/1000	Ibid,305
4-Gokul Das Sisodia	1000/600	Lahori, II, 146
5-Shiyam Singh	1000/500	Lahori, I,310
6-Sujan Singh	800/300	Lahori, Ib, 315
7-Narain Das Sisodia	700	T.U., 275
8-Hari Singh b/o Duda	500	T.U, 305
9-Kishan Singh	300/30	Apparatus, 161

HADAS OF KOTA AND BUNDI

1-Rao Satarsal	3000/3000	Lahori, Ib,160,150
2-Madho Singh	3000/3000	Lahori II, 217,224; M.U., I, 2
3-Ajab Singh	800	T.U., 296
4-Indarsal	600/300	Lahori, I, 320
5-Hirday Narayan	500/100	Lahori, I,328

RATHORS OF BIKANER

1-Rao Karan	2000/1500	Lahori, Ib, 302; Z.Khawanin 150, held 3000/3000
2-Mahesh Das s/o Dalpat	800/600	Lahori, I,313
3-Shatrusal	700/600	Lahori, I, 316

**7- Rajput Mansabdars during the period of the war of succession
(1657-58)**

RATHORS OF MARWAR

NAME	MANSAB	SOURCES
1-Jaswant Singh	7000/7000	Salih, III, 284; I.Khan, 546
2-Rup Singh	4000/3000	Waris,a,260; Alamgiram, 95,102
3-Ram Sinh	3000/1500	Salih, III,455
4-Ratan s/o Mahesh Das	2000/2000	Salih, III, 262, 458
5-Rai Singh s/o Amar Singh	1500/1500	Waris, 203; U.H.,202, held 4000/4000
6-Jagmal	1500/600	Salih, III,463
7-Girdhar	1500/200	Ibid,464
8-Jait Singh/ Jagat Singh	1000/500	Salih, III,466
9-Sujan Singh s/o Muhkam Singh	1000/500	Waris,a, 264
10-Mahesh Das	1000/500	Waris, a,265; Salih, III, 467
11-Govardhan Rathore	1000/500	Ibid
12-Udaibhan s/o Shyam Singh	1000/500	Waris, a, 264
13-Chatursen	1000/500	Salih, III, 464
14-Nahar s/o Raj Singh	900/400	Waris,b, 265
15-Jagannath Rathore	800/400	Salih, III, 472
16-Sher Singh s/o Ram Singh	800/300	Waris, b, 267; Salih, III, 474
17-Jagat Singh s/o Prithvi Raj	700/300	Waris,b, 268; Salih, 111, 466
18-Kesri Singh s/o Prithvi Raj	600/200	Waris, b, 269

19-Ishwar Singh s/o Amar Singh	600/200	Waris, b, 268; Salih, III,480
20-Mukund Das Rathore	600/150	Salih, III, 480
21-Dalip Rathore	500/300	Ibid, 482
22-Jaswant b/o Mahesh Das	500/250	Ibid 483
23-Fateh Singh b/o Rup Singh	500/200	Salih, III,484; Waris,a, 269
24-Ram Singh s/o Prithvi Raj	500/200	Waris, a,218,270
25-Jaswant Singh	500/250	Lahori, II, 748
26-Govind Das Rathore	500/250	Waris,a, 265; Salih,III, 467
27-Jagat Singh s/o Raj Singh	500/150	Salih, III, 486
28-Jai Singh s/o Raj Singh	500	T.U.,286
29-Kalyan Das s/o Mahesh Das	400/400	Hukumat ri Bahi, 17
30-Maha Singh s/o Kesho Das	400/200	Hukumat ri Bahi, 17
31-Rup Singh Rathore s/o Goverdhan	400/50	Ibid, 13
32-Fateh Singh s/o Mahesh Das	250	Ibid, 12
33-Ratan Singh Rathore s/o Goverdhan	200/25	Ibid, 13
34-Jujhar Singh s/o Mahesh Das	200/25	Ibid
35-Udai Singh s/o Ram Singh	100/30	Ibid, 16

KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER

1-Jai Singh	6000/5000	Salih, III,277; I.Khan,545
2-Ram Singh s/o Jai Singh	3000/2000	Salih, III,455; Waris,b, 221,261
3-Amar Singh Narwari	1500/1000	Salih, III,462; Waris,b, 260; M.U., II, 227
4-Gopal Singh s/o Manrup	1000/1000	Waris,b, 263; Salih, III,404

5-Kirat Singh s/o Jai Singh	1000/900	Salih, III, 465; Waris, b, 263; I.Khan,449
6-Jagram	1000/800	Waris,b,263; Salih, III,465
7-Bhoj Raj	1000/500	Waris, b, 264
8-Mahru s/o Jai Singh	900/400	Salih, III,470; V.Vinod,II,374 held 900/300
9-Ugarsen	800/600	Waris, a,266
10-Narsingh Das s/o Dwarka Das	800/800	Waris, a, 265; Salih, III, 471
11-Ajab Singh s/o Satarsal	800/400	Waris,b, 266; Salih, III, 473
12-Raja Udaibhan	800/500	Waris,a, 266
13-Chandrabhan	700/500	Waris,a, 267
14-Fateh Singh	700/300	Waris, a, 268
15-Hari Singh	500/300	Waris,a, 269
16-Kishan Singh	500/250	Salih, III, 483; T.U., 298
17-Kanhi s/o Balbhadra	500/200	Lahori, II, 750
18-Prithvi Singh s/o Jujhar Singh	400/400	Hukumat ri Bahi, 17

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

1-Raj Singh	5000/5000	Waris,b, 260; Salih, III, 451
2-Rai Rai Singh	5000/5000	M.U.,II,573
3-Pahad Singh	4000/3000	Waris,b, 198
4-Biram Deo Sisodias	3000/1000	Waris, a, 261; Salih, III,188,204 M.U., II, 881

5-Sabal Singh	2500/1500	Alamgimama,947; Waris, a, 261
6-Amar Singh	2000/1000	Waris,a, 205
7-Sujan Singh	2000/800	Waris,b,166,262; M.U., II,880
8-Gokul Das Sisodias	1500/800	Lahori,II, 323
9-Gharib Das	1500/700	Waris,a, 204; Salih, III,463
10-Fateh Singh s/o Man Singh	800/200	Waris,a, 270; Lahori,II,316
11-Sunder Das	700/300	Waris, b, 213
12-Hari Singh b/o Duda	500/400	Lahori,II,322
13-Madho Singh s/o Shiyam Singh	500/250	Ibid, 323
14-Hubba/ Channa Sisodia	500/200	Waris,a, 270
15-Sultan Sisodia	500/100	Waris,b, 270
16-Jasa Sisodia	500	T.U.,286

HADAS OF BUNDI AND KOTA

1-Rao Satarsal	4000/4000	Waris,a,260 Salih,III,452
2-Mukund Singh	3000/2000	Salih,III,455
4-Mohan Singh s/o Madho Singh	800/400	Salih,III,454,473
5-Kishor Singh s/o Madho Singh	600/200	Waris,a, 260; Salih, III,480
6-Jujhar Singh s/o Madho Singh	400/100	Hukumat ri Bahi,10
7-Kanhi Ram Hada s/o Madho Singh	300/60	Ibid
8-Fateh Singh Hada	200/40	Ibid

RATHORS OF BIKANER

1-Rao Karan	3000/200	Waris,a,145;b,260; Alamgirnama,559
2-Mahesh Das s/o Dalpat	1500/500	Waris, b, 264
3-Ratan Singh g/o Dalpat	1500	V.Vinod,II,373
4-Rai Banwali Das	1000/1000	T.U.,290

APPENDIX - B

(COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF RAJPUT NOBLES OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR, JAHANGIR AND SHAHJAHAN)

1-Rajput mansabdars of the reign of Akbar

List of RATHOR mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appointme nts	Title	Sources
1583-84	Rai Singh g/o Maldeo	4000	Died		A.N.,III,413; Ain,I, 213,223
1593-94	Udai Singh Mota Raja	1500	Hakim of Jodhpur Diwan of Bihar		Vigat, II, 490-92
1594-95	Ram Das Rathore	250	Diwan of Bihar		A.N.,III, 670 Vigat II, 490- 92
1595	Udai Singh	1500/1500			A.N., III, 227
1595-96	Balbhadra Rathore	300			Ain, I 229; Vigat, II,490- 92
1595-96	Kesu Das Rathor s/o Jaimal	300			Ibid.
1595-96	Keshaw Das Rathor g/o Maldeo	200			Ain, I, 231; Vigat, II, 492
1596	Raja Suraj Singh S/O. Udai Singh	2000/2000			Vigat, I, 93; U.H, held 1000/1000.
1596-97	Balbhadra	300	Died		Ain,I 229; Vigat, II ,72
1598-99	Keshaw Das	200	Died		Vigat, II, 72; Ain,I,231

1604-05	Sakat Singh Rathor s/o Mota Raja	1000/300			A.N., III, 836; Vigat, II, 592
1605	Dalpat s/o Mota Raja	500			Vigat, II, 492
1605	Sabal Singh	500			Ibid

List of KACHHWAHA mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1574-75	Raja Bharamal	5000	Died		V.Vinod, II, 1277
1576-77	Man Singh			Farzand	A.N., III, 166
1581-82	Raja Bhagwant Das s/o Bharamal		Subedar of Punjab		A.N., III, 372
1583-84	Rai Lonkam Shekhawat	2000	Died		Z.khawanin, a , 41
1585	Raja Bhagwant Das	5000			Z.Khawanin, b, 17; A.N. III, 457
1585	Raja Askaram	1000			A.N. III, 457
1585-86	Raja Man Singh		Subedar of Kabul		A.N. III, 492
1585-86	Jagan Nath		Jointly Subedar of Ajmer		A.N. III, 511
1585-86	Raja Askaran		Jointly Subedar of Agra		A.N., III, 511
1585-86	Man Singh		Jointly Subedar of Kabul		Ibid.
1585-86	Raja Bhagwant Das		Jointly Subedar of Lahore		Ibid.
1587-88	Man Singh		Subedar of Bihar		A.N. III, 525
1589-90	Raja Bhagwant Das	5000	Died		A.N. III, 570; Ain, I, 223
1589-90	Man Singh	5000	Subedar of Bihar	Raja	A.N. III, 570, 576

1593-94	Jagmal B/o Raja Bharmal	1000	Died		Ain I,225;M.U.,I, 510
1593-94	Rupsi Bairangi B/o Raja Bharmal	1500	Died		Ain,I,225; A.N.,I,402;Z. Khawanin,a, 229
1593-94	Man Singh	5000	Subedar of Bihar		T.A., II,430
1593-94	Durjan Kachhwaha	500	Died		A.N.III, 652;Ain,I,22 8
1593-94	Raja Jagannath	3000			Z.Khawanin, a,41
1593-94	Raja Askaran	3000			Ibid
1593-94	Madho Singh Kachhwaha	2000			Vigat,II, 490
1593-94	Raisal Kachhwaha	2000			Vigat,II, 490-2
1593-94	Jagat Singh S/o Man Singh	1500			Vigat,II, 490
1593-94	Ram Singh S/o Raja Askaran	500			T.A.II,452;A pparatus, 18
1593-94	Rai Manohar S/o Lonkam	400			Vigat II,490-2
1593-94	Ram Das Kachhwaha	500			Ibid
1595-96	Raja Man Singh	5000	Subedar of Bengal		A.N.III, 650
1595-96	Jagannath S/o Raja Bharmal	2500			Z.Khawanin, a,41
1595-96	Madho Singh S/o Bhagwant Das	1500			Ain,I,224
1595-96	Raisal Darbari	1250			Ain,I,225
1595-96	Rana Raj Singh S/o Raja Askaran	900			Ain,I,226
1595-96	Ram Das Kachhwaha	500			Ain.,I,228
1595-96	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	500			Ibid
1595-96	Sakat Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	400			Ain.,I,228, Vi gat,II, 491
1595-96	Rai Manohar S/o Lonkaran	400			Ain.,I,228
1595-96	Salhadi S/o Raja Bharmal	400			Ain.,I,228;Vi gat,II,490-2

1595-96	Ram Chand Kachhwaha	400			Ibid
1595-96	Banka Kachhwaha/Akhey Raj	400			Ibid
1595-96	Man Singh Kachhwaha	300			Ain.,I,229;Vi gat,II,490-2
1595-96	Pratap Singh S/o Bhagwant Das	200			Ain.,I,230
1595-96	Sakat Singh/Himmat Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	200			Ibid
1595-96	Kala Kachhwaha	200			Ain.,I,231
1596-97	Sakat Singh/Himmat Singh		Died		A.N.III, 720
1599-1600	Jagat Singh s/o Raja Man Singh	1500	Died		A.N.III, 763
1600-01	Jagannath	5000			A.N.III, 786
1601-02	Akhey Raj/Banka Kachhwaha	400	Died		Ibid
1601-02	Raisal Darbari	2500/1250			A.N.III, 809
1602-03	Madho Singh	3000/2000			Z.Khawanin, a,41;A.N.III, 820
1604-05	Rana Raj Singh S/o Askaran Kachhwaha	3500/3000			A.N.III, 827
1604-05	Raja Man Singh	5000	Subedar of Bengal		A.N.III, 834
1604-05	Pratap Singh S/o Bhagwant Das	1000/500			A.N.III, 836
1604-05	Raja Raj Singh	3000			Ibid
1604-05	Bhao Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	700/500			A.N.III, 837
1604-05	Ram Das Kachhwaha	2000/2000			Ibid
1604-05	Salhadi	700/400			Ibid
1605-06	Rana Raj Singh	4000/3000			A.N.III, 839; Iqbalnama, 510
1605-06	Raja Man Singh	7000/6000			A.N.,III,839; M.U.,II, 16 held 7000/7000
1605-06	Maha Singh S/o Man Singh	2000/300			Ibid

1605-06	Raisal Darbari	3000/1250			Tuzuk, 7; T.U.152, held ,3000
1605-06	Ram Singh S/o Askaran	1000			Z.khawanin, b, 42
1605-06	Karan Kachhwaha	900			Vigat, II, 490

List of SISODIA mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1585-86	Rai Durga Sisodia		Jointly Subedar of Ajmer		A.N., III, 511
1593	Rai Durga Sisodia	1500			Apparatus, 17
1595	Rai Durga Sisodia	1500			Ain., I, 224
1595	Sakra B/o Pratap	200			Ain., I, 230, 164
1604	Rai Durga Sisodia	1500			Ain., I, 161
1605	Rai Durga Sisodia	2000			Z.Khawanin, a, 42
1605	Shankar Sisodia	200			Vigat, II, 491
1605	Rai Durga Sisodia	4000			Tuzuk, 63

List of HADA mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1585	Rai Surjan Hada	2000			V.Vinod, II, 1 11
1592-93	Rai Surjan Hada	2000	Died		Ain., I, 224
1593-94	Rai Bhoj Hada S/o Surjan Hada	1000			Z.khawanin, a , 43; Vigat, II, 4 90- 92; Ain, I, 223 gives the rank of 900
1605	Raja Bhoj	1000			Iqbalnama, 48 1

List of RATHOR (of BIKANER House) mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1585-86	Rai Singh S/o kalyan Mal		JointySu bedar of Lahore		A.N., III, 511; M.U., II, 148
1590-91	Rai Rai Singh	4000	Jointly Subedar of Lahore		M.U., II, 148-54
1593-94	Rai Rai Singh	4000			Z.Khawanin, b,40; Ain, I, 223
1595-96	Rai Rai Singh	4000			Ain, I, 223
1595-6	Dalpat S/o Rai Singh	500			Ain, I, 228, Vigat, II, 490-92
1605	Rai Rai Singh	4000			Iqbalnama, 510

2- RAJPUT MANSABDARS OF THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR

List of RATHOR mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoin ments	Title	Source
1605	Raja Suraj Singh	2000/2000			Vigat, I-P 112
1605 – 6	Kehaw Das Maru	1500/1500			Tuzuk, 9,37
1605	Dalpat s/o Mota Raja	500			Vigat, II-492
1605	Sabal Singh	500			Ibid
1606 – 7	Kishan Chand s/o Mota Raja	1000/500(A Husain 1000/200)			Tuzuk, 61,63
1608 – 9	Kishan Singh	2000/1000			Tuzuk, 72
1608 – 9	Suraj Singh	3000/2000			Tuzuk, 73,74; V.Vinod,II,8 17
1612 – 13	Kishan Das	1000	Mushrif – i Feelkha na		Tuzuk, 110
1613 – 14	Rao Suraj Singh	3500/2200			Tuzuk, 126
1614 – 15	Kishan Singh	2000/1500		Raja	Tuzuk, 127
1615 – 16	Kishan Singh	3000/2000	Died		Tuzuk, 137, 281,300
1615 – 16	Raja Suraj Singh	5000/3000			Tuzuk, 141
1615 – 16	Keshaw Das Maru	2000/1200			Tuzuk, 146
1615 -16	Raja Kishan Das	1500			Tuzuk, 147
1615 -16	Raja Suraj Singh	5000/3300			Tuzuk, 148
1617	Keshaw Das Maru	2000/1200			Tuzuk, 193
1618-19	Nath Mal S/o Kishan Singh	500/225			Tuzuk, 268
1618-19	Jay Mal S/o Kishan Singh	500/225			Tuzuk, 268
1618-19	Raja Suraj Singh	5000/3300	Died		Tuzuk, 277

1618-19	Gaj Singh (Now Raja) S/o Raja Suraj Singh	3000/2000		Raja	Tuzuk, 277
1618-19	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Suraj Singh	500/250			Tuzuk, 277; Vigat-I, 95
1618-19	Raja Kishan Das	2000/300			Tuzuk, 282
1619-20	Raja Nath Mal	500/225		Hakim of Asirgash	Tuzuk, 325; Iqbalnama, 127
1620-21	Raja Gaj Singh	4000/3000			Tuzuk, 335
1620-21	Raja Kishan Das	2000/500		Faujdar of Delhi	Tuzuk, 342
1622-23	Raja Gaj Singh	5000/4000			Tuzuk, 361
1623-24	Raja Gaj Singh	5000/5000		Maharaja	M.U.,I, 511
1625-26	Raja Kishan Singh	3000/1500	Died		Tuzuk, 410

List of KACHHWAHA mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ment	Title	Source
1605-06	Raja Man singh	7000/700	Subedar of Bengal		Tuzuk, 7
1605-06	Jagan Nath S/o Raja Bhar Mal	5000			Tuzuk, 7
1605-06	Madho Singh N/o Raja Man Singh	3000			Tuzuk, 7; M.U.III 321
1605-06	Rai Sal Darbari	3000			Tuzuk, 7
1605	Maha Singh	2000	Pramotion after 6R.Y(T1 08)		Tuzuk, 8
1605-06	Maha Singh G/o Raja Man Singh	2500/1500			Tuzuk, 8,106
1605-06	Ram Das Kachwaha	3000			Tuzuk, 9
1605-06	Bhao Singh S/o Raja Man singh	1500			Tuzuk, 10
1606-07	Manohar Kachwaha	1000/600			Tuzuk, 54; Vigat, II, 492
1606-07	Raja Man Singh	7000/7000	Subedar of Begal		Iqbalnama, 19; M.U. II, 160 70

1608-09	Narain Das Kachwaha	2000			Tuzuk 70; Vigat, II, 493
1608-09	Bhao Singh	2000/1000			Tuzuk, 66
1609-10	Jagannath	5000/3000			Tuzuk, 75
1609	Jagannath	5000/3000	Died		V.Vinod,II,2 25
1609-10	Karam Chand s/o Jagannath	2000/1500			Tuzuk, 74
1611-12	Ram Das Kachwaha	3000	Qiledar of Ranthbhore	Raja	Tuzuk, 98
1612-13	Rai Manohar	1000/800			Tuzuk, 112
1612-13	Maha Singh	3000/2000			Tuzuk 106
1613-14	Ram Das Kachwaha	5000			Z.Kh. 44(a)
1614-15	Raja Man Singh	7000/7000	Died		Tuzuk, 130
1614-15	Bhao Singh (Mirza Raja)	4000/3000		Mirza Raja	Tuzuk, 130
1614-15	Maha Singh S/o Jagat Singh	3500/2000			Tuzuk, 130
1615-16	Maha Singh N/o Raja Man Singh	3500/2000		Raja	Tuzuk, 146
1615-16	Girdhar S/o Rai Sal	800/800			Tuzuk, 146
1615-16	Raja Raj Singh Kachhwaha	4000/3000			Tuzuk 148;M.U.II,1 70
1615-16	Ram Das kachwaha S/o Raj Singh	1000/400			Tuzuk, 148
1616-17	Rai Manohar	1000/800	Died		Tuzuk, 157; A. Hussin 1000/1000 (Tuzuk 54)
1616-17	Prithi Chand S/o Rai Manohar	500/300			Tuzuk, 157
1616-17	Prithi Chand (Now Raja) S/o Rai Manohar	500/400		Rai	Tuzuk, 160
1616-17	Raja Maha Singh	4000/3000			Tuzuk, 161
1616-17	Ram Das S/o Raja Rai Singh Kachwaha	1000/500			Tuzuk, 164
1617	Mirza Raja Bhao Singh	5000/3000			Tuzuk, 184,337
1617	Maha Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	4000/300	Died		Tuzuk, 186
1617	Jai Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	1000/500			Tuzuk, 192

1617	Ram Das Narwari	1500/700			Tuzuk, 207
1617-18	Rai Prithi Chand	700/450			Tuzuk, 239
1617-18	Girdhar S/o Rai Sal Kachwaha	1000/800			Tuzuk, 248
1619-20	Prithi Chand S/o Rai Manohar	700/450		Died	Tuzuk, 304
1620-21	Girdhar S/o Rai Sal Kachwaha	1200/900			Tuzuk, 332
1620-21	Raja Bhao Singh	5000/3000	Died		Tuzuk, 337
1620-21	Grand S/o Raja Bhao Singh	2000/1000		Raja	Tuzuk, 337
1621-22	Girdhar S/o Rai Sal Darbari Kachwaha	1200/900		Raja	Tuzuk, 356
1622-23	Raja Ram Das Narwari	2000/1000			Tuzuk, 358
1622-23	Narain Da Kachwaha	2000			Tuzuk, 370; Vigat II, 493
1622-23	Raja Girdhars/o Rai sal Darbari Kachwaha	1200/900	Died		Tuzuk, 374
1626-27	Raja Jai singh	4000/3000			Tuzuk 359;vigat II,492-3

List of SISODIA Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1605-6	Shiyam Singh/ Shankar	1500/1200			Tuzuk, 7
1606-7	Rana Shankar S/oRana Udai Singh	2500/1000			Tuzuk, 54
1606-7	Rai Durga	4000	Died		
1612-13	Shiyam Singh	2000/1200			Tuzuk, 108
1615-16	Kr. Karan S/oAmar Singh	5000/5000			Tuzuk, 138; Iqbalnama, 80
1615-16	Raja Shiyam Singh	2500/1400		Raja	Tuzuk, 138.
1615-16	Raja Man	1000/800			Tuzuk, 148.
1616-17	Raja Man	1500/1000			Tuzuk, 160
1616-17	Bhim Narayan	1000/500			Tuzuk, 192, 203
1616-17	Rana Shankar S/o Udai Singh	3000/2000			Tuzuk, 172

1616-17	Raja Man	1500/1000	Died		Tuzuk, 178
1617-18	Rana Shankar	3000/2000	Died		Tuzuk, 134
1617-18	Man Singh S/o Rana Shankar	2000/600			Tuzuk, 234, 269
1619	Rana Amar Singh	5000/5000	Died		Tuzuk, 289
1619	Karan	5000/5000		Rana	Ibid
1619-20	Bhim S/o Amar Singh			Raja	Tuzuk, 308
1623-24	Raja Bhim		Died		Iqbalnama, 233
1627	Rao Durjan Sisodia S/o Rana Shankar	4000			Vigat, 11, 492-93

List of HADA Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ment	Title	Source
1607-8	Rai Bhoj s/o Rai surjan	1000			Z.Khawanin, a,43; Iqbalnama,481
1608-9	Ratan Hada			Sarbuland Rai	Tuzuk,66
1615-16	Ratan Hada	2000/1500			Tuzuk,147
1618-19	Ratan Hada	2500/1500			Tuzuk,272
1619-20	Hirday Narain Hada	900/600			Tuzuk,322
1624-25	Sarbuland Rai	5000/5000	Qiledar of Burhanp ur	RaiRaj/Ra m Raj	Tuzuk,397:I. J,244

List of RATHOR (of BIKANER House) Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ment	Title	Source
1605-06	Rai Rai singh	5000			Tuzuk,23
1606-07	Rai Rai singh	5000			Tuzuk,62
1609-10	Rai Rai Singh	4000/3000			Tuzuk,75
1612-13	Rai Rai Singh	4000/3000			Tuzuk,106
1612-13	Dalip s/o Rai Rai singh	1500/1500			Tuzuk,106,111
1612-13	Rai Dalip	2000/2000			Tuzuk,111

1613	Rai Dalip s/o Rai singh	2000/2000			V.V.II,299,4 91 Tuzuk,126
1618-19	Rao Sur Singh	2000/2000			Tuzuk,269; Iqbalnama, 127
1622	Rao Sur Singh	3000/2000			M.U., II,910
1627	Rao Sur Singh	3000/2000			Lahori, I,120

3- RAJPUT MANSABDARS OF THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN

List of RATHOR mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1627-28	Chet Singh Rathore	1000/500			Lahori,I,119
1627-28	Jaymal S/o Kishan Singh Rathore	1500/800			Lahori,I,121
1627-28	Raja Gaj Singh S/o Suraj Singh	5000/5000			Lahori,I,158; Qazwini, b,144
1627-28	Kishan Singh	1000/600			Ibid 184
1627-28	BharmalS/o Kishan Singh Rathore	1000/500			Ibid 185
1627-28	Bhim Rathore	1500/600			Ibid 186
1627-28	Prithi Raj Rathore	1500/600			Ibid
1627-28	Karamsi Rathore	1500/800			Ibid 226
1628-29	Bharamal S/o Kishan Singh	1000/500	Died		Lahori,Ib,31 0
1629-30	Prithi Raj Rathore	2000/700			Lahori,I,280
1629-30	Rao Amar Singh S/o Gaj Singh	2000/1300			Lahori,I,291
1629-30	Prithi Raj Rathore	1500/1500			Ibid 296
1629-30	Jagmal S/o Kishan Singh Rathore	1500/800	Died		Lahori,Ib,30 6
1629-30	Raja Gaj Singh	5000/5000			Lahori,I,308
1630-31	Rai Jagannath Rathore	800/400	Died		Lahori,Ib,31 4
1630-31	Karamsi Rathore	1500/800	Died		Ibid 306
1630-31	Raja Girdhar S/o Keshav Singh	1000/500	Died		Ibid 310
1630-31	Jet/Chait Singh Rathore	1000/500	Died		Ibid
1630-31	Mukanddas Rathore	600/150	Died		Ibid 321
1630-31	Dalpat S/o Madan Rathore	500/300	Died		Ibid 322
1631-32	Hari Singh S/o Kishan Singh Rathore	1000/600			Lahori,I,421
1632-33	Prithvi Raj Rathore	2000/1500			Ibid 477
1632-33	Raja Gaj Singh	5000/5000			Ibid 474
1634-35	Prithvi Raj Rathore	2000/1600			Lahori,Ib,47
1634-35	Amar Singh S/o Gaj Singh	2500/1500			Ibid 65
1634-35	Mahesh Das Rathore	500/400			Ibid 68; M.U., II,34

1635-36	Udai Bhan S/o Raja Girdhar Das	300/300			Apparatus
1635-36	Sri Singh Rathore	1000/800			Lahori,Ib,123
1635-36	Amar Singh S/o Raja Gaj Singh	3000/1500			Ibid 124
1635-36	Bhim Rathore	1500/800			Ibid 138
1637	Nand Ram S/o Karamsen Rathore	300/100			Apparatus
1637	Pratap Singh	300/200			Ibid
1637	Prithvi Raj	2000/1500			Ibid
1637	Bhimsen Rathore	1500/800			Ibid
1636-37	Amar Singh	3000/2000			Lahori,Ib,298
1637-38	Prithvi Raj Rathore	2000/1700			Ibid, 275,301
1637	Raja Gaj Singh S/o Raja Suraj Singh	5000/5000			Ibid, 294
1637-38	Amar Singh S/o Raja Gaj Singh	3000/2000			Ibid, 298
1637-38	Bhim Sen Rathore	1500/800			Ibid, 306
1637-38	Hari Singh S/o Kishan Singh Rathore	1000/800			Ibid, 308
1637-38	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Suraj Singh Rathore	900/800			Ibid, 312
1637-38	Jagannath Rathore s/o Karamsi Rathore	700/300			Ibid, 317
1637-38	Raja Udai Bhan S/o Raja Girdhar	600/400			Ibid, 319
1637-38	SiyamSingh S/o Karamsi Rathore	600/400			Ibid, 319
1637-38	Hari Singh S/o Kishan Singh Rathore	1500/800			Lahori,II,23
1637-38	Mahesh Das Rathore	1000/600			Ibid, 92
1637-38	Jagan Nath Rathore	700/330			Apparatus
1637-38	Nand Ram S/o Karam Sen Rathore	300/100			Apparatus, 134
1637-38	Mohan Singh S/o Mahesh Karam Sen Rathore	250/80			Ibid
1637-38	Man Singh	100/60	Died		Apparatus
1638-39	Surat Singh S/o Sabal Singh	100/25			Apparatus, 161
1638-39	Har Ram S/o Karamsi Rathore	400/150			Apparatus, 162

1638-39	Raja Gaj Singh	5000/5000 (2000x2-3h)	Died		Lahori,II 97,719
1638-39	Jaswant Singh (now Raja)	4000/4000		Raja	Ibid, 97
1638-39	Amar Singh (now Rao)	3000/3000		Rao	Ibid
1638-39	Hari Singh Rathore	1500/900			Ibid, 101
1638-39	Raj Singh Rathore	1000/400			Ibid, 105
1638-39	Sabal Singh S/o Raj Singh	1000/1000			Ibid, 121
1638-39	Mahesh Das Rathore	800/300			Ibid, 122
1638-39	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000			Ibid, 133
1639-40	Rajsingh Rathore	1000/600			Ibid, 156
1639-40	Gurdhan Rathore	700/200			Ibid, 163
1639-40	Hans Ram s/o Karam Sen	300/100			Apparatus, 159
1639-40	Mohan Singh s/o Karamsi	250/80			Apparatus, 159
1639-40	Jagan Nath Rathore	700/300			Ibid, 129
1639-40	Ratan Singh S/o Sabal Singh	60/20			Ibid, 126
1640-41	Ram Singh S/o Karamsi Rathore	1000/600			Lahori,II,198
1640-41	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000			Ibid, 230
1640-41	Jagan Nath Rathore	700/400	Died		Ibid, 742
1641-42	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000(100 0x2-3h)			Ibid, 230
1641-42	Mahesh Das Mahabat Khan	1000/800			Ibid
1641-42	Ram Singh S/o Karamsen Rathore	1000/700			Ibid, 236
1641-42	Mahesh Das Rathore	1000/1000			Ibid, 281
1641-42	Siyam Singh S/o Karamsi Singh	1000/500			Ibid, 284
1641-42	Raj Singh S/o Khewan Rathore	1000/600	Died		Ibid, 734
1642-43	Rao Amar Singh	4000/3000			Ibid, 294

1642-43	Mahesh Das Rathore	2000/2000			Ibid, 308
1642-43	Ram Singh Rathore	1500/800			Ibid, 309
1644	Shiyam Singh S/o Karamsen Rathore	1500/600		Qiledar of Salhar	Apparatus
1644-45	Bhim Rathor	1500/1100	Died		Ibid, 730
1644-45	Hari Singh S/o Raja Suraj Singh Rathore	1500/900	Died		Ibid, 731
1644-45	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Suraj Singh	1500/1200			Apparatus
1644-45	Prithi Raj Rathore			Qiledar of Daulatabad	Ibid, 377
1644-45	Siyam Singh S/o Karamsi Rathore	1500/600			Ibid, 387
1644-45	Rup Singh S/o Hari Singh Rathore	1000/700			Ibid, 399
1644-45	Rai Singh S/o Amar Singh	1000/700			Ibid, 403
1644-45	Rao Amar Singh S/o Raja Gaj Singh	4000/3000	Died		Ibid, 721
1644-45	Mahesh Das Rathore	2000/2000		Qiledar of Lahore	Ibid, 414
1645-46	Prithi Raj Rathore	2000/2000		Qiledar of Daulatabad	Ibid, 417
1645-46	Govind da Rathore	500/200			Ibid, 431
1645-46	Mahesh das Rathore			Qiledar of Irak	Ibid, 471
1645-46	Kishan Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	500/250			Ibid, 473
1645-46	Rup Singh Rathore	1000/1000			Ibid
1645-46	Maesh Das Rathore	3000/2500			Ibid, 474
1645-46	Mahesh Das Rathore	3500/2500			Ibid, 480
1646-47	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000(2000 x 2-3h)			Ibid, 505

1646-47	Mahesh Das Rathore	3000/2000			Ibid
1646-47	Prithi Raj Rathore			Qiledar of Daulatabad	Ibid, 510
1646-47	Mahesh Das Rathore	3000/2500			Ibid, 554
1646-47	Rup Singh Rathore	1500/1000			Ibid
1646-47	Ram Singh Rathore	1500/1000			Ibid
1646-47	Mahesh Das Rathore	4000/3400			Ibid
1646-47	Rup Singh Rathore S/o Kishan Rathore	2000/1000			Ibid, 594
1646-47	Ram Singh Rathore	2000/1000			Ibid
1646-47	Raja Jai Ram	1500/1500			Ibid, 595
1646-47	Raja Jai Ram	2000/1500			Ibid, 608
1646-47	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000(2500 x 2-3h)			Ibid, 627
1646-47	Prithi Raj Rathor	2000/2000			Ibid, 628
1646-47	Raj Singh S/o Khiwan Rathor	1000/600			Ibid, 734
1647-48	Rattan S/o Mahesh Das Rathore	1500/1500			Ibid, 635
1647-48	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Suraj Singh	2000/1500	Died		Lahori,II,727
1647-48	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000(2500x2-3h)			Ibid, 719
1647-48	Prithi Raj Rathore	2000/2000			Ibid, 726
1647-48	Raja Udai Bhan S/o Girdhar	700/400			Ibid, 742
1647-48	Ishwar Singh S/o Amar Singh Rathore	600/200			Wariz, 215
1647-48	Rup Singh G/o Kishan Singh Rathore	2000/1000			Lahori,II,727
1647-48	Ram Singh S/o Karamsi Rathore	2000/1000			Ibid
1647-48	Rattan Rathore	1500/1500			Ibid, 729

1647-48	Siyam Singh S/o Karamsi Rathor	1500/600			Ibid, 731
1647-48	Rai Singh S/o Amar Singh G/o Raja Gaj Singh Rathore	1000/700			Ibid, 733
1647-48	Mahesh Das Rathor	1000/600			Ibid, 734
1647-48	Govardhan Rathor	800/400			Ibid, 740
1647-48	Gobind Das Rathor	500/250			Ibid, 748
1647-48	Jaswant B/o Mahesh Das Rathore	500/250			Ibid
1647-48	Kesri Singh Rathore	500/100			Ibid, 752
1647-48	Siyam Singh S/o Karamsi Rathor	1500/600	Fauzdar of Baglana		Waris, a, 13; Salih, III, 463
1648-49	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000 (4000 x 2-3h)			Ibid, a,43
1649-50	Raja Jaswant Singh	5000/5000(2-3h)			Ibid, b, 28,52; Vigat,I,126-27
1649-50	Rup Singh Rathor	2500/1200			Ibid,a,53
1649-50	Ram singh Rathor	2500/1200			Ibid,a,53
1649-50	Rup singh Rathor	3000/1500			Ibid,b,86
1649-50	Ram Singh Rathor S/o Karamsi Rathor	3000/1500			Ibid
1649-50	Ratan Rathor	2000/2000			Ibid,a,87
1649-50	Govardhan Rathor	1000/500			Ibid
1649-50	Prithi Raj Rathor	200/40			Apparatus,241
1649-50	Surat Singh S/o Sabal Singh	100/35			Ibid,242
1650	Siyam Singh S/o Karamsi Rathor	1500/600	Died		Waris, b, 263; Lahori, II, 731

1650	Rup Singh Rathor	2000/1500			Waris,a,94
1650	Jai Singh S/o Raj Singh Rathor	500/150	Died		Waris,b,270
1650-51	Rai Singh S/o Amar Singh	1500/800			Waris,a,114
1651-52	Ram Singh Rathor	4000/2000			Salih,III,135
1651-52	Gobind Das Rathor	500/200	Died		Waris,a,270
1651-52	Rup Singh Rathor	4000/2000			Waris,b,125
1651-52	Mahesh Das Rathor	1000/500			Waris,a,139
1651-52	Raja Jaswant Singh	6000/5000(2-3h)			Salih,III,160
1652-53	Raja Jaswant Singh	6000/5000(2-3h)			Waris,a,154; Vigat,I, 127
1652-53	Rup singh Rathor	4000/2500			Ibid
1652-53	Udai Bhan G/o Karamsi Rathor	1000/500			Waris,a,169
1653-54	Sher Singh S/o Ram Singh Rathor	500/100			Waris, b,173
1653-54	Jaswant Singh	6000/6000(5000x2-3h)	Maharaja		Waris,a,176; 196;b,40; M.U., I, 754
1654-55	Rup Singh Rathor	4000/3000			Waris,b,195
1655-56	Rai Singh G/o Raja Gaj Singh	1500/1000			Waris,a,247
1656-57	Prithi Raj Rathor	2000/2000	Died		Waris,a,262
1656-57	Maharaja Jaswant Singh	6000/600 (5000x2-3h)			Waris,b,259
1656-57	Rup Singh Rathor	4000/3000			Waris,a,198, 260
1656-57	Ram Singh S/o Karamsi Rathor	3000/1500			Waris,a,261
1656-57	Anup Singh S/o Amar Singh	3000/2000(1000 x 2-3h)			Waris, b, 260
1656-57	Ratan S/o Mahes Das	2000/1600			Waris,b, 261 ;201

1656-57	Rai SinghG/oRaja Gaj Singh	1500/1000			Waris, a,263
1656-57	Udai Bhan S/oShiyam Singh Rathor	1000/500			Waris, b, 264;207
1656-57	Govardhan Das Rathor	1000/500			Waris,a, 265;207
1656-57	Mahesh Das Rathor	1000/500			Ibid
1656-57	Prithvi Raj Rathor	2000/2000	Died		Waris,201;Sa lihIII,458
1656-57	Raja UdaiBhan S/oGirdhar	800/500			Waris,a, 266
1656-57	Sher Singh S/oRam Singh Rathor	800/300			Waris,a, 267
1656-57	Jagat Singh S/o Prithi Raj Rathor	700/300			Waris,a, 268
1656-57	Kesri Singh S/o Prithi Raj Rathor	600/200			Waris,a, 269
1656-57	Ram Singh S/o Prithi Raj Rathor	500/200			Waris,b, 270;218
1656-57	Rao Ratan	2000/2000			Salih,III,262
1657-58	Maharaja Jaswant Singh	7000/7000(500 0x2-3h)			Ibid,284; I.Khan, 546
1657-58	Rup Singh Rathor	4000/2000			Salih,III ,453
1657-58	Ram Singh S/o Karamsi Rathor	3000/1500			Salih,III, 455
1657-58	Ratan S/o Mahesh Das	2000/2000			Salih,III, 458
1657-58	Rai Singh G/o Gaj Singh	1500/1000			Salih,III, 461
1657-58	Jagmal S/o Kishan Singh Rathor	1500/600			Salih,III, 463
1657-58	Girdhar S/oKesho DasG/oJaimal	1500/200			Ibid,464
1657-58	Sujan Singh S/o Muhkam Singh	1000/500			Waris,a, 264
1657-58	Chatur Sen C/oShiyam Singh Rathor	1000/500			Salih,III, 464

1657-58	Rai Singh G/o Gaj Singh	1500/1500			Waris,203
1657-58	Nahar S/oRaj Singh	900/400			Waris,a, 265
1657-58	Jait/jagat Singh Rathor	1000/500			Ibid,466
1657-58	Govardhan Das Rathor	1000/500			Ibid,467
1657-58	Mahesh Das Rathor	1000/500			Ibid
1657-58	Rai Jagannath Rathor	800/400			Ibid,472
1657-58	Sher Singh s/oRam Singh Rathor	800/300			Ibid,474;War is,211
1657-58	Jagat Singh Rathor	700/300			Ibid,476;Ibid ,213
1657-58	Kesri Singh S/o Prithi Raj	600/200			Salih,III, 480;Waris,21 5
1657-58	Mukand Das Rathor	600/150			Salih,III, 480
1657-58	Dalip Rathor	500/300			Ibid,482
1657-58	Jaswant B/o Mahesh Das Rathor	500/250			Ibid,483;War is,217
1657-58	Govind Das Rathor	500/250			Ibid
1657-58	Ram Singh s/oPrithi Raj	500/200			Ibid,484
1657-58	Jagat Singh S/o Raj Singh Rathor	500/150			Ibid.486
1657-58	Fateh Singh s/o Rup Singh	500/200			Ibid,484;War is,a, 269
1657-58	Ishwar Singh S/oAmar Singh Rathor	600/200			Ibid,480;War is,b, 268,
1657-58	Udai Singh S/o Ram Singh Rathor	100/30			Jodhpur Hukumat Ri Bahi ,16
1657-58	Ratan Singh Rathor S/oGovardhan Rathor	200/25			Ibid,13
1657-58	RupSingh Rathor S/o Govardhan	400/50			Ibid

1657-58	Jujhar Singh S/o Mahesh Das Rathor	200/25			Ibid
1657-58	Kalyan Das S/o Mahesh Das Rathor	400/400			Ibid,17
1657-58	Maha Singh S/o Keso Das Maru	400/200			Ibid
1657-58	Fateh Singh S/o Mahesh Das Rathor	250			Ibid,12

List of KACHHWAHA Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1627-28	Raja Manrup S/o Raja Jagannath Kachhwaha	3000/1000			Lahori,I,118
1627-28	Raja Jai Singh	4000/3000			Ibid 120
1627-28	Raja Dawarka Das Kachhwaha	1000/800			Ibid
1627-28	Hirday Ram Kachhwaha	1000/650			Ibid
1627-28	Behari Das Kachhwaha	1500/700			Ibid 182
1627-28	Raja Girdhar	1000/500			Ibid
1627-28	Satarsal S/o Madho Singh Kachhwaha	1500/1000			Ibid 184
1627-28	Bhalbhadra Shaikhawat	1000/600			Ibid
1627-28	Beharidas Kachhwaha	1500/1000			Ibid 205
1627-28	Raja Ram Das Narori Kachhwaha	1000/500			Qazwini,a, 130
1629-30	Hirday Ram Kachhwaha	1000/700			Lahori,I,268
1629-30	Raja Jai Singh	4000/4000			Ibid 296
1629-30	Hirday Ram Kachhwaha	1500/1000			Ibid,b,306
1629-30	Ugarsen S/o Satsal	600/300			Ibid

1629-30	Raja Dwarka Das	1500/1000			Qazwini,a, 193
1629-30	Raja Manrup Kachhwaha	3000/1000	Died		Lahori,Ib,299
1630-31	Gopal Singh S/o Raja Manrup	800/400			Ibid 321
1630-31	Narsingh Das S/o Raja Dwarka Das	500/400			Ibid 347
1630-31	Biharidas Kachhwaha	2000/1040			Ibid 372
1630-31	Bala S/o Raja Jagannath Kachhwaha	700/200	Died		Ibid,b, 318
1630-31	Satarsal Kachhwaha	1500/1000	Died		Ibid 305
1630-31	Balbhadra Shaikhawat	1000/600	Died		Ibid 309
1631-32	Rao Harchand Kachhwaha	900/400	Died		Ibid 312
1631-32	Bihari Das Kachhwaha	2000/1200	Died		Ibid 302
1631-32	Raja Dwarkadas S/o Raja Girdhar Kachhwaha	1500/1000	Died		Ibid 305
1634-35	Raja Ram Das Narwari	2000/1500	Died		Ibid 83
1634-35	Raja Jai Singh	5000/4000			Ibid 86
1636-37	Raja Jai Singh	5000/5000			Ibid 248
1636-37	Hirdai Ram S/o Banka Kachhwaha	1500/1000	Died		Ibid 305
1637-38	Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha	5000/5000			Ibid 294
1637-38	Raja Ram Das Narori	2000/1000			Ibid 303
1637-38	Gopal Singh S/o Raja Manrup Kachhwaha	900/600			Ibid 312
1637-38	Rai Tilokchand S/o Manohar	800/500			Ibid 314
1637-38	Ugar Sen Kachhawaha	800/400			Ibid

1637-38	Har Ram S/o Bhagwan Das Kachhwaha	700/300			Ibid 317
1637-38	Ajab Singh S/o Satarsal	800/300			Waris,b, 266
1637-38	Rup Singh kachhwaha	700/300			Ibid
1637-38	Raja Udai Bhan S/o Raja Girdhar	600/400			Ibid 319
1637-38	Ugar Sen S/o Satarsal Kachhwaha	600/400			Ibid,Lahori,II ,745
1637-38	Narsingh Das S/o Raja Dwarka Das	500/400			Lahori,Ib,32 2
1637-38	Bhoj Raj S/o Raisal Darbari	800/400			Ibid 314
1637-38	Mathura Das Kachhwaha	500/400			Ibid 322
1637-38	Gopal Singhs/o Manrup	1000/700			Ibid 48
1637-38	Anand Ram Kachhwaha	300/150			Apparatus
1637-38	Narsingh Das	600/550			Apparatus,16 0
1638-39	Udai Bhan S/o Raja Girdhar	700/300			Ibid, 161
1638-39	Kanhi Das S/o Balbhadra Shaikhawat	500/100			Ibid
1638-39	Himmat Singh S/o Manohar Das	80/25			Ibid
1638-39	Jaichand Shekhawat S/o Rao Harchand	400/200			Apparatus
1638-39	Gopi Nath S/o Balbhadra Shekhawat	300/50			Ibid
1638-39	Surat Singh S/o Balbhadra Shekhawat	100/25			Ibid
1638-39	Chandu Singh Shekhawat	60/20			Ibid

1638-39	Raja Jai Singh	5000/5000		Mirza Raja	Lahori,II,145
1638-39	Ugar Sen S/o Satarsal	600/400	Died		Ibid, 745
1639-40	Raja Ram Das Narori	2000/1000	Died		Ibid, 174,728
1639-40	Amar Singh G/o Raja Ram Das	1000/600		Raja	Ibid, 174
1639-40	Jagat Singh S/o Raja Singh Shekhawat	80/15			Apparatus
1639-40	Jaichand S/o Harchand Shekhawat	400/200			Ibid 143
1639-40	Kishore Singh S/o Balbhadar Shekhawat	100/50			Ibid
1640-41	Bhuj Raj S/o Rasal Darbari	1000/500			Lahori,II
1641-42	Raja Jai Singh	5000/5000(2-3h)			Ibid, 201,273
1641-42	Raja Jai Singh			Qiledar of Mau	Ibid, 273
1644-45	Gopal Singh S/o Raja Manrup	1000/1000			Ibid, 385
1644-45	Narsingh Das S/o Dwarka			Qiledar of Kareel (Berar)	Ibid
1644-45	Gopi Nath S/o Balbhadra Shekhawat	300/140			Apparatus
1644-45	Himmat Singh	40/5			Ibid, 393
1646-47	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	1000/1000			Ibid, 500
1646-47	Kunwar Singh S/o Balbhadar Shekhawat	250/60			Apparatus
1647-48	Raja Jai Singh	5000/5000(2000x2-3h)			Lahori,II,683,719
1647-48	Ram Singh S/o Jai Singh Kachhwaha	1000/1000			Ibid, 732
1647-48	Gopal Singh S/o Raja Manrup Kachhwaha	1000/1000			Ibid

1647-48	Raja Amar Singh Narwari	1000/1000			Ibid, 734
1647-48	Rai Tilok Chand Kachhwaha	1000/500			Ibid, 735
1647-48	Jagram Kachhwaha	900/600			Ibid, 738
1647-48	Narsingh Das S/o Raja Dwarka Das	800/800			Ibid, 739
1647-48	Ugarsen Kachhwaha	800/600			Ibid
1647-48	Ajab Singh S/o Satarsal Kachhwaha	800/300			Ibid, 741
1647-48	Bhuj Raj Kachhwaha	700/500			Ibid, 742
1647-48	Sangram Kachhwaha	700/400			Ibid
1647-48	Mathura Das Kachhwaha	700/400			Ibid
1647-48	Raja Udai Bhan	700/400			Ibid
1647-48	Prem Chand G/o Rai Manohar	600/400			Ibid, 745
1647-48	Prithi Raj G/o Raja Man Singh Kachhwaha	500/250			Ibid, 748; Wariz, 217
1647-48	Kishan Singh G/o raj Man Singh Kachhwaha	500/250			Ibid, Salih, III, 483
1647-48	Ugar Sen G/o Raja Man Singh	500/200			Lahori, II, 750
1647-48	Kanhi S/o Bhalbhadra Shaikhawat	500/200			Ibid
1648-49	Jagram Kachhwaha	1000/600			Waris, b, 47
1649-50	Raja Jai Singh	5000/5000(3000-2x3h)			Ibid, 52
1649-50	Mathura Das Kachhwaha	700/400	Died		Ibid, 267
1649-50	Rao Jaichand S/o Harchand Shekhwat	400/200			Apparatus

1649-50	Rattan Ram S/o Hari Ram Kachhwaha	300/150			Ibid,
1649-50	Naubat S/o Balbhadra Shekhawat	300/140			Ibid,
1649-50	Rattan singh S/o Balbhadra Shekhawat	200/100			Ibid,
1649-50	Raghu Nath Singh S/o Mal Kachhwaha	200/50			Ibid,
1649-50	Surat Singh S/o Balbhadra Shekhawat	100/25			Apparatus
1649-50	Raja Ram S/o Dhar Rai Shekhawat	200/40			Ibid,
1650	Kirat SinghS/o Jai Singh	800/800		Fauzdar of Mewat	Waris,a, 99
1650	Paim Chand/Prem Chand G/o Rai Manohar	600/400	Died		Ibid,b, 268
1650	Jagat Singh S/o Raj Singh Shekhawat	80/15			Apparatus
1650-51	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	1500/1000			Waris,a, 115
1651-52	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	2000/1000			Ibid,b, 125
1651-52	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	2000/1500			Ibid,a, 135
1651-52	Raja Amar Singh Narwari	1500/700			Ibid, 136
1651-52	Jagram Kachhwaha	1000/800			Ibid,b, 136
1651-52	Raja Amar Singh Narwari	1500/800			Ibid, 144
1651-52	Kishore Singh S/o Balbhadar Singh	250/150			Apparatus
1652-53	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	2500/1500			Ibid,

1652-53	Nar Singh Das S/o Raja Dwarka. Das			Qiledar of Junair	Waris,a, 168
1652-53	Shiyam Singh S/o Raj Singh Shekhawat	60/10			Apparatus
1653-54	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	3000/1500			Waris,b, 178
1653-54	Kerat Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	1000/900			Waris,a, 192,206
1653-54	Bhoj Raj Kachhwaha	1000/500			Ibid, 207
1655-56	Ram Singh	3000/2000			Ibid,b, 221
1655-56	Raja Amar Singh Narwari	1500/1000			Ibid,a, 228
1656-57	Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha	5000/5000(40 00x2-3h)			Ibid,b, 259,197
1656-57	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	3000/2000			Ibid,b, 261
1656-57	Raja Amar Singh Narwari	1500/1000			Ibid,b, 263,204
1656-57	Gopal Singh S/o Raja Manrup Kachhwaha	1000/1000			Ibid,b, 264,205
1656-57	Jagram Kachhwaha	1000/800			Ibid 206
1656-57	Narsingh Das/Barsingh Das	800/800			Ibid,a, 266,210
1656-57	Augarsen Kachhwaha	800/600			Ibid,a, 266
1656-57	Raja Udai Bhan	800/500			Ibid
1656-57	Ajab Singh	800/400			Ibid,b,266,Sa lih,III, 473
1656-57	Fath Singh Kachhwaha	700/250			Ibid,a, 268,213
1657-58	Mirza Raja Jai Singh	6000/5000(2- 3h)			Salih,III,278
1657-58	Ram Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	3000/2000			Ibid1455;Wa ris,199
1657-58	Gopal Singh S/o Raja Manrup	1000/1000			Ibid, 404
1657-58	Jagram Kachhwaha	1000/700			Ibid, 465
1657-58	Bhojraj Kangar	1000/500			Waris,b, 264

1657-58	Mahru/Nahar S/o Raja Jai Singh	900/400			Ibid, 470
1657-58	Narsingh das S/o Dwarka Das	800/800			Ibid, 471; Waris,b, 265
1657-58	Kirat Singh S/o Raja Jai Singh	1000/900			Salih,III,465; Waris,b, 263
1657-58	Augar Sen Kachhwaha	800/600			Salih,III,472; Waris,a,266, b,210
1657-58	Ajab Singh S/o Satarsal Kachhwaha	800/400			Waris,b,266, 211;Salih,III, 473
1657-58	Fateh Singh Kachhwaha	700/200			Ibid, 477
1657-58	Bala S/o Jagan Nath Kachhwaha	700/200			Salih,III,477
1657-58	Fateh Singh Kachhwaha	700/300			Waris,a,268;
1657-58	Prithvi Singhs/o Jujhar Singh Kachhwaha	400/400			Hukumat-ri-Bahi p.17
1657-58	Chandra Bhan	700/500			Waris,a, 267
1657-58	Hari Singh S/o Chandra Bhan	500/300			Ibid,a, 269

List of SISODIA Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appointm ents	Title	Source
	Raja Rai Singh	3000/1500			Ibid, 142
1627-28	Rana Karan Singh	5000/5000			Lahori,I,80
1627-28	Shiyam Singh Sisodi	1000/500			Ibid, 199
1627-28	Rana Karan	5000/500	Died		Ibid, 161
1627-28	Rana Jagat Singh	5000/5000			Ibid
1627-28	Rai Singh S/o Raja Bhim	2000/1000		Raja	Ibid, 195
1628-29	Fateh Singh Sisodia S/o Maharaja Bhim	800/200	Died		Lahori,Ib
1629-30	Rao Duda G/o Rao Chanda	2000/1500			Ibid 299
1631-32	Raja Rai Singh	3000/1200			Lahori,I,421

1633-34	Rao Hathi Singh S/o Rao Duda	1500/1000			Ibid 532
1633-34	Rao Duda G/o Rao Chanda	2000/1500	Died		Ibid 302
1635-36	Madho Singh Sisodia	500/250	Died		Lahori,Ib,323
1636-37	Hari Singh S/o Rao Chnada	500/400	Died		Lahori I b 322
1637-38	Rao Hathi Singh S/o Rao Dudai Chandarkant	1500/1000			Ibid 305
1637-38	Rana Jagat Singh	5000/5000			Ibid, 294
1637-38	Raja Rai Singh S/o Raja Bhim Sisodia	3000/1500			Ibid, 299
1637-38	Siyam Singh Sisodia	1000/500			Ibid, 311
1637-38	Gokal Das Sisodia	900/500			Ibid, 312
1637-38	Rao Hathi Singh S/o Rao Duda	1500/1000			Lahori, Ib, 305
1637-38	Sujan Singh Sisodia	800/300			Ibid, 315
1637-38	Gokal Das Sisodia	1000/500			Lahori,II,96
1638-39	Himmat Singh S/o Rao Duda	1500/1000			A.Ali p.161
1638-39	Kishan Singh G/o Sakal Singh	300/30			Apparatus,16 1
1638-39	Raja Rai Singh	3000/2000			Lahori,II,133
1638-39	Gokal Das Sisodia	1000/600			Ibid, 146
1641-42	Gokal Das	1000/600		Qiledar of Damsal	Ibid, 273
1642-43	Raja Rai Singh	4000/2000			Ibid, 294
1643-44	Sujan Singh Sisodia	1000/400			Ibid, 357
1644-45	Sujan Singh Sisodia	1000/500			Ibid, 399
1645-46	Hamir Singh S/o Isar Das Sisodia	500/300			Ibid, 426
1645-46	Gokal Das Sisodia	1000/800			Ibid, 473
1646-47	Gokal Das Sisodia	1500/800			Ibid, 595

1647-48	Sujan Singh Sisodia	1500/500			Ibid, 632
1647-48	Rana Jagat Singh	5000/5000			Ibid, 719
1647-48	Gharib Das Sisodia	1500/700			Waris,204
1647-48	Raja Rai Singh S/oRaja Bhim Sisodia	4000/2000			Lahori,II,721
1647-48	Sujan Singh Sisodia	1500/500			Ibid, 732
1647-48	Narain Das Sisodia	700/300			Ibid, 743
1647-48	Hamir Singh Sisodia	500/300			Ibid, 747
1648-49	Param Deo Sisodia	1000/400			Waris,a, 49
1649-50	Raja Rai Singh	4000/2500			Ibid,b, 52
1649-50	Sujan Singh Sisodia	1500/700			Ibid,a, 53
1649-50	Param Deo Sisodia	1000/500			Ibid
1649-50	Sultan Singh Sisodia	500/100			Ibid,a, 74
1649-50	Raja Rai Singh	5000/2500			Ibid,b, 86
1649-50	Sabal Singh Sisodia G/o Rana Amar Singh	2000/1000			Ibid,b, 89
1650	Param Deo Sisodia	1500/500			Ibid,b, 90
1650	Rawat Narain Das Sisodia	700/300	Died		Ibid,b, 267
1650	Sultan Singh Sisodia	500/100	Died		Ibid,a, 271
1650-51	Raja Rai Singh Sisodia	5000/5000			M.U.II,300;S alih,III,129
1651-52	Sujan singh Sisodia	2000/800			Waris,a,123, 202
1651-52	Sabal Singh Sisodia	2500/1000			Ibid,b, 125
1651-52	Param Deo Singh	1500/700			Waris,b,125; Salih,III,135
1651-52	Param Deo Sisodia	2000/700			Waris,a, 146

1651-52	Rana Jagat Singh	5000/5000	Died		Ibid,a, 147,197,260,
1652-53	Param Deo Sisodia	2000/800			Apparatus
1652-53	Raj Singh S/o Rana jagat Singh	5000/5000			Waris,a, 156
1653	Gharib Das B/o Jagat Singh	1500/700			Ibid,b, 156
1653-54	Param Deo Sisodia	2000/1000			Ibid,a, 176
1653-54	Param Deo Sisodia	2500/1000			Ibid,b, 184
1653-54	Fath Singh S/o Sujan Singh Sisodia	500/200			Salih,III,484; Waris,a,195
1654	Pahad Singh Sisodia	4000/3000(3 000x2-3h)			Waris, 198
1654-55	Sujan Singh Sisodia	1000/500			Ibid,b, 207
1656-57	Biram/Param Deo Sisodia	3000/1000			Ibid,b, 252
1656-57	Rana Raj Singh	5000/5000			Ibid, a,200,260
1656-57	Param Deo Sisodia	3000/1000			Ibid,a, 261
1656-57	Sabal Singh Sisodia	2500/1500			Ibid,b, 261,200
1656-57	Sujan Singh Sisodia	2000/800			Ibid,b, 262
1656-57	Fath Singh S/o Sujan Singh Sisodia	500/200			Ibid,b, 270
1656-57	Hubba/Chunna Sisodia	500/200			Ibid
1656-57	Raja Raj Singh Sisodia	5000/4000			Salih,III,262; M.U.,II, 297
1657-58	Raja Raj Singh Sisodia	5000/2500			Salih,III,451; Waris,197
1657-58	Param/Biram Deo Sisodia	3000/1000			Salih,III,456; waris,a,260
1657-58	Sabal Singh Sisodia	2500/1000			Salih,III,457
1657-58	Sujan Singh Sisodia	2000/800			Ibid, 460
1657-58	Fath Singh Sisodia	800/200			Ibid, 474

1657-58	Sundar Das Sisodia	700/300			Ibid,476;War is,b,213
1657-58	Rai Narain Das Sisodia	700/300			Salih,III,477
1657-58	Madho Singh Sisodia	500/250			Ibid 483
1657-58	Fath Singh S/o Siyam Singh Sisodia	500/200			Ibid,484;War is 848
1657-58	Champat Sisodia	500/200			Salih,III,486
1657-58	Suktan Singh Sisodia	500/100			Waris,b,270, 220; Salih,III,587
1657-58	Rana Raj Singh	5000/5000			Wari,a,197,b, 260; Salih,III,451
1657-58	Channa/Hubba Singh Sisodia	500/200			Waris,218
1657-58	Daulat Singh Sisodia S/o Sujan Singh	300			Hukumat-Ri-Bahi 13
1657-58	Man Singh S/o Mansingh Sisodia	400/150			Ibid, 17
1657-58	Gharib Das S/o Rana Karan	1500/700			Salih,III,463; Waris,b, 204

List of HADAS (of KOTA AND BUNDI) Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1627-28	Madhav Singh S/o Rao Ratan Hada	1500/600			Lahori,I,184
1627-28	Rao Ratan Hada	5000/5000			Ibid 185
1630-31	Madhav Singh S/o Rao Ratan Singh Hada	2000/2000			Ibid 365
1631-32	Rao Ratan Hada	5000/5000	Died		Ibid,401;(b)29 4
1631-32	Satarsak G/o Rao Ratan	3000/2000			Lahori,I,401
1631-32	Madhav Singh S/o Rao Ratan	2500/1500			Ibid
1635-36	Madhav Singh	3000/1600			Ibid(b)134
1636-37	Rao Satarsal	3000/3000			Ibid 177

1636-37	Madho Singh	3000/3000			Ibid 248
1637-38	Rao Satarsal S/o Rao Ratan Hada	3000/3000			Ibid 297
1637-38	Madho Singh S/o Rao Ratan Hada	3000/2000			298
1637-38	Hirday Narayan	500/100			Lahori,I,328
1637-38	Indar Sal S/o Rao Ratan	600/300			Lahori,I(b),320
1637-38	Raghu Nath Hada	200/50			Hyd. 53
1640-41	Madho Singh S/o Ratan Singh	3000/2500			Lahori,II,224
1642-43	Madho Singh Hada	3000/3000			Ibid 308
1647-48	Rao Satarsal Hada	3000/3000			Ibid 722
1647-48	Madho Singh Hada	3000/3000			Ibid
1647-48	Indar Sal Hada	800/400			Ibid 740
1648-49	Path Singh S/o Raghunath Singh Hada	80/5			Hyd. 1679,A.Ali,p.2 30
1648-49	Mukand Singh S/o Madho Singh Hada	2000/1500			Waris,45(a)
1648-49	Mukand Singh S/o Mukand Singh Hada	2000/2000			Ibid 47(b)
1648-49	Rao Satarsal Hada	3500/3500			Ibid 51(b)
1649-50	Rao Satarsal Hada	4000/4000			Ibid 86(b)
1651-52	Mukand Singh Hada	2500/2000			Ibid 125(b)
1653-54	Mukand Singh Hada	3000/2000			Ibid 178(b),199
1654-55	Kishore Singh S/o Madho Singh Hada	500/200			Ibid 212(a)
1654-55	Fath Singh S/o Rahunath Singh	80/5			Hyd. 4559

1654-55	Ganga Singh S/o Raghu Nath Singh	80 Zat			Ibid
1656-57	Rao Satarsal Hada	4000/4000			Waris,260(a), Salih,III,252
1656-57	Madho Singh Hada	3000/3000			Waris,260(b); Salih,III,454
1656-57	Mukand Singh Hada	3000/2000			Ibid ; Ibid 455
1656-57	Mohan Singh S/o Madho Singh Hada	800/400			Waris 266(b)
1656-57	Indar Sal Hada	800/400	Died		Waris,266(b), 211; Salih,III,473
1656-57	Kishor Singh S/o Madho Singh	600/200			Waris,260(a); Salih,III,480
1657-58	Rao Satarsal Hada	4000/4000	Died		Salih,III,452
1657-58	Madho Sigh Hada	3000/3000			Ibid 454
1657-58	Mukand Singh Hada	3000/2000			Ibid 455
1657-58	Mohan Singh S/o Madho Singh Hada	800/400			Ibid 473
1657-58	Kishor Singh S/o Madho Singh	600/200			Waris 211;Salih,III,480
1656	Fateh Singh Hada	200/40			Hukumat Ri-Bali p.-10
1656	Kanhi Ram Hada 4 th S/o Madho Singh Hada	300/60			Ibid
1656	Jujhar Singh Hada 3 rd S/o Madho Singh Hada	400/100			Ibid
1656	Kishor Singh S/o Madho Singh	600/200			Waris,p.215

List of RATHORS (of BIKANER house) Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appoint ments	Title	Source
1627-28	Rao Sur Singh	4000/2500			Lahori,I,120
1629-30	Rao Sur Singh	4000/3000			Lahori, Ib,296
1631-32	Rao Sur Singh	4000/3000	Died		Lahori,Ib,297
1631-32	Rao Karan s/oRao Sur	2000/1500		Rao	Lahori, Ib,398
1631-32	Shatrusal s/o Rao Sur	500/400			Ibid
1636-37	Rao Karan	2500/1600			Qazwini a, 404
1637-38	Rao Karan	2500/1500			Lahori,Ib, 302
1637-38	Shatrusal	700/600			Ibid, 316
1647-48	Rao Karan	2000/1500			Lahori, II,727
1648-49	Rao Karan	2000/2000	Qiledar of Daulatbad		Waris a, 49
1648-49	Rao Karan	2500/2000	Qiledar of Daulataba d		Waris b,87
1651-52	Rao Karan	3000/2000			Waris a, 145
1655-56	Rao Karan	3000/2000			Waris b, 224
1656-57	Rao Karan	3000/2000			Waris a, 261;Salih,III,4 55
1657	Rai Banvali Das s/o Rao Karan of Bikaner	1800/600			V.V.II,373
1657	Mahesh Das Rathor	1500/500			Waris a, 265
1657	Ratan Singh G/o Dalpat	1500			V.V. II, 373

NOTE= The rulers of Bikaner belonged to the Rathore tribe and were connected with Rao Jodha of Marwar.The rulers of Bikaner were also called Bhuratiya. Bhuratiya was their surname because in their(lit. this) land grows in abundance a thorny bush called bhurat out of which comes a grain like a millet grain; it is the staple food of the people of that place. (Zakhirat-ul-Khawarin, p.133)

List of OTHER RAJPUTS Mansabdars

Year	Name	Mansab	Appointm ents	Title	Source
1627-28	Rawal Kalyan Jaisalmeri	2000/1000			Lahori,I,183; Nainsi,II,342
1627-28	Rawal Punja of Durgapur	1000/500			Lahori,I,183
1627-28	Rawal Samassi	1000/1000			Ibid 184
1627-28	Raja Bir Narain(Badgujar)	1000/600			Ibid 121
1627-28	Pratap Singh Ujjainiya (New Raja)	1000/1000		Raja	Ibid 221
1627-28	Rao Duda S/o Rao Duda	1500/1000			Qazwini145(b)
1628	Madhav Singh	200/30			A.Ali,p.-104
1628	Sabal Singh	150/35			Ibid
1628	Prithi Raj	100/50			Ibid
1628	Nand Singh	80/20			Ibid
1628	Jodha Singh	80/10			Ibid
1629-30	Rup Chand Gwaliory	1000/600			Ibid
1630-31	Raja Bir Narain Budgusar	1000/600	Died		Lahori,I(b),309
1630-31	Raja Uday Singh S/o Raja Siyam Singh Tanwar	800/400	Died		Ibid 315
1630-31	Har Das Jhala	500/200	Died		Ibid 325
1630-31	Nahar Das Jhala	500/200	Died		Ibid
1631	Raja Cheti(Raja Chetiya)			Governor of Armayon	A.Ali,p.112
1633-34	Bir Narin	700/300	Died	Zamindar of Bachoct	Lahori I b 317
1633-34	Mittar Sen B/o Raja Shiyam Singh Tanwar	1000/500	Died		Ibid 310
1634-35	Rupchand Gwaliory	1000/600	Died		Ibid 309
1635-36	Sanghram	1000/600		Zamindar of Kanur	Ibid 138
1635-36	Bhupat S/o Sanghram		Died	Zamindar of Jammu	Qazwini 404 b

1636-37	Bhujraj	1000/500			Lahori I b 220
1636-37	Sanghram	1500/600		Zamindar of Kanwar	Ibid 257
1636-37	Chit Singh S/o Babaji Khankar	400/170			Hyd. 24/5
1636-37	Rai Singh S/o Chandar Bhan	150/60			Ibid 27
1636-37	Chatur Bhuj S/o Bir Bhan	150/30			
1637	Rai Ganesh Bhaduriya	1000/600			A.Ali, p
1637	Jugan Nath	150/75			Ibid
1637	Diyal Das Jhala	500/250			Ibid
1637	Lakshman Sen	700/500			Ibid
1637	Raja Paher Singh	3000/2000			Ibid
1637	Lakshman Sen	300/300			Ibid
1637-38	Rawal Punja	1500/1500		Zamindar of Dungarpur	Lahori,I(b),3 04
1637-38	Rawal Samassi	1000/1000		Zamindar of Banswarb a	Ibid 307
1637-38	Raja Uday Singh S/o Raja Man Singh	500/300	Died	Zamindar of Jammu	Lahori I b 323
1637-38	Raja Pratap Ujjainia	1500/1000	Died		Ibid 305
1637-38	Kalyan Das	100/20		Peshdast of Diwan of The Deccan (A.C)	S.D.S 64
1637-38	Sanghram	1500/600		Zamindar of Kanwar	Ibid 306
1637-38	Raja Man Singh Gwaliory	900/850			Ibid 312
1637-38	Lakshmi Sen Chauhan	800/500			Ibid 314
1637-38	Bhuj Raj S/o Rai Mal Darbari	800/400			Ibid
1637-38	Rana Jodha	800/300		Zamindar of Amarkot	Ibid 315

1637-38	Cahndar Bhan Naroka	500/400			Ibid 321
1637-38	Nahar Solanki	500/400			Ibid 322
1637-38	Bir Bhan	500/300		Zamindar of Chandar Kona	Ibid 322
1637-38	Raja Jagmohan Jadaun	500/300			Ibid
1637-38	Chandar Bhan	500/300		Zamindar of Kanghra	Ibid
1637-38	Mukund Jadaun	500/300			Ibid
1637-38	Rawat Diyal Das Jhala	500/250			Ibid 323
1637-38	Man Singh S/o Raja Bikramjeet	500/250			Ibid
1637-38	Madan Singh Bhaduriya	500/250			Ibid 324
1637-38	Raghu Nath	500/200		Zamindar of Susangh	Ibid 324
1637-38	Hirdai Narain	500/100			Ibid 328
1637-38	Udai S/o Mohan Singh	100/50			Hyd. 53
1637-38	Anup Ram S/o Mohan Singh	60/20			Ibid
1637-38	Kishore Singh	60/10			Ibid 26
1638-39	Shiyam Singh S/o Manohar Das Chauhan	100/60			Ibid
1638-39	Prithvi Raj S/o Achal Das	100/50			Ibid
1638-39	Ganesh Singh S/o Nar Har Das	80/20			Ibid
1638-39	Manrup S/o Maldev Chauhan	80/25			Ibid
1638-39	Patap	60/10			Ibid
1638-39	Parhilad S/o Bhupal	60/15			Ibid
1638-39	Rudar Singh S/o Mohan Das	40/5			Hyd. 4492/4
1638-39	Shiyam Singh S/o Raj Singh	40/10			Ibid

1638-39	Pratap Singh S/o Chait Singh Chauhan	80/30			Ibid /5
1638-39	Raghu Nath S/o Rai Mal	200/50			Ibid /7
1638-39	Raghundar Singh S/o Pooran Mal Chauhan	150/60			Ibid
1638-39	Shiyam Singh S/o Ghazadhar	100/30			Ibid /8
1638-39	Shiyam Singh	50/20			Ibid
1638-39	Sarang Dhar	300/300			Ibid /9
1638-39	Rai Singh Jhala	800/400			Lahori,II,100
1639-40	Rai Singh Jhala	1000/400			Ibid 156
1639-40	Gajandar Sing G/o Sakat Singh	80/30			Ibid
1639-40	Chet Singh S/o Man Singh Gwaliory	100/20			Ibid 130
1639-40	Shiyam Singh S/o Gaja Dhar	80/20			Ibid 133
1639-40	Sakat Singh	80/15			Ibid 136
1639-40	Rup Chand S/o Sakat Singh	80/10			Ibid
1639-40	Raj Singh	60/25			Ibid
1639-40	Rudar Singh	40/5			Ibid
1639-40	Sundar Chauhan	40/10			Ibid
1639-40	Uttam Chand S/o Phul Chand	100/20			Ibid 143
1640-41	Sarang	300/300		Zamindar	Ibid 167
1640-41	Pratap Singh Chauhan	300/200			Ibid 154
1640-41	Subh Karan	1500/1400			Ibid 170
1640-41	Dalpat Singh S/o Subh Karan	250/80			Ibid 207
1641-42	Lakshmi Sen Chauhan	800/500	Died		Lahori,II,740
1641-42	Rai Singh Jhala	1000/500			Ibid 230
1641-42	Sagram	1500/1600	Died	Zamindar of Kanwar	Ibid 731
1641-42	Sabal Singh	80/15			Hyd. 226
1641-42	Maha Singh	60/10			
1642-43	Raja Paharh Singh	3000/3000(1 000x2-3h)			Lahori,II,303

1643-44	Badan Singh	1000/1000			Lahori,II,348
1643-44	Rana Jodha	800/300	Died	Zamindar of Amarkot	Ibid 741
1643-44	Umarao Singh		Died		Sadiq Khan 100(b)
1644	Sangram	1000/1000(6 00x2-3h)			S.D.S. 138
1644-45	Rao Hathi Singh Chadrakant	1500/1000	Died		Lahori,II,730
1644-45	Pratap(Chru Raja)	1000/1000			Ibid 361
1644-45	Rup Singh S/o Rup Mukund	900/900		Rao	Ibid 375
1644-45	Arjun	1000/500			Ibid 385
1644-45	Udai Bhan	300 Zat			Hyd. 530
1644-45	Sangram	1000/1000(6 00x2-3h)		Zamindar of Jammun	Ibid 524
1644-45	Rai Gajpat	80/20			Ibid 509
1645-46	Rai Singh Jhala	1000/600			Lohori,II,473
1645-46	Rao Rup Singh Chandrawat	1000/1000			Ibid 488
1645-46	Rai Singh Jhala	1000/700			Ibid
1645-46	Pratap S/o Chet Singh Chauhan	400/300			Appratus
1645-46	Kishan Singh S/o Chet Singh	80/15			Ibid
1646-47	Rup Singh Chandrawat	1500/1000			Lahori,II,554
1646-47	Anant Rai Dhonsa	2000/1000			Appratus
1647	Rawal Sabal Singh	1000/700			Waris 145(a),206
1647-48	Rawal Punja	1500/1500		Marzban of Dungarpur	Lahori,II,729
1647-48	Rawal Samassi	1000/1000		Zamindar of Banswarh a	Ibid 732
1647-48	Rao Rup Singh Chandrawat	1500/1000			Ibid 730
1647-48	Raja Badan Singh Badhuriya	1000/1000			Ibid 732

1647-48	Raja Pratap Cheru	1000/1000			Ibid 733
1647-48	Rai Singh Jhala	1000/700			Ibid
1647-48	Raja Gursen	1000/400		Zamindar of Kishtwar	Ibid 736
1647-48	Raja Prithi Chand	1000/400			Ibid
1647-48	Rai Bahar Mal	1000/150			Ibid 737
1647-48	Raja Man Singh Gwaliyari	900/850			Ibid 738
1647-48	Nahar Solanki	800/400			Ibid 740
1647-48	Chandar Bhan Naroka	700/500			Ibid 742
1647-48	Rawat Dayal Das Jhala	700/500			Ibid
1647-48	Chatar Bhuj Chauhan	700/500			Ibid
1647-48	Pratap Singh Chauhan	600/500			Ibid 745
1647-48	Raja Kishan Singh Tanwar	500/500			Ibid 747
1647-48	Chatar Bhuj Sonkar	500/500			Ibid
1647-48	Raja Jagman Jadaun	500/400			Ibid
1647-48	Ballu Chauhan	500/300			Ibid
1647-48	Sakat Singh Chauhan	500/250			Ibid 748
1647-48	Man Singh S/o Raja Bikramjit	500/200			Ibid 750
1647-48	Raja Jai Ram	2000/500	Died		Wariz 15(a),262(a)
1647-48	Amar Singh S/o Raja Jai Ram			Raja	Waris 15(a)
1647-48	Param Deo	800/400			Ibid 24(a)
1647-48	Chatar Bhuj Chauhan			Diwan of Malwa	Ibid 24(b)
1648-49	Sujan Singh S/o Raghunath	60/5			Appratus, p.230
1648-49	Raja Kunwarsen Kishtwari	1000/400	Died		Waris 49(a),265(a)
1648-49	Mahasingh S/o Raja Kunwarsen Kishtwari	800/400		Raja	Waris 49(a)

1648-49	Chatur Bhuj U/o Mittar Sen	150/40			A. Ali, p.234
1648-49	Balbhadar S/o Lakshmi Sen	100/20			Ibid
1648-49	Bhao Singh	100 Zat			Ibid 235
1648-49	Bhuj Raj Khankar	1000/500			Ibid
1648-49	Rao Rup Singh Chandrawata	2000/1200			Ibid 87(a)
1648-49	Chatur Bhuj Chauhan	1000/600			Ibid
1648-49	Kishore Singh			Qiledar of Ahwant	Hyd. 2773
1648-49	Udai Bhan			Qiledar of Gwalior	Ibid 3181
1648-49	Ramna B/o Udat Rao Dhangar	500/250			Ibid 2806
1648-49	Mukand Singh S/o Sakat Singh	300/100			Ibid 2806/6
1648-49	Durjan Singh	200/40			Ibid
1648-49	Madho Singh	200/30			Ibid /9
1648-49	Pratap Singh S/o Sakat Singh	150/35			Ibid /10
1648-49	Alap Singh S/o Fath Singh	150/30			Ibid
1648-49	Sohan Nath N/o Ram Das Gwaliory	100/10			Ibid /11
1648-49	Mohan Singh S/o Ashok Bal	100/10			Ibid /16
1648-49	Shardanand S/ Rai Bhan Kamindar of Bijaigarh	100/5			Ibid /19
1648-49	Sakat Narain S/o Durjan Singh	100/5			Ibid
1648-49	Satud Singh S/o Dalpat	100Zat			Ibid /23
1648-49	Champat Singh S/o Raj Singh	80/15			Ibid /23
1648-49	Hasuda Singh S/o Banta	80/20			Ibid
1648-49	Nur Singh	150/30			Ibid /32
1648-49	Udai Raj S/o Jamna	100/20			Ibid /33

1648-49	Mansur Singh S/o Fath Singh	100/20			Ibid
1648-49	Ani Rai S/o Man Singh Bais	100/15			Ibid
1648-49	Champat S/o Sujan Rai	80/20			Ibid /34
1648-49	Kishori Singh	80/10			Ibid
1648-49	Jujapat S/o Chet Singh Zamindar of Kalpi	60 Zat			Ibid /35
1648-49	Munna Singh S/o Isri Singh	60 Zat			Ibid
1648-49	Sangam	1000/1000		Zamindar of Jammu	Ibid
1649-50	Raja Badan Singh Bahduriya	1500/1000			Waris 53(a)
1650	Prithi Raj Bhari	700/250			Waris 92(b)
1650	Poran Mal	1000/1000			Ibid 98(b)
1650	Amar Singh Chandrawat	1000/900		Rao	Ibid 106(b)
1650	Surat Singh S/o Madhkar Singh	60/15			Hyd. 3225
1650	Tez Bais S/o Kalyan Singh	60/15			Ibid
1650	Nar Singh Deo			Qiledar of Salhir	Ibid 2946
1650	Jodha Singh	100/25			Ibid 2772
1650	Mansa Singh	60/10			Ibid
1650-51	Man Singh S/o Raja Bikramjit			Qildar of Taragarh	Waris 120(a)
1650-51	Rup Singh Chandrawat	2000/1200	Died		Ibid 106(b),262(a)
1650-51	Raa Badar Singh Bhaduriya	1500/1400			Ibid 122(b)
1650-51	Sabal Singh S/o Bikramjit			Qiledar of Taragarh	Ibid 111(b)
1651	Rawal Sabal Singh	1000/700			Waris 145(a)
1651-52	Rao Amar Singh Chandrawat	1000/1000			Waris 126(a);Amal-i- Salih,III,135
1651-52	Prithi Raj Chauhan	700/400			Waris 128(a)
1651-52	Puran Mal G/o Raja Bir				

1651-52	Raja Kishan Singh Tanwar	1000/500			Waris 136(b)
1651-52	Chatur Bhuj			Diwan of Suba Ajmer	Ibid 144(b)
1651-52	Bir Singh Deo			Qiledar of Mohair	Appratus
1652-53	Raja Bhara Mal	1000/150	Died		Waris 265(b)
1652-53	Rao Amar Singh Chandrwat	1500/1000			Ibid 156(b)
1652-53	Maha singh S/o Badan Singh	1000/800		Raja	Ibid 170(b)
1652-53	Pratap Singh			Qiledar of Dharab	Appratus
1652-53	Bhao Singh S/o Ashok Bal	100/25			Ibid 3870
1652-53	Lakshmi Narain S/o Ashok Bal	100/15			Ibid
1652-53	Maidini Singh S/o Ashok Bal	60/15			Ibid
1652-53	Raja Rajrup	500/500			Lataiful Akhbar 52(b)
1653-54	Parsa S/o Har Das Jhala	500/250			Waris 185(a)
1653-54	Raja Sangram of Jammu	700/500	Died	Faujdar of Manjrudh	Ibid 194(a)
1653-54	Sarang Dhar S/o Raja Sangram			Thanedar of Manjrudh	Waris 194(a); Adab 39(a)
1653-54	Raja Badan Singh Bahaduriya	1500/1400	Died		Waris 170(b), 263(a)
1653-54	Bijai Singh S/o Raja Dwarka Das	300/150			Appratus
1653-54	Bir Singh Dev			Qiledar of Sunir	Ibid 3889
1654-55	Auttan Narain	500/250	Died	Zamindar of Badi Kar	Waris 270(a)
1654-55	Chatur Bhuj Chauhan	1500/1000			Ibid 210(a)
1654-55	Inderjit S/o Sujan Rao	200/50			Appratus
1654-55	Donger Sen S/o Inderjit	100 Zat			Ibid

1654-55	Bhagendar N/o Inderjit	100 Zat			Ibid
1655-56	Rao Amar Singh Chandrawat	2000/800			Waris 221(b)
1655-56	Fath Singh S/o Amar Singh Baghila	500/200			Ibid 225(a)
1655-56	Kapur Singh			Diwan-i-Bayutat of Lahore	Ibid 239(b)
1655-56	Anup Singh	3000/2000		Zamindar of Bandhu	Ibid 240(a)
1655-56	Keshau rai S/o Hamir Rai Chauhan	400/100			Appratus
1655-56	Pratap Singh Chauhan	60 Zat			Ibid 4222
1655-56	Raj Singh	300/150			Ibid 4207
1655-56	Shiyam Singh S/o Raj Singh	100/10			Ibid
1656	Rao Sabal Singh Jaisalmeri	1000/7000			Salih,III,466; Waris, 264(b)
1656	Udai Bhan S/o Setal Das	80 zat			Appratus
1656	Hari Singh S/o Sesh Das	60 Zat			Ibid
1656-57	Rawal Samarsi	1000/1000			Waris,204(a)
1656-57	Girdhar S/o Rawal Punja Dungarpur	1000/1000			Salih,III,246
1656-57	Prithi Raj Chauhan	700/400	Died		Waris 267(b)
1656-57	Raja Jagmohan Jadaun	500/400	Died		Ibid 269(b)
1656-57	Rao Amar Singh	2000/1000			Ibid 262(b)
1656-57	Chaturbhuj Chauhan	1500/1500(2-3h)			Ibid 263(a)
1656-57	Pratap	1000/1000		Zamindar of Palaman	Ibid 264(a)
1656-57	Raja Maha Singh S/o Raja Badan Singh	1000/800			Ibid
1656-57	Rai Singh Jhala	1000/700			Ibid
1656-57	Sujan Singh S/o Mukham Singh	1000/500			Ibid 264(b)

1656-57	Bhuj Raj Khangar	1000/500			Ibid 265(a)
1656-57	Raja Prithi Chand	1000/400			Ibid
1656-57	Raja Man Singh S/o Raja Rup Singh Gwaliyari	900/850			Ibid 265(b)
1656-57	Panat Diyal Das Jhala	900/500			Ibid 265(a)
1656-57	Nahar S/o Raj Singh	900/400			Ibid 266(a)
1656-57	Raja Maha Singh S/o Raja Gul Sen Kishtwari	800/400			Ibid 266(b)
1656-57	Chandar Bhan Naroka	700/500			Ibid 267(b)
1656-57	Sarang Dhar G/o Raja Sangram	700/500			Ibid
1656-57	Prithi Raj Bhati	700/300			Ibid
1656-57	Ballu Chauhan	700/300			Ibid
1656-57	Chatur Bhuj Songar	600/600			Ibid 268(b)
1656-57	Raja Amar Singh Barh Gujar	500/500			Ibid 269(b)
1656-57	Hamir Raj	500/400			Ibid
1656-57	Arjun S/o Chandar Bhan Naroka	500/300			Ibid
1656-57	Bharat Jhala	500/250			Ibid 270(a)
1656-57	Man Singh S/o Raja Bukramjit	500/200			Ibid
1656-57	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Bikramjit	500/200			Ibid
1656-57	Raja Maha Singh Bahduriya	1000/1000			Salih, III, 271
1656-57	Anup Singh S/o Amar Singh, Zamindar of Bandh	3000/2000			Ibid 459
1656-57	Rao Amar Singh	2000/1000			Ibid 460
1656-57	Chatur Bhuj Chauhan	1000/1000(5 00x2-3h)			Ibid 461
1656-57	Raja Pratap Singh	1500/1000			Ibid 462
1656-57	Pratap	1000/1000		Zamindar Plamun	Ibid 464

1656-57	Fath S/o Karna	1000/800			Ibid 465
1656-57	Raja Maha Singh S/o Raja Madan Singh	1000/800			Ibid
1656-57	Rai Singh Jhala	1000/700			Ibid 466
1656-57	Raja Bir Narain Barh Gujar	1000/600			Ibid
1656-57	Rup Chand Gwaliory	1000/600			Ibid
1656-57	Chatar Sen N/o Siyam Singh	1000/500			Ibid
1656-57	Siyam Singh S/o Muhkam Singh	1000/500			Ibid 467
1656-57	Udai Bhan S/o Ram Singh	1000/500			Ibid
1656-57	Raja Kunwar Sen Kishtwari	1000/400			Ibid 469
1656-57	Raja Man Singh S/o Raja Rup Chand	900/850			Ibid 470
1656-57	Rao Dayal Das Jhala	900/500			Ibid
1656-57	Hamir Singh	800/800			Ibid 471
1656-57	Raja Udai Bhan	800/500			Ibid 472
1656-57	Raja Maha Singh S/o Raja Kunwarsen	800/400			Ibid 473
1656-57	Siyam S/o Raja Man Singh	700/500			Ibid 475
1656-57	Chandar Bhan Naroka	700/500			Ibid
1656-57	Sarang Dhar G/o Raja Sangram	700/500			Ibid
1657-58	Rawal Samarsi	1000/1000			Ibid 464
1657-58	Prithi Raj Bhati	700/300			Ibid 476
1657-58	Bhallu Chauhan	700/300			Ibid
1657-58	Chatur Bhuj Songar	600/600			Ibid 478
1657-58	Isar Singh S/o Amar Singh	600/200			Ibid 480
1657-58	Mukand S/o Bahroz Kalan	600/100			Ibid 480
1657-58	Hari Singh S/o Rao Chanda	500/400			Ibid 482
1657-58	Raja Jagman Jadaun	500/400			Ibid

1657-58	Hanmat Rai	500/400			Ibid
1657-58	Raja Udai Singh S/o Raja Man	500/300			Ibid
1657-58	Harjis s/o Girdhar Tanwar	500/300			Ibid
1657-58	Bharat Jhala	500/250			Ibid 483
1657-58	Bisham Singh G/o Man Singh	500/250			Ibid
1657-58	Nashar Das S/o Beni Das	500/200			Ibid 484
1657-58	Har Das Jhala	500/200			Ibid
1657-58	Man Singh S/o Raja Bikramjit	500/200			Ibid
1657-58	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Bikramjit	500/200			Ibid
1657-58	Nahar Das Jhala	500/200			Ibid

The list is prepared on the basis of sources mentioned above. We have also compared the list with the Mughal Apparatus of Athar Ali, Khan Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar of Ahsan Raza Khan and The Mughal nobility under Akbar and Jahangir of Afzal Husain.

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