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INTRODUCTION.

MUCH disappointment has been felt in Europe at the sterility of the historic Muse of Hindusthan. When Sir William Jones first began to explore the vast mines of Sanskrit literature, great hopes were entertained that the history of the world would acquire considerable accessions from this source. The sanguine expectations that were then formed have not been realized; and, as it usually happens, excitement has been succeeded by apathy and indifference. It is now generally regarded as an axiom, that India possesses no national history; to which we may oppose the remark of a French Orientalist, who ingeniously asks, whence Abul Fazil obtained the materials for his outlines of ancient Hindu history?* Mr. Wilson has, indeed, done much to obviate this prejudice, by his translation of the *Raj Tarangini*, or the History of Cashmere,† which clearly demonstrates that regular historical composition was an art not unknown in Hindusthan, and affords satisfactory ground for concluding that these productions were once less rare than at present, and that further exertion may bring more relics to light. Although the labours of Colebrooke, Wilkins, Wilson, and others of our own countrymen, emulated by many learned men in France and Germany‡ have revealed to Europe some of the hidden lore of India; still it is not pretended that we have done much more than pass the threshold of Indian science; and we are consequently not competent to speak decisively of its extent or its character. Immense libraries, in various parts of India, are still intact, which have survived the devastations of the Islamite. The collections of Jessulmeer and Puttun, for example, escaped the scrutiny of even the lynx-eyed Alla, who conquered both these kingdoms, and who would have shewn as little mercy to those literary treasures, as Omar displayed towards the Alexandrine library. Many other minor

* M. Abel Remusat, in his *Mélanges Asiatiques*, makes many opposite and forcible remarks on this subject, which, without intention, convey a just reproof to the lukewarmness of our countrymen. The institution of the Royal Asiatic Society, especially that branch of it devoted to Oriental translations, may yet redeem this reproach.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. xv.

‡ When the genius and erudition of such men as Schlegel are added to the zeal which characterizes that celebrated writer, what revelation may we not yet expect from the cultivation of Oriental literature?

collections, consisting of thousands of volumes each, exist in Central and Western India, some of which are the private property of princes, and others belong to the Jain Communities.*

If we consider the political changes and convulsions which have happened in Hindusthan since Mahmood's invasion, and the intolerent bigotry of many of his successors, we shall be able to account for the paucity of its national works on history, without being driven to the improbable conclusion, that the Hindus were ignorant of an art which has been cultivated in other countries from almost the earliest ages. Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilized as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated, but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the events of this history, the characters of their princes, and the acts of their reigns? Where such trace of *mind* exist, we can hardly believe that there was a want of competent recorders of events, which synchronical authorities tell us were worthy of commemoration. The cities of Hastinapur and Indraprastha, of An-hulwara and Somnath, the triumphal columns of Delhi and Cheetore, the shrines of Aboo and Girnar, the cave-temples of Elephanta and Ellora, are so many attestations of the same fact; nor can we imagine that the age in which these works were erected was without an historian. Yet from the Mahabharat, or Great War, to Alexander's invasion, and from that grand event to the era of Mahmood of Ghizni, scarcely a paragraph of pure native Hindu history (except as before stated) has hitherto been revealed to the curiosity of western scholars. In the heroic history of Prithi Raj, the last of the Hindu sovereigns

* Some copies of these Jain MSS. from Jessulmeer, which were written from five to eight centuries back, I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. Of the vast numbers of these MS. books in the libraries of Puttun and Jessulmeer, many are of the most remote antiquity and in a character no longer understood by their possessors, or only by the supreme pontiff, and his initiated librarians. There is one volume held so sacred for its magical contents, that it is suspended by a chain in the temple of Chintamun, at the last-named capital in the desert, and is only taken down to have its covering renewed, or at the inauguration of a pontiff. Tradition assigns its authorship to Somaditya Sura Acharya, a pontiff of past days, before the Islamite had crossed the waters of the Indus, and whose diocese extended far beyond that stream. His magic mantle is also here preserved, and used on every new installation. The character is, doubtless, the nail-headed Pali; and could we introduce the ingenious, indefatigable, and modest Mons. E. Burnouf, with his able coadjutor Dr. Lassen, into the temple, we might learn something of this Sybilline volume, without their incurring the risk of loss of sight, which befel the last individual, a female Yati of the Jains, who sacrilegiously endeavored to acquire its contents.

of Delhi, written by his bard Chund, we find notices which authorize the inference that works similar to his own were then extant relating to the period between Mahmood and Shabudin (A. D. 1000—1193); but these have disappeared.

After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus; after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigotted, and exasperated foes; it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with other important interests, irretrievable losses. My own animadversions upon the defective condition of the annals of Rajwarra have more than once been checked by a very just remark: "when our princes were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and compelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be forced to abandon the very meal preparing for them, was that a time to think of historical records?"

Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the West. Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture, are marked with traits of originality; and the same may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts enumerated, took a character from its intimate association with religion of the people. It must be recollected, moreover, that until a more correct taste was imparted to the literature of England and of France, by the study of classical models, the chronicles of both these countries, and indeed of all the polished nations of Europe, were, at a much recent date, as crude, as wild, and as barren, as those of the early Rajpoots.

In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there are, however, other native works (they may, indeed, be said to abound), which, in the hands of a skilful and patient investigator, would afford no despicable materials for the history of India. The first of these are the *Puranas* and genealogical legends of the princes, which, obscured as they are by mythological details, allegory, and improbable circumstances, contain many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of the historian. What Hume remarks of the annals and annalists of the Saxon Heptarchy, may be applied with equal truth to those of the Rajpoot *Seven States* * "they abound in names, but

* Mewar Marwar, Amber, Bikaner, Jessulmeer, Kotab, and Boondi,

are extremely barren of events; or they are related so much without circumstances and causes, that the most profound and eloquent writer must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to the reader. The monks" (for which we may read "Brahmans,") "who lived remote from public affairs, considered the civil transactions as subservient to the ecclesiastical, and were strongly affected with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propensity to imposture."

The heroic poems of India constitute another resource for history. Bards may be regarded as the primitive historians of mankind. Before fiction began, to engross the attention of poets, or rather, before the province of history was dignified by a class of writers who made it a distinct department of literature, the functions of the bard were doubtless employed in recording real events and in commemorating real personages. In India, Calliope has been worshipped by the bards from the days of Vyasa, the contemporary of Job, to the time of Beni-dasa, the present chronicler of Mewar. The poets are the chief, though not the sole, historians of Western India, neither is their any deficiency of them, though they speak in a peculiar tongue, which requires to be translated into the sober language of probability. To compensate for their magniloquence and obscurity, their pen is free: the despotism of the Rajpoot princes does not extend to the poet's lay, which flows unconfined except by the shackles of the *chund bhujunga*, or 'serpentine stanza;' no slight restraint, it must be confessed, upon the freedom of the historic muse. On the other hand, there is a sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, a barter of "solid pudding against empty praise," whereby the fidelity of the poetic chronicle is somewhat impaired. This sale of "fame," as the bards term it, by the court-laureates and historiographers of Rajasthan, will continue until there shall arise in the community a class sufficiently enlightened and independent, to look for no other recompense for literary labor than public distinction.

Still, however, their chroniclers dare utter truths, sometimes most unpalatable to their masters. When offended, or actuated by a virtuous indignation against immorality, they are fearless of consequences, and woe to the individual who provokes them! Many a resolution has sunk under the lash of their satire, which has condemned to eternal ridicule names that might otherwise have escaped notoriety. The *vis*, or poison of the bard is more dreaded by the Rajpoot than the steel of the foe.

The absence of all mystery or reserve with regard to public affairs in the Rajpoot principalities, in which every individual takes an interest, from the

nobles to the porter at the city-gates, is of great advantage to the chronicler of events. When matters of moment in the disorganized state of the country rendered it imperative to observe secrecy, the Rana of Mewar, being applied to on the necessity of concealing them, rejoined as follows: "this is *Chaomukhy-raj*;" Eklinga the sovereign, I his vicergerent; in him I trust, and I have no secrets from my children." To this publicity may be partly ascribed the inefficiency of every general alliance against common foes; but it gives a kind of patriarchal character to the government, and inspires, if not loyalty and patriotism in their most exalted sense, feelings at least much akin to them.

A material drawback upon the value of these bardic histories is, that they are confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of their heroes, and to the *rung-rin-bhom* or 'field of slaughter.' Writing for the amusement of a warlike race, the authors disregard civil matters and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life; love and war are their favorite themes. Chund, the last of the great bards of India, tells us, indeed, in his perface, "that he will give rules "for governing empires; the laws of grammar and composition, lessons in "diplomacy, home and foreign, &c.:" and he fulfils his promise, by interspersing precepts on these points in various episodes throughout his work.

Again: the bard, although he is admitted to the knowledge of all the secret springs which direct each measure of the government, enters too deeply into the intrigues, as well as the levities, of the court to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgment upon its acts.

Nevertheless, although open to all these objections, the works of the native bards afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners; many of which, being carelessly introduced, are thence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence. In the heroic history of *Prithi-raj*, by Chund, there occur many geographical as well as historical details, in the description of his sovereign's wars, of which the bard was an eye-witness, having been his friend, his herald, his ambassador, and finally discharging the melancholy office accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonor. The poetical histories of Chund were collected by the great Umra Sing of Mewar, a patron of literature, as well as a warrior and a legislator.

Another species of historical records is found in the accounts given by the Brahmans of the endowment of the temples, their delapidation and repairs which furnish occasions, for the introduction of historical and chronogical details. In the legends respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort,

* 'Government of four months,' alluding to the quadriform image of the tutelary divinity

profane events are blended with superstitious rites and ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The controversies of the Jains furnish, also, much historical information, especially with reference to Guzerat and Nehrwalla, during the Chaulic dynasty. From a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up. The party spirit of the rival sects of India was, doubtless, adverse to the purity of his history; and the very ground upon which the Brahmans built their ascendancy was the ignorance of the people. Their appears to have been in India, as well as in Egypt in early times, a coalition between the hierarchy and the state, with the view of keeping the mass of the nation in darkness and subjugation.

These different records, works of a mixed historical and geographical characters which I know to exist; *rasahs* or poetical legends of princes, which are common; local *Puranas*, religious comments, and traditionary couplets;* with authorities of a less dubious character, namely, inscriptions "cut on the rock," coins, copper-plate grants, containing charters of immunities and expressing many singular features of Civil Government, constitutes, as I have already, observed, no despicable materials for the historian, who would, moreover, be assisted by the Synchronisms which are capable of being established with ancient Pagan and later Mahomedan writers.

From the earliest period of my official connexion with this interesting country, I applied myself to collect and explore its early historical records, with a view of throwing some light upon a people scarcely yet known in Europe, and whose political connexion with England appeared to me to be capable of undergoing a material change, with benefit to both parties. It would be wearisome to the reader to be minutely informed of the process I adopted to collect the scattered relics of Rajpoot history into the form and substance in which he now sees them. I began with the sacred genealogy from the *Puranas*; examined the *Mahabharat*, and the poems of Chund (a complete chronicle of his times); the voluminous historical poems of Jessulmeer, Marwar, and Mewar;† the histories of the Kheetchies, and those of the Hara princes

* Some of these preserve the names of princes who invaded India between the time of Ghizni and Shabudin, who are not mentioned by Ferishta, the Mahomedan historian. The invasion of Ajmeer and the capture of Biana, the seat of the Gadu princes, were made known to us by this means.

† Of Marwar, there were the *Vijya Vilas*, the *Surya Prakas*, and *Kheat*, or legends, besides detached fragments of reigns. Of Mewar, there was the *Khoman Rossah*, a modern work formed from old materials which are lost and commencing with the attack of Cheetore by Mahmood, supposed to be the son of Kasim of Sind in the very earliest ages of Mahomedanism: also the *Juggut Vilas* the *Raj-prahas*, and the *Jeya Vilas*, all poems composed in the reigns of the princes whose names they bear, but generally, introducing succinctly the early parts of history. Besides these, there were fragments of the Jeipoor family, from their archives; and the *Man Charitra*, or history of Raja Man.

of Kotah and Boondi, &c., by their respective bards. A portion of the materials compiled by Jey Sing of Amber or Jeipoor (one of the greatest patrons of science amongst the modern Hindu princes), to illustrate the history of his race, fell into my hands. I have reason to believe that there existed more copious materials, which his profligate descendant, the late prince, in his division of the empire with a prostitute, may have disposed of on the partition of the library of the state, which was the finest collection in Rajasthan. Like some of the renowned princes of Timur's dynasty, Jey Sing kept a diary, termed *Calpadruma*, in which he noted every event; a work written by such a man and at such an interesting juncture, would be a valuable acquisition to history. From the Duttea prince I obtained a transcript of the journal of his ancestor, who served with such *edat* amongst the great feudatories of Aurungzebe's army, and from which Scott made many extracts in his history of the Dekhan.

For a period of ten years, I was employed, with the aid of a learned Jain, in ransacking every work which could contribute any facts or incidents to the history of the Rajpoots, or diffuse any light upon their manners and character. Extracts and versions of all such passages were made by my Jain assistant into the more familiar dialects (which are formed from the Sanscrit) of these tribes, in whose language my long residence amongst them enabled me to converse with facility. At much expense, and during many wearisome hours, to support which required no ordinary degree of enthusiasm, I endeavoured to possess myself not merely of their history, but of their religious notions, their familiar opinions, and their characteristic manners, by associating with their chiefs and bardic chroniclers, and by listening to their traditional tales and allegorical poems. I might ultimately, as the circle of my inquiries enlarged, have materially augmented my knowledge of these subjects but ill health compelled me to relinquish this pleasing though toilsome pursuit, and forced me to revisit my native land just as I had obtained permission to look across the threshold of the Hindu Minerva; whence, however, I brought some relics, the examination of which I now consign to other hands. The large collection of ancient Sanscrit and Bakha MSS., which I conveyed to England, have been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose library they are deposited. The contents of many, still unexamined, may throw additional light on the history of ancient India, I claim only the merit of having brought them to the knowledge of European scholars; but I may hope that this will furnish a stimulus to others to make similar exertions.

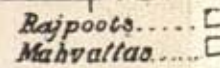
The little exact knowledge that Europe has hitherto acquired of the

Rajpoot States, has probably originated a false idea of the comparative importance of this portion of Hindustan. The splendour of the Rajpoot courts, however, at an early period of the history of that country, making every allowance for the exaggeration of the bards, must have been great. Northern India was rich from the earliest times; that portion of it, situated on either side the Indus formed the richest satrapy of Darius. It was abounded in the more striking events which constitute the materials for history; there is not a petty state in Rajasthan that has not had its Thermopylæ, and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas. But the mantle of ages has shrouded from view what the magic pen of the historian might have consecrated to endless admiration; Somnath might have rivalled Delphos; the spoils of Hind might have vied with the wealth of the Lybian king; and compared with the array of the Pandus the army of Xerxes would have dwindled into insignificance. But the Hindus, either never had, or have fortunately lost, their Herodotus and Xenophon.

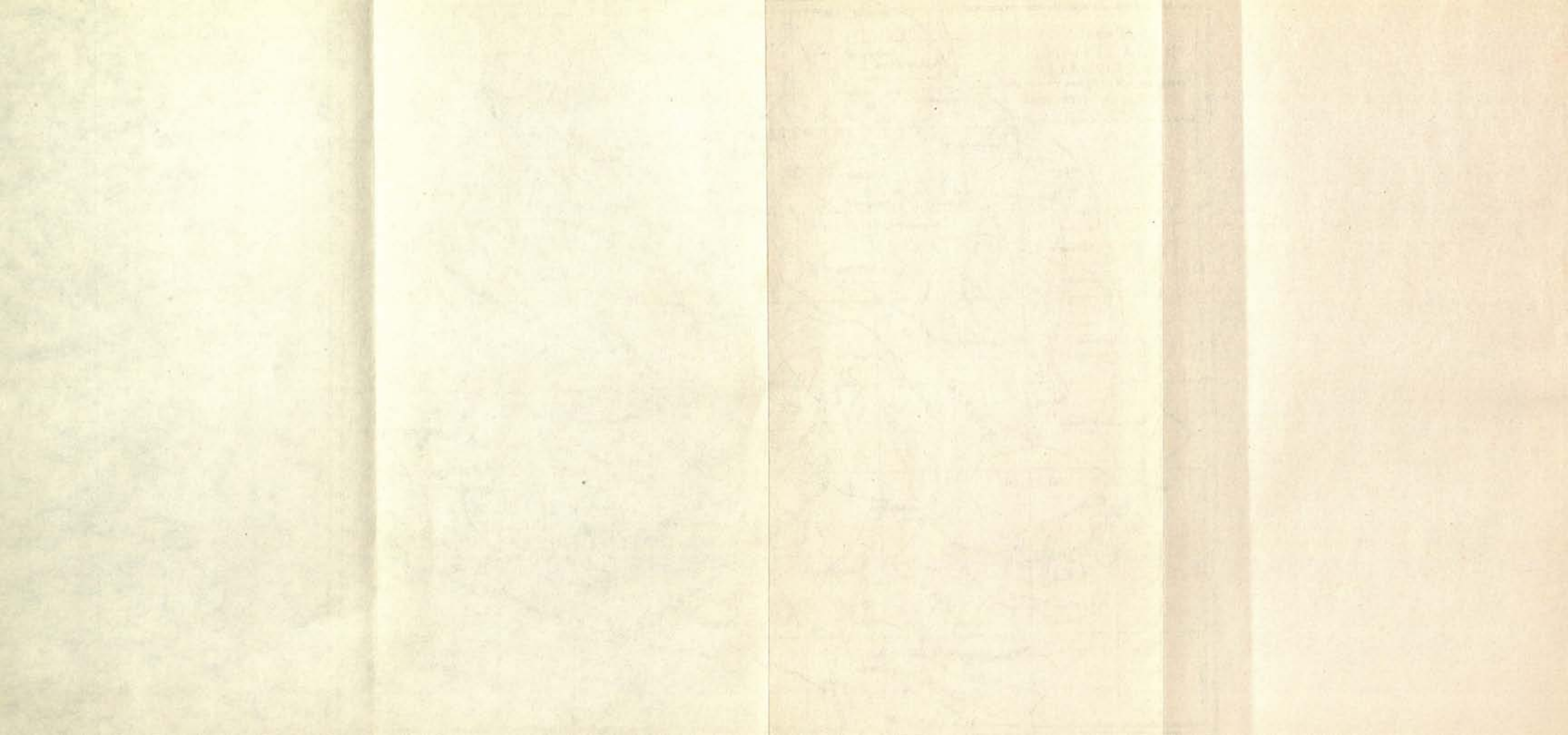
If "the moral effect of history depend on the sympathy it excites," the annals of these states possess commanding interest. The struggles of a brave people for independence during a series of ages, sacrificing whatever was dear to them for the maintenance of the religion of their forefathers, and sturdily defending to death, and in spite of every temptation, their rights and national liberty, form a picture which it is difficult to contemplate without emotion. Could I impart to the reader but a small portion of the enthusiastic delight with which I have listened to the tales of times that are past, amid scenes where their events occurred, I should not despair of triumphing over the apathy which dooms to neglect almost every effort to enlighten my native country on the subject of India; nor should I apprehend any ill effect from the sound of names, which, musical and expressive as they are to a Hindu, are dissonant and unmeaning to an European ear; for it should be remembered that almost every Eastern name is significant of some quality, personal or mental. Seated amidst the ruins of ancient cities, I have listened to the traditions respecting their fall; or have heard the exploits of their illustrious defenders related by their descendants near the altars erected to their memory. I have, whilst in the train of the southern Goths (the Mahrattas), as they carried desolation over the land, encamped on or traversed many a field of battle, of civil strife or foreign aggression, to read in the rude memorials on the tumuli of the slain their names and history. Such anecdotes and records afford data of history as well as of manners. Even the couplet recording the erection of a "column of victory," or of a temple or its repairs, contributes something to our stock of knowledge of the past.

Embracing the Rajpoot Principalties
CENTRAL & WESTERN INDIA
BY G. TODD
Lieut Colonel Benyal Establishment

Lieu Colonel Benyal Estabashmny



Drawn by D. V. Addy at the Calcutta Technical Work Shop No 111 Bowbazar St.



As far as regards the antiquity of the dynasties now ruling in Central and Western India, there are but two, the origin of which is not perfectly within the limits of historical probability: the rest having owed their present establishments to the progress of the Moslem arms, their annals are confirmed by those of their conquerors. All the existing families, indeed, have attained their present settlements subsequently to the Mahomedan invasions, except Mewar, Jessulmeer, and some smaller principalities in the desert; whilst others of the first magnitude, such as the Pramara and Solanki, who ruled at Dhar and Anhulwarra, have for centuries ceased to exist.

I have been so hardly as to affirm and endeavour to prove common origin of the martial tribes of Rajasthan and those of ancient Europe. I have expatiated at some length upon the evidence in favour of the existence of a feudal system in India, similar to that which prevailed in the early ages on the European continent, and of which relics still remain in the laws of our own nation. Hypotheses of this kind are, I am aware, viewed with suspicion, and sometimes assailed with ridicule. With regard to the notions which I have developed on these questions, and the frequent allusions to them in the pages of this volume, I entertain no obstinate propessions or prejudices in their favour. The world is too enlightened at the present day to be in danger of being misled by any hypothetical writer, let him be ever so skilful; but the probability is, that we have been induced, by the multitude of false theories which time has exposed, to fall into the opposite error, and that we have become too sceptical with regard to the common origin of the people of the east and west. However, I submit my proofs to the candid judgment of the world; the analogies, if not conclusive on the questions, are still sufficiently curious and remarkable to repay the trouble of perusal and to provoke further investigation; and they may, it is hoped, vindicate the author for endeavouring to elucidate the subject, "by steering through the dark channels of antiquity by the feeble lights of forgotten chronicles and imperfect records."

I am conscious that there is much in this work which demands the indulgence of the public: and I trust it will not be necessary for me to assign a more powerful argument in plea than that which I have already adverted to, namely, the state of my health, which has rendered it a matter of considerable difficulty, indeed I may say of risk, to bring my bulky materials even into their present imperfect form. I should observe, that it never was my intention to treat the subject in the severe style of history, which would have excluded many details useful to the politician as well as to the curious student. I offer this work as a copious collection of materials for the future historian; and am

far less concerned at the idea of giving too much, than at the apprehension of suppressing what might possibly be useful.

I cannot close these remarks without expressing my obligations to my friend and kinsman, Major Waugh, to the genius of whose pencil the world is indebted for the preservation and transmission of the splendid monuments of art which adorn this work.

GEOGRAPHY

OF

Rajasthan or Rajpootana.

RAJASTHAN is the collective and classical denomination of that portion of India which is 'the abode* of (Rajpoot) princes.' In the familiar dialect of these countries it is termed *Rajwarra*, but by the more refined *Rathána*, corrupted to *Rajpootana*, the common designation amongst the British to denote the Rajpoot principalities.

What might have been the nominal extent of Rajasthan prior to the Mahomedan conqueror Shabudin (when it probably reached beyond the Jumna and Ganges, even to the base of the Himalaya) cannot now be known. At present we may adhere to its restrictive definition, still comprehending a wide space and a variety of interesting races.

Previous to the erection of the minor Mahomedan monarchies of Mandoo and Ahmedabad (the capitals of Malwa and Guzerat), on the ruins of Dhar and Anbulwarra Puttun, the term Rajasthan would have been appropriated, to the space comprehended in the map prefixed to this work: the valley of the Indus on the west, and Bundelkhund† on the east; to the north, the sandy tracts (south of the Sutledge) termed *Jungul dés*; and the Vindhya mountains to the south.

This space comprehends nearly eight degrees of latitude, and nine of longitude, being from 22° to 30° north latitude, and 69° to 78° east longitude embracing a superficial area of 350,000 square miles.

Although it is proposed to touch upon the annals of all the states in this extensive tract, with their past and present condition, those in the centre will claim the most prominent regard; especially Mewar, which, copiously treated of, will afford a specimen, obviating the necessity of like details of the rest.

The order in which these states will be reviewed is as follows:

1. Mewar, or Oodipur.

* Or 'regal (*raj*) dwelling (*than*).'

† It is rather singular that the Scind river will mark this eastern boundary, as does the Indus (or great Scind) that to the west. East of this minor Scind the Hindu princes are not of pure blood, and are excluded from Rajasthan or Rajwarra.

2. Marwar, or Jodhpur.
3. Bikaner and Kishengurh,
4. Kotah, } or Haravati.
5. Boondi, }
6. Ambar, or Jeypur, with its branches, dependent and independent.
7. Jesselmeer.
8. The Indian desert to the valley of the Indus.

The basis of this work is the geography of the country, the historical and statistical portion being consequent and subordinate thereto. It was, indeed originally designed to be essentially geographical; but circumstances have rendered it impossible to execute the intended details, or even to make the map* so perfect as the superabundant material at the command of the author might have enabled him to do: a matter of regret to himself rather than of loss to the general reader, to whom geographic details, however important, are usually dry and uninteresting.

It was also intended to institute a comparison between the map and such remains of ancient geography as can be extracted from the Puranas and other Hindu authorities: which, however, must be deferred to a future period, when the deficiency of the present rapid and general sketch may be supplied, should the author be enabled to resume his labours.

The laborious research, in the course of which these data were accumulated, commenced in 1806, when the author was attached to the embassy sent, at the close of the Mahratta wars, to the court of Sindhia. This chieftain's army was then in Mewar, at that period almost a *terra incognita*, the position of whose two capitals, Oodipur and Cheetore, in the best existing maps, was precisely reversed: that is, Cheetore was inserted S. E. of Oodipur instead of E. N. E., a proof of the scanty knowledge possessed at that period.

In other respects there was almost a total blank. In the maps prior to 1806 nearly all the western and central states of Rajasthan will be found wanting. It had been imagined, but a little time before, that the rivers had a southerly course into the Nerbudda; a notion corrected by the father of Indian geography, the distinguished Rennell.

This blank the author filled up; and in 1815, for the first time, the geography of Rajasthan was put into combined form and presented to the Marquis of Hastings, on the eve of a general war, when the labour of ten years was amply rewarded by its becoming in part the foundation of that illustrious commander's plans of the campaign. It is a duty owing to himself to state, that every map, without exception, printed since this period, has its foundation, as regards Central and Western India, in the labours of the author.†

* Engraved by that meritorious artist Mr. Walker, engraver to the East-India Company, who, I trust, will be able to make a full use of my materials hereafter.

† When the war of 1817 broke out, copies of my map on a reduced scale were sent to all the divisions of the armies in the field, and came into possession of many of the staff. Transcripts were made which were brought to Europe, and portions introduced into every recent map of India. One map has, indeed, been given, in a manner to induce a supposition that the furnisher of the materials was the author of them. It has fulfilled a prediction of the Marquis of Hastings, who, foreseeing the impossibility of such materials remaining private property, "and the danger, of their being appropriated by others," and desirous that the author should derive the full advantage of his labours, had it signified that the claims for recompense, on the records of successive governments, should not be deferred.

The route of the embassy was from Agra, through the southern frontier of Jeypur, to Oodipur. A portion of this had been surveyed, and points laid down from celestial observation, by Dr. W. Hunter, which I adopted as the basis of my enterprize. The Resident Envoy* to the court of Sindhia was possessed of the valuable sketch of the route of Colonel Palmer's embassy in 1791, as laid down by Dr. Hunter; the foundation of my subsequent surveys, as it merited from its importance and general accuracy. It embraced all the extreme points of Central India: Agra, Nirwur, Dittah, Jhansi, Bhopal, Sarangpur, Oojein, and on return from this, the first meridian of the Hindus, by Kotah, Boondi, Rampura (Tonk), Biana, to Agra. The position of all these places was more or less accurately fixed, according to the time which could be bestowed, by astronomical observation.

At Rampura Hunter ceased to be my guide: and from this point commenced the new survey to Oodipur, where we arrived in June 1806. The position then assigned to it, with most inadequate instruments, has been changed only 1° of longitude, though the latitude amounted to about 5°.

From Oodipur the subsequent march of the army with which we moved led past the celebrated Cheetore, and through the centre of Malwa, crossing in detail all the grand streams flowing from the Vindhya, till we halted for a season on the Bundelkhund frontier at Kemlassa. In this journey of seven hundred miles I twice crossed the lines of route of the former embassy, and was gratified to find my first attempts generally coincide with their established points.

In 1807 the army having undertaken the siege of Rahtgurb, I determined to avail myself of the time which Mahrattas waste in such a process, and to pursue my favourite project. With a small guard I determined to push through untrodden fields, by the banks of the Betwa to Chanderi, and in its latitude proceed in a westerly direction towards Kotah, trace the course once more of all those streams from the south, and the points of junction of the most important (the Cali Scind, Parbatti, and Bunas) with the Chumbul; and having effected this, continue my journey to Agra. This I accomplished in times very different from the present, being obliged to strike my tents and march at midnight, and more than once the object of plunder.† The chief points in this route were Kemlassa, Rajwarra, Kotra on the Betwa, Kunniadana,‡ Booradongur§ Shahabad, Barah,|| Polaitah,¶ Baroda, Seopur, Palli,** Rintimbore, Kerowly, Sri-Muttra, and Agra.

On my return to the Mahratta camp I resolved further to increase the sphere, and proceeded westward by Bhurtpur, Kuthoomur, Saintri, to Jeypur, Tonk, Indurgurb, Googul, Chupra, Raghoogurb, Arone, Koorwye, Bhorasso, to Saugur: a journey of more than one thousand miles. I found the camp nearly where I left it.

It will not be inferred the author is surprised at what he remarks. While he claims propriety for himself, he is the last person to wish to see a halt in science:—

"For emulation has a thousand sons."

* My esteemed friend, Graeme Mercer, Esq. (of Mævisback), who stimulated my exertions with his approbation.

† Many incidents in these journeys would require no aid of imagination to touch on the romantic, but they can have no place here.

‡ Eastern table-land.

§ Scind River.

|| Parbatti River.

¶ Cali Scind River.

** Passage of the Chumbul and junction of the Pa

With this ambulatory court I moved every where within this region, constantly employed in surveying till 1812, when Sindbia's court became stationary. It was then I formed my plans for obtaining a knowledge of those countries into which I could not personally penetrate.

In 1810-11 I had despatched two parties, one to the Indus, the others to the desert south of the Sutledge. The first party, the other to the desert south of the Sutledge. The first party, under Shekh Abul Birkat, journeyed westward, by Oodipur through Guzerat, Saurashtra and Cutch, Lukput and Hyderabad) the capital of the Scind Government); crossed the Indus to Tatta, proceeded up the right bank to Seewan; recrossed, and continued on the left bank as far as Khyrpur, the residence of one of the triumvirate governors of Scind, and having reached the insulated Bekher* the capital of the Sogdi of Alexander), returned by the desert of Oomrasoomra to Jesselmeer, Marwar, and Jeypur, and joined me in camp at Nirwar. It was a perilous undertaking; but the Shekh was a fearless and enterprising character, and moreover a man with some tincture of learning. His journals contained many hints and directions for future research in the geography statistics, and manners of the various races amongst whom he travelled.

The other party was conducted by a most valuable man, Madarri Lall who became a perfect adept in these expeditions of geographical discovery and other knowledge resulting therefrom. There is not a district of any consequence in the wide space before the reader which was not traversed by this spirited individual, whose qualifications for such complicated and hazardous journeys were never excelled. Ardent, persevering, prepossessing and generally well-informed, he made his way when others might have perished.

From these remote regions the best informed native inhabitants were, by persuasion and recompense, conducted to me: and I could at all times, in the Mahratta camp at Gwalior, from 1812 to 1817, have provided a native of the valley of the Indus, the deserts of Dhat, Oomrasoomra, or any of the states of Rajasthan.

The precision with which Kasids and other public conveyers of letters, in countries where posts are little used, can detail the peculiarities, of a long line of route, and the accuracy of their distances, would scarcely be credited in Europe. I have no hesitation in asserting, that if a correct estimate were obtained of the measured *cos* of a country, a line might be laid down upon a flat surface with great exactitude. I have heard it affirmed, that it was the custom of the old Hindu governments to have measurements made of the roads from town to town, and that the *Abou Mahatmya*† contains a notice of an instrument for that purpose. Indeed, the singular coincidence between lines measured by the perambulator and the estimate distances of the natives

* The Shekh brought me specimens of the rock, which is siliceous; and also a piece of brick of the very ancient fortress of Seewan and some of the grain from its pits, charred and alleged by tradition to have lain there since the period of Raja Bhartrihari, the brother of Vicramaditya. It is not impossible that it might be owing to Alexander's terrific progress, and to their supplies being destroyed by fire. Seewan is conjectured by Captain Pottinger to be the capital of Musicanus.

† His health was worn out at length, and he became the victim of depressed spirits. He died suddenly: I believe poisoned. Futtah, almost as zealous as Madarri, also died in the pursuit. Geography has been destructive to all who have pursued it with ardour in the East.

‡ A valuable ancient work, which I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

is the best proof that the latter, are deduced from some more certain method than mere computation.

I never rested satisfied with the result of one set of my parties, with the single exception of Madarri's, always making the information of one a basis for the instruction of another, who went over the same ground; but with additional views and advantages, and with the aid of the natives brought successively by each, till I exhausted every field.

Thus, in a few years, I had filled several volumes with lines of route throughout this space; and having many frontier and intermediate points, the positions of which were fixed, a general outline of the result was constructed, wherein all this information was laid down. I speak more particularly of the western states, as the central portion, or that watered by the Chumbul and its tributary streams, whether from the elevated Aravali on the west, or from the Vindhya mountains on the south, has been personally surveyed and measured in every direction, with an accuracy sufficient for every political or military purpose, until the grand trigonometrical survey from the peninsula shall be extended throughout India. These countries form an extended plain to the Sutledge north, and west to the Indus, rendering the amalgamation of geographical materials much less difficult than where mountainous regions intervene.

After having laid down these varied lines in the outline described, I determined to check and confirm its accuracy by recommencing the survey on a new plan, viz, trigonometrically.

My parties were again despatched to resume their labours over fields now familiar to them. They commenced from points whose positions were fixed (and my knowledge enabled me to give a series of such), from each of which, as a centre, they collected every radiating route to every town within the distance of twenty-miles. The points selected were generally such as to approach equilateral triangles: and although to digest the information became a severe toil, the method will appear, even to the casual observer, one which must throw out its own errors; for these lines crossed in every direction, and consequently corrected each other. By such means did I work my way in those unknown tracts, and the result is in part before the reader. I say, in part; for my health compels me reluctantly to leave out much which could be combined from *ten folios* of journeys extending throughout these regions.

In 1815, as before stated, an outline map containing all the information, thus obtained, and which the subsequent crisis rendered of essential importance, was presented by me to the Governor-General of India. Upon the very eve of the war I constructed and presented another, of the greater portion of Malwa, to which it appeared expedient to confine the operations against the Pindarries. The material feature in this small map was the general position of the Vindhya mountains, the sources and course of every river originating thence, and the passes in this chain, an object of primary importance. The boundaries of the various countries in this tract were likewise defined, and it became essentially useful in the subsequent dismemberment of the Peishwa's dominions.

In the construction of this map I had many fixed points, both of Dr. Hunter's and my own, to work from; and it is gratifying to observe, that though several measured lines have since been run through this space, not only the general, but often the identical features of mine, have been preserved in the maps since given to the world. As considerable improvement has been

made by several measured lines through this tract, and many positions affixed by a scientific and zealous geographer, I have had no hesitation in incorporating a small portion of this improved geography in the map now presented.*

Many surveyed lines were made by me, from 1817 to 1822; and here I express my obligations to my kinsman,† to whom alone I owe any aid for improving this portion of my geographical labours. This officer made a circuitous survey, which comprehended nearly the extreme points of Mewar, from the capital, by Cheetore, Mandelgurb, Jahajpur, Rajmahal, and in return by Bunai, Bednore, Deogurb, to the point of outset. From these extreme points he was enabled to place many intermediate ones, for which Mewar is so favourable, by reason of its isolated hills.

In 1820 I made an important journey across the Aravali, by Komalmeer, Pali, to Jodhpur, the capital of Marwar, and thence by Mairta, tracing the course of the Looni to its source at Ajmeer; and from this celebrated residence of the Chohan kings and Mogul emperors, returning through the central lands of Mewar, by Bunai and Bunera, to the capital.

I had the peculiar satisfaction to find that my position of Jodhpur, which has been used as a capital point in fixing the geography west and north, was only 3' of space out in latitude, and little more in longitude; which accounted for the coincidence of my position of Bikaneer with that assigned by Mr. Elphinstone, in his account of the embassy to Cabul.

Besides Oodipur, Jodhpur, Ajmeer, &c. whose position I had fixed by observation, and the points laid down by Hunter, I availed myself of a few positions given to me by that enterprising traveller, the author of the journey into Khorasan,‡ who marched from Delhi, by Nagore and Jodhpur, to Oodipur.

The outline of the countries of Guzerat,§ the Saurashtra peninsula, and Cutch, inserted chiefly by way of connection, is entirely taken from the labours of that distinguished geographer, the late General Reynolds. We had both gone over a great portion of the same field; and my testimony is due to the value of his researches in countries into which he never personally penetrated, evincing what may be done by industry, and the use of such materials as I have described.

I shall conclude with a rapid sketch of the physiognomy of these regions; minute and local descriptions will appear more appropriately in the respective historical portions.

Rajasthan presents a great variety of feature. Let me place the reader on the highest peak of the insulated Aboo,* 'the saint's pinnacle' as it is termed,

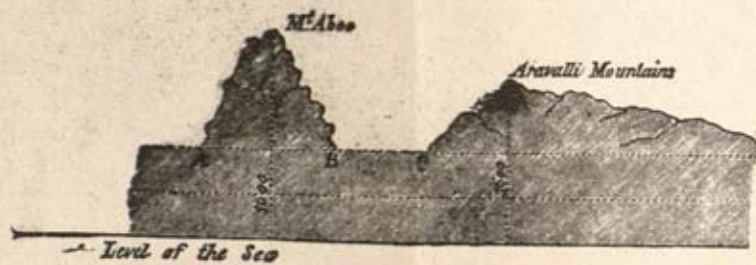
* It is, however, limited to Malwa, whose geography was greatly improved and enlarged by the labours of Captain Dangerfield; and though my materials could fill up the whole of this province, I merely insert the chief points to connect it with Rajasthan.

† Captain P. T. Waugh, 10th Regiment Light Cavalry, Bengal.

‡ Mr. J. B. Fraser.

§ My last journey, in 1822-3, was from Oodipur, through these countries towards the Delta of the Indus; but more with a view to historical and antiquarian than geographical research. It proved the most fruitful of all my many journeys.

* Aboo or Abu. - A celebrated mountain, Sirohee State, Rajputana. Lat. $24^{\circ} 35' 37''$ N., long. $72^{\circ} 45' 16''$ E.; 50 miles N.W. from Siddhapur. Although regarded as part of the Aravallirange Abu is completely detached from that chain, and rises from this surrounding plains of Marwar like a precipitous granite island from the sea. The ascent, which is usually made by a good



road from Anadra on the south-west, is steep on all sides, and the top spreads out into a picturesque plateau, broken by fantastic peaks and surrounded by a natural wall of granite. Highest point, Gurusikar, in the northern part of the plateau; 5650 feet above sea level. Abu is the summer residence of the Governor-General's Agent for Rajputana, and a hot-weather resort for Europeans. The station, with an English church, barracks, and Lawrence School, is charmingly situated on the high undulating plateau. Loftier heights surround it, and a beautiful little lake, called Nakhi Talao,—popularly translated the 'Nail Lake,' but more appropriately the 'Gem Lake,'—lies 4000 feet above the sea. In 1822 Tod described this water as 'about four hundred yards in length,' and the counterpart of the Lake three miles above Andernach on the Rhine. 'It is,' he writes, 'surrounded by rocks, wooded to the margin, while the waterfowls skim its surface unheeded and unheeded by man; for on this sacred hill neither the fowler's gun nor fisher's net is known, "Thou shalt not kill" being the supreme command, and the penalty of disobedience, death.' (1) Great changes have taken place on Abu since then; but the Nakhi Talao is still a beautiful sheet of water, and from different points in the walk surrounding it, delightful views are obtained. It contains a few small tree-clad islands, and a *bondh* or dam has recently been built across the gorge at the west end (where the overflow runs off), in order to increase the depth of the water, fears having been entertained that it might run dry, or nearly so, should an exceptionally light monsoon occur.

It is as the site of the most exquisite Jain buildings in the world, and as a place of pilgrimage, that Mount Abu is celebrated. The following details are condensed, principally from an account furnished by Mr. Burgess, Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of Bombay. In the thirteenth century Mount Abu, the ancient *Aribuda*, was held by the Parmars of Chandravati, vassals of the old Hindu kings of Guzerat. The site of Chandravati, a little to the south-east of Abu,—once a splendid capital,—is now indicated only by mounds of ruined temples and places. The Muhammadan Sultans of Ahmedabad first, the Thakurs of Girwar more recently, and up to the present day the head-men to whom the Sirohee Rao grants charge of the village, have carried away and burnt into lime the marble slabs, columns, and statues, so that few fragments are left except such as are covered by debris.

Although Abu is not one of the greater Jain *tirthas*, or holy places, it can boast of at least two of the most beautiful of Jain temples. These are at Delwara, or *Devulwara*, the place of temples, about a mile north of the station. Here are five temples in all, one of the largest being three-storied, dedicated to Rishabhanath, the first of the twenty-four Tirthankars, or deified men, whom the Jains worship. The shrine, which is the only enclosed part of the Rishabhanath temple, has four doors, facing the cardinal points. The image inside is quadruple, and is called a *Chaumukh*, a not unfrequent form of this Tirthankar. On the west side, the temple has a double *mandap* or portico, and on the other three sides single ones, each supported on 8 columns. The corners between the domes are occupied by 6 more columns, which, with the 4 columns added to each octagon to form the square, give 16 on each quarter between the lines of entrance. Over the square formed by the pillars on the lines of the inner sides of the octagons rise the pillars of the second story, whilst the walls of the shrine are carried up to the roof. This form of temple, with its four approaches, ample domes, and shady colonnades, is a type of the Jain style of temple architecture, and from it, by very simple modifications, the other prevalent forms may easily be deduced. North of Rishabhanath's *Chaumukh*, and on a raised platform, is another large temple, without a spire, but with a roofed *mandap*, which is locally known by the name of *Benchasah's*. South-east by south from the *Chaumukh* is a third temple, enclosed by a high wall, and known as *Daliak*, or the temple of *Adiavara* (or Rishabhanath) and *Gorakhalanchan*.

To the west of the *Chaumukh* stand the two finest temples of Abu: the one known as *Vimalasah's* dedicated to *Adiavara*, or *Adinatha*, another name for Rishabhanath, the first Tirthankar; and opposite it, on the north side, the temple of *Vastupala* and *Tejapala*, dedicated to *Neinath*, the twenty-second of the Tirthankars. The date of the former seems to be given in an inscription in which the following sentence has been read: 'Samvat 1088 (A. D. 1031), by the blessing of Amba, Vimalasah built the temple of Adinatha: this plate records its repair in Samvat 1379 (A. D. 1322), on Monday the ninth day of the light fortnight of Jaisitha.' Several inscriptions over the shrines around the court are dated in Samvat 1245 (A. D. 1188), and record their dedication to Santinath, the 16th, and Aranath, the 18th Tirthankar, by 'Yasodhavalaka of the race of Pragvata,' or his family. (2) Both the temples of Vimalasah and of Vastupala are built of white marble, and carved with all the delicacy and richness of ornament which the resources of Indian art at the time of their erection could devise. Inscriptions fix the date of the Vimalasah temple at 1031 A. D., and the construction of the Vastupala edifice from 1197 to 1247.

(1) Tod's *Travels in Western India*, pp. 115, 116.

(2) *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 312.

and guide his eye in a survey over this wide expanse, from the 'blue waters' of the Indus west, to the 'withy-covered'* Betwa on the east. From this, the most elevated spot in Hindusthan, overlooking by fifteen hundred

'Were twenty persons,' says Mr. Fergusson,⁽¹⁾ 'asked which of these two temples were the most beautiful, a large majority would, I think, give their vote in favour of the more modern one, which is rich and exuberant in ornament to an extent not easily conceived by one not familiar with the usual forms of Hindu architecture. The difference between the two is much the same that exists between the choir of Westminster Abbey, and Henry the Seventh's chapel that stands behind it. I prefer the former, but I believe that nine-tenths of those that go over the building prefer the latter.'

The temple of Vimalasah is constructed on the usual model of Jain temples, which, though of very great variety as to size, are generally similar in plan. It consists of a shrine lighted only from the door, containing a cross-legged seated figure, in brass, of the first Jaina-Adisvara, to whom this temple is dedicated. In front of this is a platform, which, with the shrine, is raised three steps above the surrounding court. The platform and greater part of the court are covered by a *mandap*, or outer portico, cruciform in plan, and supported by forty-eight columns. The eight central pillars of this porch are so arranged as to form an octagon, supporting a dome, which, together with its circular ribs and richly-carved pendant, forms the most striking and beautiful feature of the entire composition. The whole is enclosed in an oblong courtyard about 140 feet by 90 feet, surrounded by fifty-five cells, each of which contains a cross-legged statue of one or other of the Tirthankars. The doorposts and lintels of these cells or subordinate shrines round the court are carved in most elaborate devices, with human figures interspersed with foliage and architectural ornaments of the most varied complexity. In front of these cells, and forming porticoes to them, is a double colonnade of smaller pillars, their bases standing on a platform raised three steps above the court. In a small cell in the south-west corner is the image of Ambaji, a *devi* or familiar goddess, always associated with Neminath.⁽²⁾ Vastupala's temple is dedicated to Neminath, and as the adjoining cell also contains a colossal black marble image of the same Tirthankar, it may possibly be an indication that this shrine was likewise at first dedicated to Neminath. On each of the three outer faces of the central dome of the *mandap*, the roof is carried on tall pillars to that of the corridors in front of the cells, thus leaving two small square courts near the front corners of the enclosure, besides the open space round the central shrine, to admit light to the whole area. 'Externally,' says Mr. Fergusson,⁽³⁾ 'the temple is perfectly plain, and there is nothing to indicate the magnificence within, except the spire—or rather pyramidal part—of the cell peeping over the plain wall; though even this is the most insignificant part of the erection.' 'And,' as he remarks elsewhere, 'the external porch, too, is insignificant, so that one is totally unprepared for the splendour of the interior; but I do not know anything in architecture so startling as the effect when the door is opened and the interior bursts on the astonished traveller.'

'Facing the entrance is a square building supported by pillars, and containing nine statues of elephants, each a single block of white marble, about four feet in height. On each of them is (or rather was, for the Mogra, or Mughal iconoclast has been at work here) a male figure seated on a rich howdah beside the Mahaut.' They represented the Seth, or merchant, Vimalasah, and his family, going in procession to the temple. He, however, having been called off, an equestrian statue of him has been placed in the doorway, — 'a most painful specimen of modern art, made of stucco, and painted in a style that a signpainter in England would be ashamed of.'

In Vastupala's temple a procession similar to this, with an elaborately-carved spire resembling the later forms of the Buddhist *dahgoba* in the centre, occupies the place of the cells behind the shrine in that of Vimalasah. 'It is separated from the court by a pierced screen of open tracery, the only one,' so far as Mr. Fergusson knows, 'of that age,—a little rude and heavy, it must be confessed, but still a fine work of its kind. Behind it are ten elephants of very exquisite workmanship, and with rich trappings sculptured with the most exquisite precision. The "Mogra Raja" has, however, carried off the riders. In this case, however, the loss is not so great, as behind each elephant is a niche containing statues in alto-relievo of those who were, or were to be, with two; and there are Vastupala, with his one wife! Tejapala, with two; and their uncle, who seems to have been blessed with

(1) *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindustan*, p. 39. See also Mr. Fergusson's admirable account at pp. 234-239 of his new edition of the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876).

(2) Tod says this cell is dedicated to Bhawani (Truvels, p. 106).

(3) *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 237.

Its classic name is *Vetreaoti*, *Vetra* being the common willow in Sanscrit; said by Willford to be the same in Welsh.

feet the Aravali mountains, his eye descends to the plains of Medpat* (the classic term for Mewar), whose chief streams flowing from the base of the Aravali, join the Beris and Bunas, and are prevented from uniting with the Chumbul only by the Pat-ar† or plateau of Central India.

Ascending this plateau near the celebrated Cheetore, let the eye deviate slightly from the direct eastern line, and pursue the only practicable path by Ruttungurh, and Singolli, to Kotah, and he will observe its three successive steppes, the miniature representation of those of Russian Tartary. Let the observer here glance across the Chumbul and traverse Haravati to its eastern frontier, guarded by the fortress of Shahabad: thence abruptly descend the plateau to the level of the Scind, still proceeding eastward, until the table-mountain, the western limit of Bundelkhund, affords a resting point.

To render this more distinct, I present a profile of the tract described from Aboo to Kotra on the Betwa‡ from Aboo to the Chumbul, the result of

three—in short, the whole family party. The men are fine-looking fellows, all with long, flowing beards; the ladies are generally sharp-visaged, sour-looking dames' (Fergusson's *Pictorial Illustrations of Architecture in Hindustan*, p. 40).

The Temple of Vastupala and Tejapala stands on the north of Vimalasah's, and is entered from the court between them by a stair near the west end of the enclosure. It contains several inscriptions in Sanskrit (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. pp. 284-330; *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. ii. pp. 255 ff.). Over the doors of the cells, or *kulikās* which surround the central fane, are 49 inscriptions recording their construction, and grants for the worship of the different images they enshrine, chiefly by Tejapala and his kindred, and dated from Sam. 1287 to 1293 (A. D. 1230 to 1236). The brothers Vastupala and Tejapala were Porwala Banias of Anahilapattan, who served as chief ministers to Vira Dhavala, the first of the Vaghela dynasty of Guzerat.

The mandap, or portico, forms one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Jain style of architecture, as well as its most beautiful feature. In most existing instances it is surmounted by a dome, resting on eight columns out of twelve, which form a square with four columns on each side, including the corners. These pillars terminate in the usual bracket capital of the East. 'Upon this,' as Mr. Fergusson describes it, 'an upper dwarf column or attic, if it may be so called, is placed to give them additional height; and on these upper columns rest the great beams or architraves which support the dome. As, however, the long bearing is weak, at least in appearance, the weight is relieved by the curious angular strut or truss of white marble, which, springing from the lower capital, seems to support the middle of the beam.' The arch formed by the two struts between each pair of columns is known as a *torana*. 'That this last feature is derived from some wooden or carpentry original,' continues Mr. Fergusson, 'can, I think, scarcely be doubted.' On the octagon formed by the massive marble, architraves across the heads of the pillars rests the dome, also of white marble, finished with a delicacy of detail and a richness and an appropriateness of ornament unrivalled by any similar example either in India or Europe. A single block over the angles of the octagon suffices to introduce the circle. Above the second ornamented course, sixteen brackets are inserted, the lower sides of each being wrought into a sitting figure with four or six arms. The brackets support statues, male and female; and the spaces between are wrought with elaborate ornamentation. Above their heads is a circle of twenty-four pendants, and inside this a sort of scalloped pattern, whilst in the centre is a pendant of the most exquisite beauty. Of the ornaments Mr. Fergusson remarks that 'those introduced by the Gothic architects in Henry the seventh's chapel at Westminster, or at Oxford, are coarse and clumsy in comparison.' (For a further account of the Abu temples, with drawings and photographs, see Mr. Fergusson's valuable works, the *History of Indian Architecture* and *Pictorial Illustrations of Architecture in Hindustan*; also a paper on Mount Abu in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii. pp. 246 ff., Sept. 1873.) Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. I.

* Literally 'the central (*madhya*) flat.'

† Meaning 'table (*pat*) mountain (*ar*).'—Although *ar* may not be found in any Sanscrit dictionary with the signification 'mountain,' yet it appears to be a primitive root possessing such meaning—instance, *Ar-booddha*, 'hill of Booddha,' *Aravali*, 'hill of strength.' *Ar* is Hebrew for 'mountain,' (qu. *Ararat*?) *Oros* in Greek? The common word for a mountain in Sanscrit, *giri*, is equally so in Hebrew.

‡ The Betwa, river runs under the table-land just alluded to, on the east.

barometrical measurement, and from the latter to the Betwa from my general observations* of the irregularities of surface. The result is, that the Betwa at Kotra is one thousand feet above the sea level, and one thousand lower than the city and valley of Oodipur, which again is on the same level with the base of Abco, two thousand feet above the sea. This line, the general direction of which is but a short distance from the tropic, is about six geographic degrees in length: yet is this small space highly diversified, both in its inhabitants and the production of the soil, whether hidden or revealed.

Let us now from our elevated station (still turned to the east) carry the eye both south and north of the line described, which nearly bisects Madhyadesa,† 'the central land' of Rajasthan; best defined by the course of the Chumbul and its tributary streams, to its confluence with the Jumna: while the regions west of the transalpine Aravali‡ may as justly be defined Western Rajasthan.

Looking to the south, the eye rests on the long extended and strongly defined line of the Vindhya mountains, the proper bounds of Hindusthan and the Dekhan. Though, from our elevated stand on 'the Saint's Pinnacle' of Abco, we look down on the Vindhya as a range of diminished importance, it is that our position is the least favourable to viewing its grandeur, which would be most apparent from the south; though throughout this skirt of descent, irregular elevations attain a height of many hundred feet above such points of its abrupt descent.

The Aravali itself may be said to connect with the Vindhya, and the point of junction to be towards Champaneer; though it might be as correct to say the Aravali thence rose upon and stretched from the Vindhya. Whilst it is much less elevated than more to the north, it presents bold features throughout§, south by Lunawarra, Dongurpur, and Edur, to Amba, Bhawani and Oodipur.

Still looking from Abco over the table-land of Malwa, we observe her plains of black loam furrowed by the numerous streams from the highest points of the Vindhya, pursuing their northerly course; some meandering through valleys or falling over precipices; others bearing down all opposition, and actually forcing an exit through the central plateau to join the Chumbul.

Having thus glanced at the south, let us cast the eye north of this line, and pause on the alpine Aravali.¶ Let us take a section of it, from the capital, Oodipur, the line of our station on Abco passing through Oguna, Panurwa, and Meerpur, to the western descent near Sirohi, a space of nearly sixty miles

* I am familiar with these regions, and confidently predict, that when a similar measurement shall be made from the Betwa to Kotah, these results will little err, and the errors will be in having made Kotah somewhat too elevated, and the bed of the Betwa a little too low.

† Central India, a term which I first applied as the title of the map, presented to the Marquis of Hastings, in 1815. 'of Central and Western India,' and since become familiar.

‡ Let it be remembered that the Aravali, though it loses its tabular form, sends its branches north, terminating at Delhi.

§ Those who have marched from Baroda towards Malwa and marked the irregularities of surface, will admit this chain of connection of the Vindhya and Aravali.

¶ 'The refuge of strength,' a title justly merited, from its affording protection to the most ancient sovereign race which holds dominion, whether in the east or west—the ancient stock of the Suryavansha, the Helidsæ of India, our 'children of the sun,' the princes of Kewar.

in a direct line, where "hills o'er hills and alps on alps arise," from the ascent at Oodipur to the descent to Marwar. All this space to the Sirohi frontier is inhabited by communities of the aboriginal races, living in a state of primeval and almost savage independence, owing no paramount power, paying no tribute, but with all the simplicity of republics; their leaders, with the title of Rawut, being hereditary. Thus Rawut of the Oguna commune can assemble five thousand bows, and several others can on occasion muster considerable number. Their habitations are dispersed through the valleys in small rude hamlets, near their pastures or places of defence.*

Let me now transport the reader to the citadel pinnacle of Komulmeer,† thence surveying the range running north to Ajmeer, where, shortly after, it loses its tabular form, and breaking into lofty ridges, sends numerous branches through the Shikhavati federation, and Alwar, till in low heights it terminates at Delhi.

From Komulmeer to Ajmeer the whole space is termed Merwarra, and is inhabited by the mountain race of Mer or Mair, the habits and history of which singular class will be hereafter related. The range averages from six to fifteen miles in breadth, having upwards of one hundred and fifty villages and hamlets scattered over its valley and rocks, abundantly watered, not deficient in pasture, and with cultivation enough for all internal wants, though it is raised with infinite labour on terraces, as the vine is cultivated in Switzerland and on the Rhine.

In vain does the eye search for any trace of wheel-carriage across this compound range from Edur to Ajmeer; and it consequently well merits its appellation *ara*, 'the barrier,' for the strongest arm of modern warfare, artillery, would have to turn the chain by the north, to avoid the impracticable descent to the west.‡

Guiding the eye along the chain, several fortresses are observed on pinnacles guarding the passes on either side, while numerous rills descend, pouring over the declivities, seeking their devious exit between the projecting ribs of the mountain. The Beris, the Bunas, the Kotaser, the Khari, the Dye, all uniting with the Bunas to the east, while to the west the still more numerous streams which fertilize the rich province of Godwar unite to 'the Salt River,' the *Looni*, and mark the true line of the desert. Of these the chief

* It was my intention to have penetrated through their singular abodes; and I had negotiated, and obtained of these 'forest lords' a promise of hospitable passport, of which I have never allowed myself to doubt, as the virtues of pledged faith and hospitality are ever to be found in stronger keeping in the inverse ratio of civilization. Many years ago one of my parties was permitted to range through this tract. In one of the passes of their lengthened valleys 'the lord of the Mountain' was dead: the men were all abroad, and his widow alone in the hut. Madarri told his story, and claimed her surety and passport; which the Bheel of Delhi, reverend from the quiver of her late lord; and the arrow carried in his hand was as well recognized as the cumbersome roll, with all its seals and appendages, of a traveller in Europe.

† Meer (mern) signifies 'a hill' in Sanscrit, hence Komal, or properly Kumshameer, is 'the hill' or 'mountain of Kumbha,' a prince whose exploits are narrated. Likewise Ajmeer is the 'hill of Ajaya,' the 'Invincible' hill. Mer is with the long e, like Mere in French, in classical orthography.

‡ At the point of my descent this was characteristically illustrated by my Rajpoot friend of Semur, whose domain had been invaded and cow-pens emptied, but a few days before, by the mountain bandit of Sirohi. With their booty they took the shortest and not most practicable road: but though their alpine kine are pretty well accustomed to leaping in such abodes, it would appear they had hesitated here. The difficulty was soon got over by one of the Meenas, who with his dagger transfixed one and rolled him over the height, his carcass serving at once as a precedent and a stepping-stone for his horned kindred.

are the Sookri and the Bandi; while others which are not perennial, and depend on atmospheric causes for their supply, receive the general denomination of '*rayl*,' indicative of rapid mountain torrents, carrying in their descent a vast volume of alluvial deposit, to enrich the siliceous soil below.

However grand the view of the chaotic mass of rock from this elevated site of Komalmeer, it is from the plains of Marwar that its majesty is most apparent; where its 'splintered pinnacles' are seen rising over each other in varied form, or frowning over the dark indented recesses of its forest-covered and rugged declivities.

On reflection, I am led to pronounce the Aravali a connection of the 'Appennines of India,' the Ghats on the Malabar coast of the peninsula: nor does the passage of the Nerbudda or the Tapti, through its diminished centre, militate against the hypothesis, which might be better substantiated by the comparison of their intrinsic character and structure.

The general character of the Aravali is its primitive formation: granite, reposing in variety of angle (the general dip is to the east) on massive, compact, dark blue slate, the latter rarely appearing much above the surface of base of the superincumbent granite. The internal valleys abound in variegated quartz and a variety of schistus slate of every hue, which gives a most singular appearance to the roofs of the houses and temples when the sun shines upon them. Rocks of gneis and of syenite appear in the intervals; and in the diverging ridges west of Ajmeer, the summits are quite dazzling with the enormous masses of vitreous rose-coloured quartz.

The Aravali and its subordinate hills are rich both in mineral and metallic products; and, as stated in the annals of Mewar, to the latter alone can be attributed the resources which enabled this family so long to struggle against superior power, and to raise those magnificent structures which would do honour to the most potent kingdoms of the west.

The mines are royalties; their produce a monopoly, increasing the personal revenue of their prince. "*An-Dan-Kan*," is a triple figurative expression, which comprehends the sum of sovereign rights in Rajasthan, being *allegiance, commercial duties, mines*. The tin-mines of Mewar were once very productive, and yielded, it is asserted, no inconsiderable portion of silver: but the caste of miners is extinct, and political reasons, during the Mogul domination, led to the concealment of such sources of wealth. Copper of a very fine description is likewise abundant, and supplies the currency; and the chief of Saloombra even coins by sufferance from the mines on his own estate. *Soorma*, or the oxide of antimony, is found on the western frontier. The garnet, smethystine quartz, rock crystal, the chrysolite, and inferior kinds of the emerald family, are all to be found within Mewar; and though I have seen no specimens decidedly valuable, the Rana has often told me that, according to tradition, his native hills contained every species of mineral wealth.

Let us now quit our alpine station on the Aravali, and make a tour of the *Patar*, or plateau of Central India, not the least important feature of this interesting region. It possesses a most decided character, and is distinct from the Vindhya to the south and the Aravali to the west, being of the secondary formation, or trap, of the most regular horizontal stratification.

The circumference of the plateau is best explained in the map, though its surface is most unequally detailed, and is continually alternating its character between the tabular form and clustering ridges.

Commencing the tour at Mandelgurh, let us proceed south, skirting Cheetore (both on insulated rocks detached from the plateau, thence by Jawud Dantolli, Rampura,* Bhanpura, the Mokundurra Pass,† to Gagrown (where the Cali Scind forces an entrance through its table-barrier to Ekclaira‡) and Mergwas (where the Parbati, taking advantage of the diminished elevation, passes from Malwa to Haravati), and by Raghugurh, Shahabad, Gazeegurh, Guswance, to Jaduwati), where the plateau terminates on the Chumbul, east; while from the same point of outset, Mandelgurh, soon losing much of its table form it stretches away in bold ranges, occasionally tabular, as in the Boondi fortress, by Dublana, Indrugurh,§ and Lakheri§, to Rinthumbor and Kerowli terminating at Dholpur Bari.

The elevation and inequalities of this plateau are best seen by crossing it from west to east, from the plains to the level of the Chumbul, where, with the exception of the short flat between Kotah and Palli ferry, this noble stream is seen rushing through the rocky barrier.

At Rinthumbor the plateau breaks into lofty ranges, their white summits sparkling in the sun; cragged but not peaked, and preserving the characteristic formation, though disunited from the mass. Here there are no less than seven distinct ranges (*Satparra*), through all of which the Bunas has to force a passage to unite with the Chumbul. Beyond Rinthumbor, and the whole way from Kerowli to the river, is an irregular table-land, on the edge of whose summit are the fortresses of Ootgeer Mundrel, and that more celebrated of Thoon. But east of the eastern side there is still another steppe of descent, which may be said to originate near the fountain of the Scind at Latoti, and passing by Chanderi, Kuniadhana, Nirwar, and Gwalior, terminates at Deogurh, in the plains of Gohud. The descent from this second steppe is into Bundelkhund and the valley of the Betwa.

Distinguished as is this elevated region in the surface of Central India, its summit is but little higher than the general elevation of the crest of the Vindhya, and upon a level with the valley of Oodipur and base of the Aravali. The slope or descent, therefore, from both these ranges to the skirts of the plateau, is great and abrupt, of which the most intelligible and simple proof appears in the course of these streams. Few portions of the globe attest more powerfully the force exerted by the action of waters to subdue every obstacle, than a view of the rock-bound channels of these streams in this adamantine barrier. Four streams—one of which, the Chumbul, would rank with the Rhine and almost with the Rhone—have here forced their way, laying bare the stratification from the water's level to the summit, from three to six hundred feet in perpendicular height, the rock appearing as if chiselled by the hand of man. Here the geologist may read the book of nature in distinct characters; few tracts (from Rampura to Kotah) will be found more interesting to him, to the antiquarian, or to the lover of nature in her most rugged attire.

The surface of this extensive plateau is greatly diversified. At Kotah, the bare protruding rock in some places presents not a trace of vegetation; but

* Near this the Chumbul first breaks into the Patar.

† Here is the celebrated pass through the mountains.

‡ Here the Newas breaks the chain.

§ Both celebrated passes, where the ranges are very complicated.

where it bevels off to the banks of the Par, it is one of the richest and most productive soils in India, and better cultivated than any spot even of British India. In its indented sides are glens of the most romantic description (as the fountain of 'the Snake King' near Hinglaj, and deep dells, the source of small streams, where many treasures of art,* in temples and ancient dwellings, yet remain to reward the traveller.

This central elevation, as before described, is of the secondary formation, called trap. Its prevailing colour, where laid bare by the Chumbul, is milk-white: it is compact and close-grained, and though perhaps the mineral offering the greatest resistance to the chisel, the sculptures at the celebrated Burulli evince its utility to the artist. White is also prevailing colour to the westward. About Kofah it is often mixed white and porphyritic, and about Shahabad of a mixed red and brown tint. When exposed to the action of the atmosphere in its eastern declivity, the decomposed and rough surface would almost cause it to be mistaken for gritstone.

This formation is not favourable to mineral wealth. The only metals are lead and iron; but their ores, especially the latter, are abundant. There are mines, said to be of value, of sulphuret of lead (*galena*) in the Gwalior province, from which I have had specimens, but these also are closed. The natives fear to extract their mineral wealth; and though abounding in lead, tin, and copper, they are indebted almost entirely to Europe even for the materials of their culinary utensils.

Without attempting a delineation of inferior ranges, I will only further direct the reader's attention to an important deduction from this superficial review of the physiognomy of Rajwarra.

There are two distinctly marked declivities or slopes in Central India: the chief is that from west to east, from the great rampart, the Aravali, (interposed to prevent the drifting of the sands into the central plains, bisected by the Chumbul and his hundred arms) to the Betwa; the other slope is from south to north, from the Vindhya, the southern buttress of Central India, to the Jumna.

Extending our definition, we may pronounce of the Jumna to indicate the central fall of that immense vale which has its northern slope from the base of the Himalaya, and the southern from that of the Vindhya mountains.

It is not in contemplation to delineate the varied course of the magnificent Nerbudca, though I have abundant means: for the moment we ascend the summit of the tropical† Vindhya, to descend into the valley of the Nerbudca, we abandon Rajasthan and the Rajpoots for the aboriginal races, the first proprietors of the land. These I shall leave to others, and commence and end with the Chumbul, the paramount lord of the floods of Central India.

The Chumbul has his fountains in a very elevated point of the Vindhya, amidst a cluster of hills, on which is bestowed the local appellation of 'Janapava.' It has three co-equal sources from the same cluster, the Chumbul, Chambela, and Gumbheer: while no less than nine other streams have their origin on the south side, and pour their waters into the Nerbudca.

* I have rescued a few of these from oblivion to present to my countrymen

† Hence its name, Vindhya 'the barrier,' to the further progress of the sun in his northern declination.

The Sipra from Pēepuldo, the little Scind* from Dewas, and other minor streams passing Oojein, all unite with the Chumbul in different stages before he breaks through the plateau.

The Cali Scind, from Baugri, and its petty branch, the Sodwia, from Raghugurh; the Newaz (or Jamneeri), from Morsookri and Magurda; the Parbati, from the pass of Amlakhera, with its more eastern arm from Doulu-pur, uniting at Fürher, are all points in the crest of the Vindhya range, whence they pursue their course through the plateau, rolling over precipices,† till engulfed in the Chumbul at the ferries of Noonerah and Palli. All these unite on the right bank.

On the left bank his flood is increased by the Bunas, fed by the perennial streams from the Aravali, and the Beris from the lakes of Oodipur; and after watering Mewar, the southern frontier of Jeypur, and the high-lands of Kerowli, the river turns south to unite at the holy 'Sangam';‡ Rameswar. Minor streams contribute (unworthy however of separate notice), and after a thousand involutions he reaches the Jumna, at the holy Triveni§ or 'triple-allied' stream, between Etawa and Kalpi.

The course of the Chumbul, not reckoning the minor sinuosities, is upwards of five hundred miles; and along its banks specimens of nearly every race now existing in India may be found: Sondies, Chunderawuts, Seesodias, Haras, Gore, Jadoon, Sikerwal, Goojur,|| Jat,|| Tuar, Chohan, Bhadoria, Kutchwaha, Sengar, Bundela; each in associations of various magnitudes, from the substantive state to the little republic communes between the Chumbul and Cōhari.¶

Having thus sketched the central portion of Rajasthan, or that eastward of the Aravali. I shall give a rapid general** view of that to the west, conducting the reader over the 'Thul ca Teeba,' or 'sand hills' of the desert, to the valley of the Indus.

Let the reader again take post on Aboo, by which he may be saved a painful journey over the Thul.†† The most interesting object in this arid 'region of death' is the 'salt river,' the Looni; with its many arms falling from the Aravali to enrich the best portion of the principality of Jodhpur, and distinctly marking the line of that extensive plain of ever-shifting sand, termed in Hindu geography *Marusthali*, corrupted to *Marwar*.

The Looni, from its sources, the sacred lakes of Pushkar and Ajmeer, and the more remote arm from Parbatsir to its embouchure in the great western salt marsh, the Rin has a course of more than three hundred miles.

In the term 'Erinos' of the historians of Alexander, we have the corrup-

* This is the fourth Scind of India. We have, first, the Scind or Indus; this little Scind then the Cali Scind, or 'black river': and again the Scind rising at Latoti, on the plateau west and above Seronge.

Sia is a Scythic word for river (now unused), so applied by the Hindus.

† The falls of the Cali Scind through the rocks at Gagrown and the Parbati at Chupra (Googul) are well worthy of a visit. The latter, though I encamped twice at Chupra, from which it was reputed five miles, I did not see.

‡ Sangam is the point of confluence of two or more rivers, always, sacred to Mahadeva.

§ The Jumna, Chumbul, and Scind.

|| The only tribes not of Rajpoot blood.

¶ The 'virgin' stream.

** I do not repeat the names of towns forming the arrondissements of the various states they are distinctly laid down in the boundary lines of each.

† Thul is the general term for the sand ridges of the desert.

tion of the word 'Run' or 'Rin,'* still used to describe that extensive fen formed by the deposits of the Looni, and the equally saturated saline streams from the southern desert of Dhat. It is one hundred and fifty miles in length; and where broadest, from Bhooj to Buliari, about seventy: in which direction the caravans cross, having as a place of halt an insulated oasis in this mediterranean salt marsh. In the dry season, nothing meets the eye but an extensive and glaring sheet of salt, spread over its insidious surface, full of dangerous quicksands: and in the rains it is a dirty saline solution, up to the camels' girths in many places. The little oasis, the *Khari Cabu*, furnishes pasture for this useful animal and rest for the traveller pursuing his journey to either bank.

It is on the desiccated borders† of this vast salt marsh that the illusory phenomenon, the *merage*, presents its fantastic appearance, pleasing to all but the wearied traveller, who sees a haven of rest in the embattled towers, the peaceful hamlet,‡ or shady grove, to which he hastens in vain; receding as he advances, till "the sun in his might," dissipating these "cloud cap'd towers," reveals the vanity of his pursuit.

Such phenomena are common to the desert, more particularly where these extensive saline depositions exist, but varying from certain causes. In most cases, this powerfully magnifying and reflecting medium is a vertical stratum; at first dense and opaque, it gradually attenuates with increased temperature, till the maximum of heat, which it can no longer resist, drives it off in an ethereal vapour. This optical deception, well known to the Rajpoots, is called *see-kote*, or 'winter castles,' because chiefly visible in the cold season: hence, possibly, originated the equally illusory and delightful 'Chateau en Espagne,' so well known in the west.§

From the north bank of the Looni to the south, and the Shikhavat frontier to the east, the sandy region commences. Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jessulmeer, are all sandy plains, increasing in volume as you proceed westwards. All this portion of territory is incumbent on a sandstone formation: soundings of all the new wells made from Jodhpur to Ajmeer, yielded the same results, and concrete siliceous deposits, and chalk.

Jessulmeer is every where encircled by desert; and that portion round the capital might not be improperly termed an oasis, in which wheat, barley, and even rice are produced. The fortress is erected on the extremity of a range of some hundred feet in elevation, which can be traced beyond its southern confines to the ruins of the ancient Chotun erected upon them, and which tradition has preserved as the capital of a tribe, or prince, termed Happa, of whom no other trace exists. It is not unlikely that this ridge may be connected with that which runs through the rich province of Jalore; consequently an offset from the base of Aboo.

* Most probably a corruption of 'aranya,' or desert: so that the Greek mode of writing it is more correct than the present.

† It is here the wild ass (*gorkhur*) roams at large, untameable as in the day of the Arabian Patriarch of Uz, "his house the wilderness, the barren land (or, according "to the Hebrew, *salt places*), his dwelling; who scorneth the multitude of the city, "neither regardeth the crying of the driver." Job xxxix. 6, 7.

‡ Poorwa.

§ I have beheld it from the top of the ruined fortress of Hsisar, with unlimited range of vision, no object to diverge its ray, save the miniature forests: the entire circle of the horizon a chain of more than fancy could form of palaces, towers, and these airy "pillars of heaven" terminating in turn their ephemeral existence. But in the deserts of Dhat and Oomrasoomra, where the shepherds pasture their flocks, and especially where the alkaline plant is produced, the stratification is more horizontal, and produces more of the watery description.

Though all these regions collectively bear the term *Marusthali*, or 'region of death' (the emphatic and figurative phrase for the desert), the restrictive definition applies to a part only, that under the dominion of the Rahtore race.

From Bhalotra on the Looni, throughout the whole of Dhat and Oomra-soomra, the western portion of Jessulmeer, and a broad stripe between the southern limits of Daodputra and Bikaner, there is real solitude and desolation. But from the Sutledge to the Rin, a space of five hundred miles of longitudinal distance, and varying in breadth from fifty to one hundred miles, numerous oases are found, where the shepherds from the valley of the Indus and the Thul pasture their flocks. The springs of water in these places have various appellations, *tir*, *par*, *rar*, *dur*, all expressive of the element, round which assemble the Rajurs, Sodas, Mangulias, and Schraies,* inhabiting the desert.

I will not touch on the salt lakes or natron beds, or the other products of the desert, vegetable or mineral; though the latter might soon be described, being confined to the jasper rock near Jessulmeer, which has been much used in the beautiful arabesques of that fairy fabric, at Agra, the mausoleum of Shah Jehan's queen.

Neither shall I describe the valley of Indus, or that portion eastward of the stream, the termination of the sand ridges of the desert. I will merely remark, that the small stream which breaks from the Indus at Dura, seven miles north of the insulated Bekher, and falls into the ocean at Lukput, shews the breadth of this eastern portion of the valley, which forms the western boundary of the desert. A traveller proceeding from the Kheechee or flats of Scind to the east, sees the line of the desert distinctly marked, with its elevated *teebas*, or sand ridges, under which flows the Sankra which is generally dry except at periodical inundations. These sand-hills are of considerable elevation, and may be considered the limit of the inundation of the 'sweet river,' the *Meeta Muran*, a Scythic or Tatar name for river, and by which alone the Indus is known, from the Panchnad† to the ocean.

It is this illusion to which the inspired writer refers, when he says, "the mock pool of the desert shall become real water." The inhabitants of the desert term it *chitram* literally 'the picture,' by no means an unhappy designation.

* *Schraie*, from *sehara* 'desert.' Hence *Sarrasin*, or *Saracen* is a corruption from *sehara*, 'desert,' and *suddun* 'to strike', contracted. *Razunt*, 'to strike on the road' (*ra*). *Ra-ber* 'on the road,' corrupted by the Pindarries to *labur*, the designation of their forways.

† The confluent arms or sources of the Indus.

HISTORY OF The Rajpoot Tribes.

CHAPTER I.

Genealogies of the Rajpoot Princes.—The Puranas.—Connection of the Rajpoots with the Scythic Tribes.

BEING desirous of epitomizing the chronicles of the martial races of Central and Western India, it was essential to ascertain the sources whence they draw, or claim to draw, their lineage. For this purpose I obtained from the library of the Rana of Oodipur their sacred volumes, the *Puranas*, and laid them before a body of pandits, over whom presided the learned Yati Gyanchandra. From these extracts were made of all the genealogies of the great races of Surya and Chandra, and of facts historical and geographical.

Most of the *Puranas** contain portions of historical as well as geographical knowledge; but the *Bhagvat*, the *Scanda*, the *Agni*, and the *Bhavishya*, are the chief guides. It is rather fortunate than to be regretted, that their chronologies do not perfectly agree. The number of princes in each line varies, and names are transposed; but we recognize distinctly the principal features in each, affording the conclusion that they are the productions of various writers, borrowing from some common original source.

The *Genesis*† of India commences with an event described in the history of almost all nations, the deluge, which, though treated with the fancy peculiar to the orientals, is not the less entitled to attention. The essence of the extract from the *Agni Purana* is this: When ocean quitted his bounds and caused universal destruction by Bramha's command, Vaivaswata‡ (Noah), who dwelt near the Himalaya§ mountains, was giving water to the gods in the Kritamala river, when a small fish fell into his hand. A voice commanded him to preserve it. The fish expanded to an enormous size. "Manu, with his sons and their wives, and the sages, with the seed of every living thing, entered into a vessel which was fastened to a horn on the head of the fish, and thus they were preserved."

* "Every Purana," says the first authority existing in Sanscrit lore, "treats of five subjects: the creation of the universe; its progress, and the renovation of the world; the genealogy of gods and heroes; chronology, according to a fabulous system; and heroic history, containing the achievements of demi-gods and heroes. Since each Purana contains a cosmogony, both mythological and heroic history, the works which bear that title may not unaptly be compared to the Grecian theogonies."—*Essay on the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages*, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.; *As. Res.* vol. vii., p. 202.

† Resolvable in Sanscrit, *janam*, 'birth, and *es* and *iswar*, 'lords.'

‡ Son of the sun.

§ The snowy Caucasus. Sir William Jones, in an extract from a work entitled, "*Essence of the Puranas*," says that this event took place at Dravira in the Dekkan.

Here, then, the grand northern chain is given to which the abode of the great patriarch of mankind approximated. In the *Bharishya* it is stated, that "Vaivaswata (sun-born) Manu ruled at the mountain Sumeru. Of his seed was Cacustha Rajah, who obtained sovereignty at Ayodhya,* and his descendants filled the land and spread over the earth."

I am aware of the meaning given to *Sumeru*, that thus the Hindus designated the north pole of the earth. But they had also a mountain with this same appellation of pre-eminence of *Meru*. 'the hill,' with the prefix *Su*, 'good, sacred': *the Sacred Hill*.

In the geography of the *Agni Purana* the term is used as a substantial geographical limit;† and some of the rivers flowing from the mountainous ranges, whose relative position with Sumeru are there defined, still retain their ancient appellations. Let us not darken the subject, by supposing only, allegorical meanings attached to explicit points. In the distribution of the seven dwipas, or continents, though they interpose seas of curds, milk, or wine, we should not reject strong and evident facts, because subsequent ignorant interpolators filled up the page with puerilities.

This sacred mountain (Sumeru) is claimed by the Brahmins as the abode of Mahadeva,‡ Adiswara,§ or Baghes;|| by the Jains, as the abode of Adinath,¶ the first Jainiswara, or Jain lord. Here they say he taught mankind the arts of agriculture and civilized life. The Greeks claimed it as the abode of Bacchus; and hence the Grecian fable of this god being taken from the thigh of Jupiter, confounding *meros* (thigh) with the *meru* (hill) of this Indian deity. In this vicinity the followers of Alexander had their Saturnalia, drank to excess of the wine from its indigenous vines, and bound their brows with ivy (*rela*)** sacred to the Baghes of the east and west, whose votaries alike indulge in "strong drink."

These traditions appear to point to one spot, and to one individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindu and the Greek approach a common focus; for there is little doubt that Adinath, Adiswara, Osiris, Baghes, Bacchus, Manu, Menes, designate the patriarch of mankind, Noah.

The Hindus can at this time give only a very general idea of the site of *Meru*; but they appear to localise it in a space of which Bamian, Cabul, and Ghizni, would be the exterior points. The former of these cities is known to

* The present Oude, capital of one of the twenty-two satrapies constituting the Mogul Empire, and for some generations held by the titular Vizir, who has recently assumed the royal title.

† "To the south of Sumeru are the mountains Himawan, Hemanta and Nisadha; to the north are the countries Nil, Suwet, and Singie. Between Hemachal and the ocean the lands is Bharatkhanda, called Cucarna Bhoomi (*land of vice*, opposed to Aryavarta, or *land of virtue*), in which the seven grand ranges are Mahendrachal, Mulayachal, Suctiman, Rikhyachal, Vindhachal, and Pariyatra." (*Agni Purana*.)

‡ The Creator, literally 'the Great God.'

§ The 'first lord.'

|| Baghes 'the tiger lord.' He wears a tiger's or panther's hide; which he places beneath him. So Bacchus did. The phallus is the emblem of each. Baghes has several temples in Mewar.

¶ First lord.

** *Vela* is the general term for a climber, sacred to the Indian Bacchus (Baghes, Adiswara, or Mahadeva), whose priests, following his example, are fond of intoxicating beverage, or drugs. The im-mur, or immortal *vela*, is a noble climber. See plate. vol. II., where it shades one of the sacred groves of Mahadeva.

possess remains of the religion of Boodha, in its caves and colossal statues.* The Paropamisana Alexandria is near Bamian; but the Meru and Nyssa† of Alexander are placed more to the eastward by the Greek writers, and according to the cautious Artian between the Cophas and Indus. Authority localizes it between Peshawur and Jillalabad, and calls it *Mer-coh*, or *Mar-coh*‡; "a bare rock 2,000 feet high with caves to the westward, termed Be-dowlut by the Emperor Hemayoon from its dismal appearance."§ This designation, however, of Deshte Be dowlut, or 'unhappy plain,' was given to the tract between the cities beforementioned.

* "In Zohac Bamian, the castle, a monument of great antiquity, is in good condition, while the castle of Bamian is in ruins."

† In the midst of the mountains are twelve thousand caves cut out of the rock, and ornamented with carving and plaster reliefs. These are called *samaj*, and were the winter retreat of the natives. Here are three astonishing idols; one representing a man eighty ells high; another of a woman fifty, and a third of a child fifteen ells in height. In one of these smajes is a tomb where is a coffin containing a corpse, concerning which the oldest man can give no account: it is held in high veneration. The ancients were possessed of some medical preparations, with which they anointed dead bodies, and by which they suffered no injury from time."—*Ayin Akbery*, vol. ii., p. 169.

‡ Nisadha is mentioned in the Purana as a mountain. If in the genitive case (which the final syllable marks), it would be a local term given from the city of Nissa.

§ *Mer*, Sanscrit, and *coh*, Persian, for a 'hill.'

§ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 497, Wilford appears to have borrowed largely from that ancient store-house (as the Hindu would call it) of learning, Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the world. He combines, however, much of what that great man had so singularly acquired and condensed, with what he himself collected, and with the aid of imagination has formed a curious mosaic. But when he took a peep into "the chorographical description of the Terrestrial Paradise," I am surprised, he did not separate the nurseries of mankind before and after the flood. There is one passage, also, of Sir Walter Raleigh which have aided his hypothesis, that Eden was in Higher Asia, between the common sources of the Jinn and other grand rivers; the abundance of the *ficus indica* or bur-tree, sacred to the first lord, Adinath or Mahadeva.

"Now for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, some men have presumed further; especially Gorapius Bocanus, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this tree, which none of the writers of former times could ever guess at, whereat Gorapius much marvelleth."

— "Both together went

"Into the thickest wood; there soon they choose

"The fig tree; not that kind for fruit renowned,

"But such as at this day, to Indians known

"In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms

"Branching so broad and long, that in the ground

"The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow

"About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade

"High overarched, and echoing walks between.

"There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,

"Shelters in cool and tends his pasturing herds,"

— "Those leaves

"They gathered, broad as Amazonian trage."

Paradise Lost, book ix.

Sir Walter strongly supports the Hindu hypothesis regarding the locality of the "nursery for mankind," and that "India was the first planted and peopled country after the flood."—(Page 99.) His first argument is, that it was a place where the vine and olive were indigenous, amongst the Saces Scythæ, (and as they still are, together with oats, between Cabul and Bamian); and that Ararat could not be in Armenia, because the Gordian mountains on which the ark rested were in longitude 75°, and the Valley of Shinar 76° to 80°, which would be reversing the tide of migration. "As they journeyed from the East, they found a plain, in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there."—(Genesis, chap. 11, verse 2.) He adds, "Ararat, named" by Moses, is not any one hill, but a general term for the great Caucasian range;

The only scope of these remarks on Sumeru is to shew that the Hindus themselves do not make India within the Indus the cradle of their race, but west, amidst the hills of Caucasus,* whence the sons of Vaivaswata, or the 'sun-born,' migrated eastward to the Indus and Ganges, and founded their first establishment in Kosala, the capital, Ayodhya, or Oude.

Most nations have indulged the desire of fixing the source whence they issued, and few spots possess more interest than this elevated *Madhya-Bhumi*, or 'central region' of Asia, where the Amu, Oxus, or Jihoon, and other rivers, have their rise, and in which both the Surya and Indu† races (*Sacæ*) claim the hill;‡ sacred to a great patriarchal ancestor, whence they migrated eastward.

The Rajpoot tribes could scarcely have acquired some of their still existing Scythic habits and warlike superstitions on the burning plains of Ind. It was too hot to hail with fervent adoration the return of the sun from his southern course to enliven the northern hemisphere. This should be

"therefore we must blow up this mountain Ararat, or dig it down and carry it out "of Armenia, or find it elsewhere in a warmer country and east from Shinar." He therefore places "it in Indo-Scythia, 140° of longitude, " where the mountains do build themselves exceeding "high:" and concludes, "it was in the plentiful warm East where Noah rested, where he "planted the vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agricultura studium in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur; ob eamque rem, sua ipsius lingua. Ish-Adawata: (1) hoc est, Telluris Vir, appellatur, celebratusque est. The "study of husbandry pleased N:ah (says the excellent learned man, Arius Montanus) in the "order and knowledge of which it is said that Noah excelled all men, and therefore was he "called in his own language, a man exercised in the earth." The title, character, and abode, exactly suit the description the Jains give of their first Jainiswara Adinath, the first lordly man, who taught them agriculture, even to "muzzling the bull in treading out the corn."*

Had Sir Walter been aware that the Hindu sacred books styled their country *Aryavarta*, (2) and of which the great Imaus is the northern boundary, he would doubtless have seized it for his Ararat.

(1) In Sanscrit, *Ish*, 'Lord,' adds, 'the first,' *math* or *muth*, 'Earth.' Here the Sanscrit and Hebrew have the same meaning, 'first lord of the earth.' In these remote Rajpoot regions, where early manners and languages remain, the strongest phrase to the strongest phrase to denote a man or human being is literally 'earth.' A chief describing a fray between his own followers and borderers, whence death ensued, says, '*Mera mathi mara*,' 'My earth has been struck:' a phrase requiring no comment, and denoting that he must have blood in return.

(2.) *Aryavarta*, or the land of promise or virtue, cannot extend to the flat plains of India south of the Himavat; for this is styled in the *Puranas* the very reverse, '*cucarma des*,' or land of vice.

* Hindu, or Indu-cush or kho, is the local appellation; 'mountains of the moon.'

† Solar and lunar.

‡ *Meru*, 'the hill,' is used distinctively, as in Jessulmeer (the capital of the Bhatti tribe in the Western Desert), 'the hill of Jessul,' Merwarra, or the, 'mountainous region;' and its inhabitants *Meras*, or 'mountaineers.' Thus, also in the grand epic the *Ramayana* (Book i. p. 236), *Mera* is the mountain-nymph, the daughter of *Meru* and spouse of *Himavatu*; from whom sprung two daughters, the river goddess *Gunga* and the mountain nymph *Parvati*. She is, in the *Mahabharat*, also termed *Syeel*, the daughter of *Syeel*, another designation of the snowy chain: and hence mountain streams are called in Sanscrit *Silettee*. *Syeela* bears the same attributes with the Phrygian *Cybele*, who was also the daughter of a mountain of the same name; the one is carried, the other drawn, by lions. Thus the Greeks also metamorphosed *Parbat* Pamer, or the mountain Pamer, 'into *Paropamisian*, applied to the Hindu Kho west of *Bamin*: but the *Parbut* put *Pamer*, or 'Pamer chief of hills,' is mentioned by the bard *Chund* as being far east of that tract, and under it resided *Hamira*, one of the great feudatories of *Prithwi-raj*: of Delhi. Had it been *Paropamisian* (as some authorities write it), it would better accord with the locality where it takes up the name, being near to *Nyssa* and *Meru*, of which *Parbat* or *Pahar* would be a version, and from *Paronisan*, 'the Mountain of *Nyssa*,' the range *Nisadha* of the *Poorams*.

the religion of a colder clime, brought from their first haunts, the sources of the Jihoon and Jaxartes. The grand solstitial festival, the *Aswamedha*, or sacrifice of the horse (the type of the sun), practised by the children of Vivaswata, the 'sun-born,' was most probably simultaneously introduced from Scythia into the plains of Ind, and west, by the sons of Odin, Woden, or Boodha, into Scandinavia, where it became the *Hi-el* or *Hi-ue*,* the festival of the winter solstice; the grand jubilee of northern nations and in the first ages of Christianity, being so near the epoch of its rise, gladly used by the first fathers of the church to perpetuate that event.†

* *Hya* or *Hi*, in Sanscrit, 'horse'—*El*, 'sun'; whence *ippes* and *elies*. *Hi* appears to have been a term of Scythian origin for the sun; and *Hari*, the Indian Appollo, is addressed as the sun. *Hiul*, or northern nations (qu- Noel of France!), is the Hindu Sacrauta, of which more will be said hereafter.

† Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

CHAPTER II.

*Genealogies continued.—Fictions in the Puranas.—Union of the
Regal and the Priestly Characters.—Legends of the Puranas
confirmed by the Greek Historians.*

THE chronicles of the *Bhagvat* and *Agni*, containing the genealogies of the *Surya* (sun) and *Indu* (moon) races, shall now be examined. The first of these, by calculation, brings down the chain to a period six centuries subsequent to *Vicramaditya* (A. D. 650), so that these books may have been remodelled or commented on about this period: their fabrication cannot be supposed.

Although portions of these genealogies by Sir William Jones, Mr Bentley, and Colonel Wilford, have appeared in the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*, yet no one should rest satisfied with the inquiries of others, if by any process he can reach the fountain-head himself.

If, after all these are fabricated genealogies of the ancient families of India, the fabrication is of ancient date, and they are all they know themselves upon the subject. The step next in importance to obtaining a perfect acquaintance with the genuine early history of nations, is to learn what those nations repute to be such.

Doubtless the original *Puranas* contained much valuable historical matter but, at present, it is difficult to separate a little pure metal from the base alloy of ignorant expounders and interpolators. I have but skimmed the surface: research, to the capable, may yet be rewarded by many isolated facts and important transactions, now hid under the veil of ignorance and allegory.

The Hindus, with the decrease of intellectual power, their possession of which is evinced by their architectural remains, where just proportion and elegant mythological device are still visible, lost the relish for the beauty of truth, and adopted the monstrous in their writings, as well as their edifices. But for detection and shame, matters of history would be hideously distorted even in civilized Europe; but in the East, in the moral decrepitude of ancient Asia, with no Judge to condemn, no public to praise, each priestly expounder may revel in an unfettered imagination, and reckon his admirers in proportion to the mixture of the marvellous.* Plain historical truths have long ceased to interest this artificially-fed people.

If at such a comparatively modern period as the third century before Christ, the Babylonian historian Berosus composed his fictions, which assigned

* The celebrated Goguet remarks on the madness of most nations pretending to trace their origin to infinity. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Scythians, particularly, piqued themselves on their high antiquity, and the first assimilate with the Hindus in boasting they had observed the course of the stars 475,000 years. Each heaped ages on ages; but the foundations of this pretended antiquity are not supported by probability, and are even of modern invention.—*Origin of Laws*.

to the monarchy such incredible antiquity, it became capable of refutation from the many historians of repute who preceded him. But on the fabulist of India we have no such check. If Vyasa himself penned these legends as now existing, then is the stream of knowledge corrupt from the fountain-head. If such the source, the stream, filtering through ages of ignorance, has only been increased by fresh impurities. It is difficult to conceive how the arts and sciences could advance, when it is held impious to doubt the truth of whatever has been handed down, and still more to suppose that the degenerate could improve thereon. The highest ambition of the present learned priesthood, generation after generation, is to be able to comprehend what has thus reached them, and to form commentaries upon past wisdom; which commentaries are commented on *ad infinitum*. Whoever dare now aspire to improve thereon must keep the secret in his own breast. They are but the expounders of the olden oracles: were they more they would be infidels. But this could not always have been the case.

With the Hindus, as with other nations, the progress to the heights of science they attained must have been gradual; unless we take from them the merit of original invention, and set them down as borrowers of a system. These slavish fetters of the mind must have been forged at a later period, and it is fair to infer that the monopoly of science and religion were simultaneous. What must be the effect of such monopoly on the impulses and operations of the understanding? Where such exists, knowledge could not long remain stationary; it must perforce retrograde. Could we but discover the period when religion ceased to be a *profession* and became hereditary (and that such there was these very genealogies bear evidence), we might approximate the era when science attained its height.

In the early ages of these Solar and Lunar dynasties, the priestly office was not hereditary in families; it was a profession; and the genealogies exhibit frequent instances of branches of these races terminating their martial career in the commencement of a religious sect, or *gotra* and of their descendants reassuming their warlike occupations. Thus, of the ten sons of Ieshwacu,† three are represented as abandoning worldly affairs and taking to religion; and one of these, Canin, is said to be the first who made an *agnihotra*, or pyreum, and worshipped fire, while another son embraced commerce. Of the Lunar line and the six sons of Pururava, the name of the fourth was Reh; "from him the fifteenth generation was Harita, who with his eight brothers "took to the office of religion, and established the Causika Gotra, or tribe of "Brahmins."

* It has been said that the Brahminical religion was foreign to India; but as the period of importation we have but loose assertion. We can easily give credit to various creeds and tenets of faith being from time to time incorporated, ere the present books were composed and that previously, the sons of royalty alone possessed the office. Authorities of weight inform us of these grafts: for instance, Mr. Colebrooke gives a passage in his 'Indian Classes': "A chief of the twice-born tribe was brought by Vishnu's eagle from Saca Dwipa; "hence Saca Dwipa Brahmins were known in Jambu Dwipa." By Saca Dwipa, Scythia is understood, of which more will be said hereafter.

Ferishta also, translating from ancient authorities, says, to the same effect, that "in the reign of Maharje, King of Canouj, a Brahmin came from Persia, who introduced magic, idolatry, and the worship of the stars: so that there is no want of authority for the introduction of new tenets of faith.

† See Table I.

From the twenty-fourth prince in lineal descent from Yayati by name Bhardwaja, originated a celebrated sect, who still bear his name, and are the spiritual teachers of several Rajpoot tribes.

Of the twenty-sixth prince, Munevu, two sons devoted themselves to religion, and established celebrated sects, viz, Mahavira, whose descendants were the Pushkar Barhmins: and Sanskritti, whose issue were learned in the *vedas*. From the line of Ajamida these ministers of religion were continually branching off.

In the very early periods, the princes of the Solar line, like the Egyptians and Romans, combined the offices of the priesthood with kingly power, and this whether Brahminical or Boodhist.* Many of the royal line, before and subsequent to Rama, passed great part of their lives as ascetics; and in ancient sculpture and drawings, the head is as often adorned with the braided lock of the ascetic, as with the diadem of royalty.†

The greatest monarchs bestowed their daughters on these royal hermits and sages. Ahalya, the daughter of the powerful Panchalica,‡ became the wife of the ascetic Gotama. The sage Jamadagni espoused the daughter of Sahasra§ Arjuna, of Mahismati,|| king of the Haihya tribe, a great branch of the Yadu race.

Among the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, the priest succeeded to sovereignty, as they and the military class alone could hold lands; and Sethos the priest of Vulcan, caused a revolution, by depriving the military of their estates.

We have various instances in India of the Brahmins, from Jamadagni to the Mahratta Prishwa, contesting for sovereignty; power‡ and homage being still their great aim, as in the days of Vishwamitra** and Vasishta, the royal sages whom "Janaka, sovereign of Mithila, addressed 'with folded hands in token of superiority.'"

* Some of the earlier of the twenty-four Tirthancaras, or Jain hierarchs, trace their origin from the solar race of princes.

† Even now the Rana of Mewar mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple of the tutelary deity of his race, he performs himself all the offices of the high priest for the day. In this point a strong resemblance exists to many of the races of antiquity.

‡ Prince of the country of Punjab, or five streams east of the Indus.

§ The legend of this monarch stealing his son-in-law's, the hermit's' cow (of which the *Ramayana* gives another version), the incarnation of Parasu-ram, son of Jamadagni, and his exploits, appear purely allegorical, signifying the violence and oppression of royalty over the earth (*prithvi*), personified by the sacred go, or cow: and that the Brahmins were enable to wrest royalty from the martial tribe, shews how they had multiplied.

On the derivatives from the word go, I venture an etymology for others to pursue:—

G A I A, g e a, g e, (*Dor. ga*) that which produces all things, (from *g a o, genero*); the earth. — *Jones's Dictionary*.

G A L A, Milk. Goa-la, Herdsman, in Sanscrit. *Galatichoi, Keltai, Galatians*, or Gauls, and Celts (allowed to be the same), would be the shepherd races, the pastoral invaders of Europe.

|| Maheswar, or the Nerbudda river.

‡ Hindustan abounds with Brahmins, who make excellent soldiers, as far as bravery is a virtue; but our officers are cautious, from experience, of admitting too many into a troop or company, for they still retain their intriguing habits. I have seen nearly as many of the Brahmins, as of military in some companies; a dangerous error.

** The Brahmin Vasishta possessed a cow named Shubala, so fruitful that with her assistance he could accomplish whatever he desired. By her aid he entertained King Vishwamitra and his army. It is evident that this cow denotes some tract of country which the priest held bearing in mind that go, *prithvi* signify 'the earth, as well as ('cow'): a grant, beyond doubt; by some of Vishwamitra's unwise ancestors, and which he wished to resume. From her were supplied "the oblations to the gods and the pitruas (father-gods, or ancestors), the perpetual "sacificial fire, the burnt-offerings and sacrifices." This was "the fountain of devotional

But this deference for the Brahmins is certainly, with many Rajpoot classes, very weak. In obedience to prejudice, they shew them outward civility; but, unless when their fears or wishes interfere, they are less esteemed than the bards.

The story of the King Vishwamitra of Gadhipura* and the Brahmin Vasishta, which fills so many sections of the first book of the *Ramayana*, exemplifies, under the veil of allegory, the contests for power between the Brahminical and military classes, and will serve to indicate the probable period when the castes became immutable. Stripped of its allegory, the legend appears to point to a time when the division of the classes was yet imperfect; though we may infer, from the violence of the struggle, that it was the last in which 'Brahminhood' could be obtained by the military.

Viswamitra was the son of Gadhi (of the race of Causika), King of Gadhipura, and contemporary of Ambarisha, King of Ayodhya or Oude, the fortieth prince from Icshwacu: consequently about two hundred years anterior to Rama. This event therefore, whence we infer that the system of castes was approaching perfection, was probably about one thousand four hundred years before Christ.

If proof can be given that these genealogies existed in the days of Alexander, the fact would be interesting. The legend in the *Puranas*, of the origin of the Lunar race, appears to afford this testimony.

acts;" this was the Shubala for which the king offered "a hundred thousand cows;" this was "the jewel of which a king only should be proprietor."—The subjects of the Brahmin appeared not to relish such transfer, and by "the lowing of the cow Shubala" obtained numerous foreign auxiliaries, which enabled the Brahmin to set his sovereign at defiance. Of these "the Pahlavi (Persian) kings, the dreadful Sakas (Sacs), and Yavanas (Greeks), with scymitars and gold armour, the Kambojas," &c. were each in turn created by the all producing cow. The armies of the Pahlavi kings were cut to pieces by Vishwamitra; who at last, by continual reinforcements was overpowered by the Brahmin's levies.

These reinforcements would appear to have been the ancient Persian*, the Sacs, the Greeks, the inhabitants of Assam and southern India, and various races out of the pale of the Hindu religion, all classed under the term *Mlechha*, equivalent to the 'barbarian' of the Greeks and Romans.

The king Vishwamitra, defeated and disgraced by this powerful priest, "like a serpent with his teeth broken, like the sun robbed by the eclipse of its splendour, was filled with perturbation. Deprived of his sons and array, stripped of his pride and confidence, he was left without resource as a bird bereft of his wings." He abandoned his kingdom to his son, and like all Hindu princes in distress, determined, by penitential rites and austerities, "to obtain Brahminhood."

He took up his abode at the sacred Pushkar living on fruits and roots, and fixing his mind, said, "I will become a Brahmin." By these penances he attained such spiritual power that he was enabled to usurp the Brahmin's office. The theocrats caution Vishwamitra, thus determined to become a Brahmin by austerity, that "the divine books are to be observed with care only by those acquainted with their evidence; nor does it become thee (Vishwamitra) to subvert the order of things established by the ancients."

The history of his wanderings, austerities, and the temptations thrown in his way, is related. The celestial fair were commissioned to break in upon his meditations. The mother of love herself descended; while Indra, joining the cause of the Brahmins, took the shape of kokila, and added the melody of his notes to the allurements of Rambha, and the perfumed nephyrs which assailed the royal saint in the wilderness. He was proof against all temptation, and condemned the fair to become a pillar of stone. He persevered "till every passion was subdued, till not a tincture of sin appeared in him," and gave such alarm to the whole priesthood, that they dreaded lest his excessive sanctity should be fatal to them: they feared "mankind would become atheists." The gods and Bramha at their head were obliged to grant his desire of Brahminhood; and Vashista, conciliated by the gods, acquiesced in their wish, and "formed a friendship with Vishwamitra."

* Caucasi, the ancient capital of the present race of Marwar.

† See translation of this epic, by Messrs. Carey and Marshman.

Vyasa, the author of the grand epic the *Mahabharat*, was son of Santanu (of the race of Hari),* sovereign of Delhi, by Yojanagandha, a fisherman's daughter,† consequently illegitimate. He became the spiritual father, or preceptor, of his nieces, the daughters of Vichitravirya, the son and successor of Santanu.

Vichitravirya had no male of his line. Of his three daughters, one was named Pandea;‡ and Vyasa, being the sole remaining male branch of the house of Santanu, took, his niece, and spiritual daughter, Pandea, Vyasa, being the sole remaining male branch of the house Santanu, took, no to wife, and became the father of Pandu, afterwards sovereign of Indraprastha.

Arrian gives the story thus: "He (Hercules§) had a daughter when he

* Hari-cula.

† It is a very curious circumstance, that Hindu legend gives to two of their most celebrated authors, whom they have invested with a sacred character, a descent from the aboriginal and impure tribes of India: Vyasa from a fisherman, and Valmiki, the author of the other grand epic the *Ramayana*, from a budbek or robber, an associate of the *Bail* tribe at Abou. The conversion of Valmiki (said to have been miraculous, when in the act of robbing the shrine of the deity), is worked into a story of considerable effect, in the works of Chand, from olden authority.

‡ The reason for this name is thus given. One of these daughters being by a slave, it was necessary to ascertain which: a difficult matter, from the seclusion in which they were kept. It was therefore left to Vyasa to discover the pure of birth; who determined that nobility of blood would shew itself, and commanded that the princesses should walk uncovered before him. The elder, from shame, closed her eyes, and from her was born the blind Dhritrashtra, sovereign of Hastinapura; the second, from the same feeling, covered herself with yellow ochre, called *pandu*, and henceforth she bore the name of Pandea, and her son was called Pandu while the third stepped forth unabashed. She was adjudged not of gentle blood, and her issue was Vidura.

§ A generic term for the sovereigns of the race of Hari, used by Arrian as a proper name. A section of the *Mahabharat* is devoted to the history of the *Hericula*, of which race was Vayasa.

Arrian notices the similarity of the Theban and the Hindu Hercules, and cites as authority the ambassador of Seleucus, Megasthenes, who says: "He uses the same habit with the Theban; and is particularly worshipped by the 'Suraseni, who have two great cities belonging to them, namely, *Mathoras* (Mathura) and *Olisoboras*."

Diodorus has the same legend, with some variety. He says: "Hercules was born amongst the Indians and like the Greeks they furnish him with a club and lions' hide. In strength (*bala*) he excelled all men, and cleared the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts. He had many sons, but only one daughter. It is said that he built Palibothra, and divided his kingdom amongst his sons (the *Balica-putras*, sons of Bali.) They never colonized but in time most of the cities assumed a democratical form of government (though some were monarchical) till Alexander's time." The combats of Hercules, to which Diodorus alludes, are those in the legendary hunts of the *Hericulas*, during their twelve years' exile from the seats of their forefathers.

How invaluable such remnants of the ancient race of Hari-cula? How refreshing to the mind yet to discover, amidst the ruins on the Yamuna, Hercules (Baldeva, god of strength) retaining his club and lion's hide, standing on his pedestal at Baldeo, and yet worshipped by the *Suraseni*! This name was given to a large tract of country round Mathura, or rather round Surpura, the ancient capital founded by Surzen, the grandfather of the Indian brother deities, Krishna and Baldeva. Appollo and Hercules. The title would apply to either; Baldeva has the attributes of the 'god of strength.' Both are *as* (lords) of the race (*cula*) of *Hari* (Hari-cul-es), of which the Greeks might have made the compound Hercules. Might not a colony after the great war have migrated westward? The period of the return of the Herculids, the descendants of Atreus (Atre is progenitor of the *Hericula*) would answer: it was about half a century after the great war.

It is unfortunate that Alexander's historians were unable to penetrate into the arcana of Hindus, as Herodotus appears to have done with those of the Egyptians. The shortness of Alexander's stay, the unknown language in which their science and religion were hid, presented an insuperable difficulty. They could have made very little progress in the study of the language without discovering its analogy to their own.

"was advanced in years;* and being unable to find a husband worthy of her
 "he married her himself, that he might supply the throne of India with
 "monarchs. Her name was Pandea, and he caused the whole province in
 "which she was born to receive its name from her."†

This is the very legend contained in the Puranas, of Vyasa (who was Hari-cul-es, or chief of the race of Hari and his *spiritual* daughter Pandea, from whom the grand race the *Pandus*; and from whom Delhi and its dependencies were designated the Pandu sovereignty.

Her issue ruled for thirty-one generations in direct descents, or from 1120 to 610 before Christ; when the military minister,‡ connected by blood, was chosen by the chiefs who rebelled against the last Pandu king, represented as "neglectful of all the cares of government," and whose deposition and death introduced a new dynasty.

To other dynasties succeeded in like manner by the usurpation of these military ministers, until Vicramaditya, when the Pandu sovereignty and era of Yudhisthira were both overturned.

Indraprastha remained without a sovereign, supreme power being removed from the north to the southern parts of India, till the fourth, or, according to some authorities, the eighth century after Vicrama, when the throne of Yudhisthira was once more occupied by the Tuar tribe of Rajpoots, claiming descent from the *Pandus*. To this ancient capital, thus refounded, the new appellation of Delhi was given; and the dynasty of the founder, Anungpal, lasted to the twelfth century, when he abdicated in favour of his grandson,§ Prithwiraja, the last imperial Rajpoot sovereign of India, whose defeat and death introduced the Mahomedans.

This line has also closed with the pageant of a prince and colony returned from the extreme west is now the sole arbiter of the throne of *Pandu* and *Timoor*.

Britain has become heir to the monuments of Indraprastha raised by the descendants of Boodha and Ella; to the iron pillar of the *Pandus*, whose pedestal|| "is fixed in hell," to the columns reared to victory, inscribed with

* Arrain generally exercises his judgment in these matters, and is the reverse of credulous. On this point he says, "My opinion of this story is, that if Hercules were capable of "having an affair of this kind, and getting children, he was not so near his end as they wish "to make us believe."

† Sandrococtus is mentioned by Arrian to be of this line; and we can have no hesitation therefore, in giving him a place in the dynasty of Puru, the second son of Yayati, whence the patronymic used by the race now extinct, as was Yada, the elder brother of Puru. Hence Sandrococtus, if not a Puru himself, is connected with the chain of which the links are Jara-sandha (a hero of the *Bharat*) Ripoonjaya, the twenty-third in descent, when a new race, headed by Sanaka and Seanag, about six hundred years before Christ, usurped the seat of the lineal descendants of Puru; in which line of usurpation is Chandragupta of the tribe Mori, the Sandrococtus of Alexander, a branch of this Seanag, Takshac, or Snake race which, stripped of its allegory, will afford room for subsequent dissertation. The Prasii of Arrian would be the stock of Puru; Prayag is claimed in the annals yet existing as the cradle of their race. This is the modern Allahabad; and the Erenaboss must be the Jumna, and the point of junction with the Ganges, where we must place the Capital of the Prasii.

‡ Analogous to the *maire du palais* of the first races of the Franks.

§ His daughter's son. This is not the first or only instance of the *salique* law of India being set aside. There are two in the history of the Sovereigns of Anbulwara Puttum. In all adoptions of this nature, when the child "binds round his head the turban" of his adopted father, he is finally served from the stock whence he had his birth.

|| The wheel, or iron pillar of the *Pandus*, is mentioned in the poems of Chand. An infidel Tuar prince wished to prove the truth of the tradition of its depth of foundation; blood gushed up from the earth's centre, the pillar became loose (*dhilli*), "as did the fortune of the house from such impiety. This is the origin of *Delhi*."

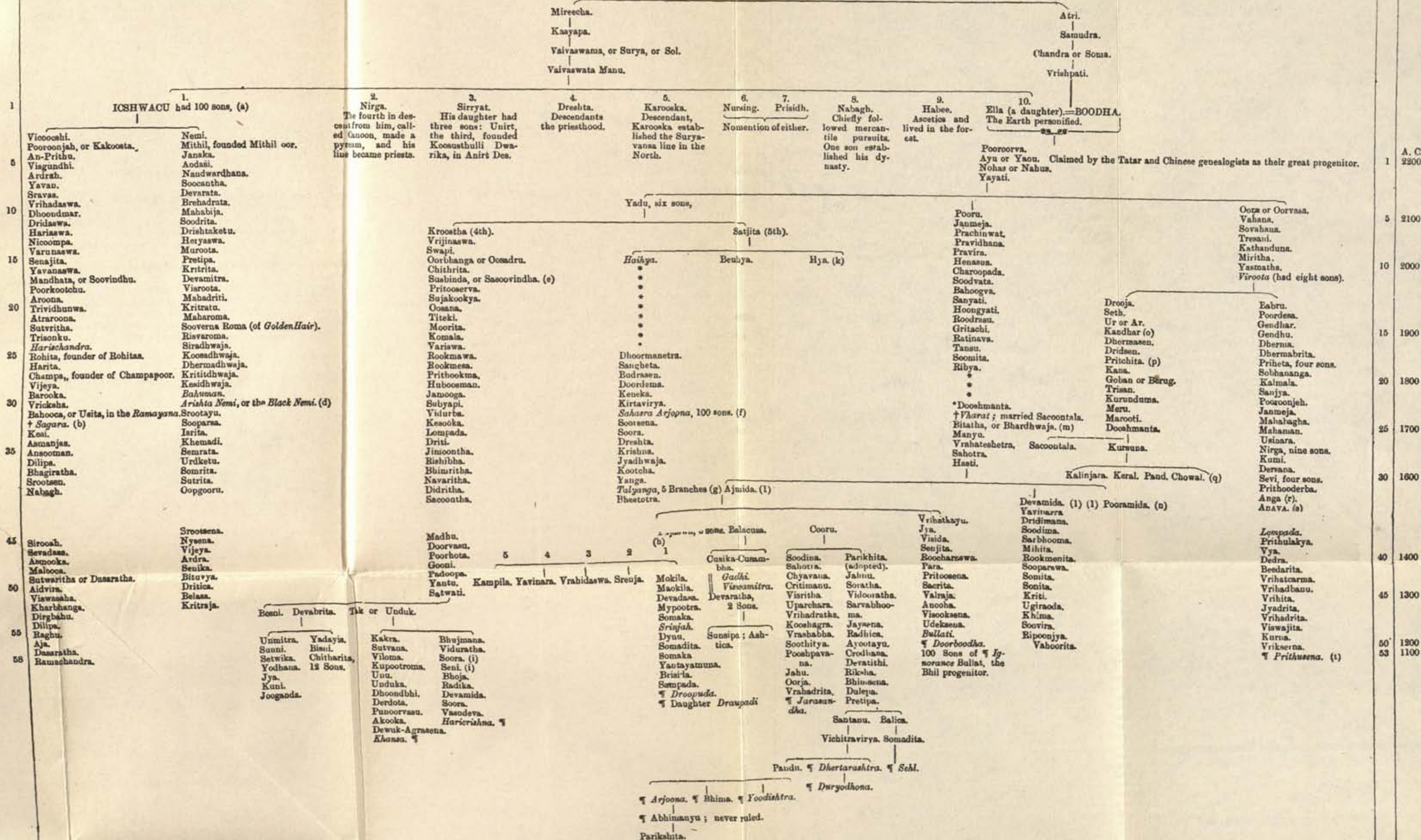
TABLE I.

VANSAVALI, OR GENEALOGIES OF THE RACES OF SURYA AND CHANDRA, FROM ICISHWACU AND BOODHA TO RAMA AND CRISHNA.

SOLAR RACE, OR SURYA-VANSA.

NARAYAN, OR VISNU.
BRAMHA.

LUNAR RACE, OR INDU-VANSA.

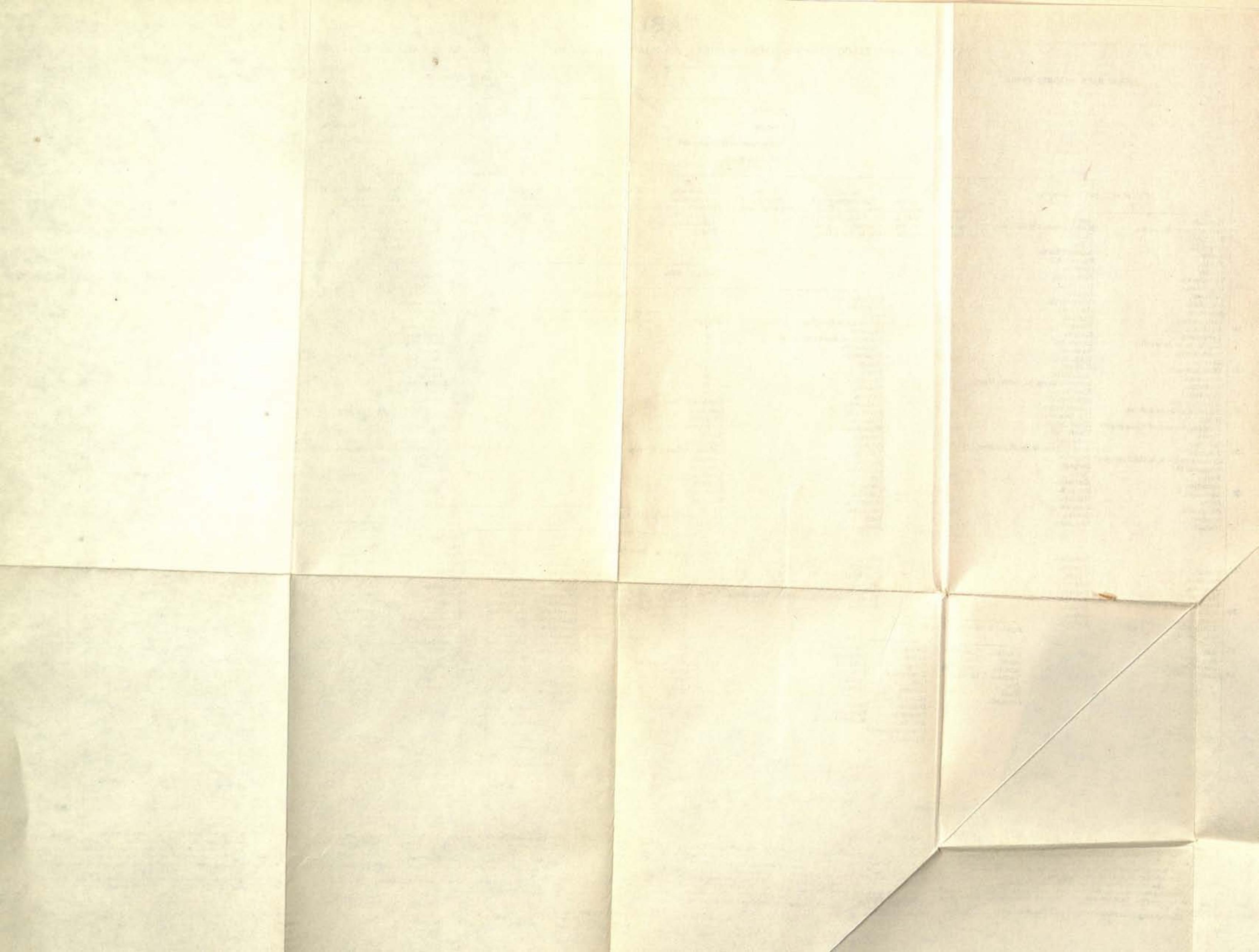


(a) The eldest, Sukana, established his line in the north, by whom that region was peopled.
(b) His father was expelled from his kingdom by the Taljanghas.
(c) Cotemporary of LAMPADA of Anga-desa.
(d) Also the title of Nemina, the twenty-second Boodha.
(e) Formed a separate race, of whom Sisoual, Prince of Chedy or Chanderi, descendants occupied Rinthumbowr, in time of Prithiviraja, called Sisupalvansa.
(f) Cotemporary with Paroswa-Rama and Hariachandara.

(g) The Ramayana mentions the violent warfare carried on between the Sooryavansa and Haihyas and Taljanghas, which appear to denote a diversity of religious faith between those grand rivals of Soorya and Chandra race of the stock of Ieshwacu and Yayati, the Ramonians and Japettians of India.
(h) The five brothers established a joint sovereignty called Panchaladesa, or PANCHALICA, and the seed of Bajaswa occupied all the countries on the Indus, (Baj, Hy, Aswa, are synonymous; qu. origin of Hystaspes!) From Maokila, or Maodgila, descended a race of BRAHMINS, of whom was Dronacharya, the famous archer.

(i) From these names, compounded, is the country named Soorasi.
(k) No lines are given from these. Hya is said to be first Chinese sovereign.
(l) Pronounced Ajmede, Deomedde Poormede.
(m) Those names marked thus †, in italics, cotemporary warriors in the Mahabharata.
(n) From him the celebrated Brahmin gotra, or race, of this name.
(o) No race given from this branch.

(p) Said to have given his name to a country.
(q) Became King of Mlechha-desa in the north.
(r) These four sons gave their names to countries.
(s) The Kingdom Assam and Ava.
(t) Anga-desa, i. e. country of Anga, whose son's name is An-ava.
(u) One of the survivors of the Mahabharata. This the race called Angavansa, from the 34th prince, Anga.



characters yet unknown; to the massive ruins of its ancient continuous cities, encompassing a space still larger than the largest city in the world, whose mouldering domes and sites of fortresses,* the very names of which are lost, present a noble field for speculation on the ephemeral nature of power and glory. What monument would Britain bequeath to distant posterity of her succession to this dominion? Not one; except it be that of a still less perishable nature, the monument of national benefit. Much is in our power: much has been given, and posterity will demand the result.

CHAPTER III.

*Genealogies continued—Comparisons between the Lists of
Sir W. Jones, Mr. Bentley, Captain Wilford, and
the Author.—Synchronisms.*

VYASA gives but fifty-seven princes of the Solar line, from Vaivaswata Manu to Rama; and no list which has come under my observation exhibits more than fifty-eight for the same period, of the Lunar race. How different from the Egyptian priesthood, who according to Herodotus, gave a list up to that period of 330† sovereigns from their first prince, also the 'Sun-born; Menes'

Icshwacu was the son of Manu, and the first who moved to the eastward, and founded Ayodhya.

Boodha (Mercury) founded the Lunar line; but we are not told who established their first capital, Prayag,‡ though we are authorized to infer that it was founded by Puru, the sixth in descent from Boodha.

A succession of fifty-seven princes occupied Ayodhya from Icshwacu to Rama. From Yayati's sons the Lunar races decend in unequal lengths.

* I doubt if Shapoor is yet known. I trace its extent from the remains of a tower between Hemayoon's tomb and the grand column, the Cootub. In 1809 I resided four months at the mausoleum of Suffer Jung, the ancestor of the present King of Oude, amidst the ruins of Indraprastha, several miles from inhabited Delhi, but with which these ruins form detached links of connection. I went to that retirement with a friend now no more, Lieutenant Macartney, a name well known and honoured. We had both been employed in surveying the canals which had their sources in common from the head of the Jumna, where this river leaves its rocky barriers, the Sewalik chain, and issues into the plains of Hindustan. These canals on each side, fed by the parent stream, returned the waters again into it; one through the city of Delhi, the other on the opposite side.

† Herodotus, Melpomene, chap. xiv. p. 200.

‡ The Egyptians claim the sun, also, as the first founder of the kingdom of Egypt.

§ The Jessulmeer annals give in succession Prayag, Mathura, Kusasthuli, Dwarka, as capitals of the Indu or Lunar race, in the ages preceding the Bharat or great war. Hastinapura was founded twenty generations after these, by Hasti, from whom ramified the three grand Sacm, viz., Ajamida, Doomida, and Puramida, which diversified the Yadu race.

The lines from Yadu,* concluding with Crishna and his uncle Kansa, exhibit fifty-seven, and fifty-nine descents from Yayati, while Yudhishthira,† Salat Jarasandha,§ and Vahoorita,|| all contemporaries of Crishna and Kansa, are fifty-one, forty-six, and forty-seven generations, respectively, from the common ancestor, Yayati.

There is a wide difference between the Solar and the Yadu branches of the Lunar lines; yet is that now given fuller than any I have met with. Sir William Jones' lists of the Solar line give fifty-six, and of the Lunar (Boodha to Yudhishthira) forty-six, being one less in each than in the table now presented; nor has he given the important branch terminating with Crishna. So close an affinity between lists, derived from such different authorities as this distinguished character and myself had access to, shews that there was some general source entitled to credit.

Mr. Bentley's¶ lists agree with Sir William Jones' exhibiting fifty-six and forty-six respectively, for the last-mentioned Solar and Lunar races. But, on a close comparison, he has either copied them or taken from the same original source; afterwards transposing names which, though aiding a likely hypothesis, will not accord with their historical belief.

Colonel Wilford's** Solar list is of no use: but his two dynasties of Puru and Yadu of the Lunar race are excellent, that part of the line of Puru, from Jarasandha to Chandragupta, being the only correct one in print.

It is surprising, Wilford did not make use of Sir William Jones' Solar chronology; but he appears to have dreaded bringing down Rama to the period of Crishna, as he is known to have preceded by four generations "the great war" of the Yadu races.

It is evident that the Lunar line has reached us defective. It is supposed so by their genealogists; and Wilford would have increased the error by taking it as the standard, and reducing the Solar to conform thereto.

Mr. Bentley's method is therefore preferable; namely, to suppose eleven princes omitted in the Lunar between Janmejya and Prachinwat. But as there is no authority for this, the Lunar princes are distributed in the tables collaterally with the Solar, preserving contemporaneous affinity where synchronism will authorize. By this means all hypothesis will be avoided, and the genealogies will speak for themselves.

There is very little difference between Sir William Jones' and Colonel Wilford's lists, in that main branch of the Lunar race, of which Puru, Hasti, Ajmida, Curu, Santanu, and Yadhishthira, are the most distinguished links. The coincidence is so near, as to warrant a supposition of identity of source; but close inspection shews Wilford to have had a fuller supply, for he produces new branches, both of Hasti's and Curu's progeny. He has also one name (Bhimsena) towards the close, which is in my lists, but not in Sir William Jones';

* See table I.

† Of Delhi—Indraprastha.

‡ Sala, the founder of Arore on the Indus, a capital I had the good fortune to discover. Sala is the *Sehr* of Abul Fazil.

§ Jarasandha of Behar.

|| Vahoorita, unknown yet.

¶ Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 341.

** Ibid vol. p. 241.

and immediately following Bhimsena, both these lists exhibit *Dilipa*, wanting in my copy of the *Bhagvat*, though contained in the *Agni Purana*: proofs of the diversity of the sources of supply, and highly gratifying when the remoteness of those sources is considered. There is also in my lists *Tunsu*, the nineteenth from Boodha, who is not in the lists either of Sir William Jones or Wilford. Again; Wilford has a *Suhotra* preceding Hasti, who is not in Sir William Jones' genealogies.*

Again; *Jahnu* is made the successor to Curu; whereas the *Purana* (whence my extracts) makes Parikhita the successor, who adopts the son of Jahnu. This son is Poratha, who has a place in all three. Other variations are merely orthographical.

A comparison of Sir William Jones' Solar genealogies with my tables will yield nearly the same satisfactory result as to original authenticity. I say Sir William Jones' list, because there is no other efficient one. We first differ at the fourth from Icschwacu. In my list this is Un-Prithu, of which he makes two names, Aneas and Prithu. Thence to Purucutsa, the eighteenth, the difference is only in orthography. To Irisuaka, the twenty-third in mine, the twenty-sixth in Sir William Jones' list, one name is above accounted for; but here are two wanting in mine, Irasadadya and Hyaswa. There is, also, considerable difference in the orthography of those names which we have in common. Again; we differ as to the successors of Champa, the twenty-seventh, the founder of Champapur in Behar. In Sir Williams', Sudeva succeeds, and he is followed by Vijya: but my authorities state these both to be sons of Champa; and that Vijya, the younger, was his successor, as the elder, Sudeva, took to religious austerity. The thirty-third and thirty-sixth, Kesi and Dilipa, are not noticed by Sir William Jones: but there is a much more important person than either of these omitted, who is a grand link of connection, and affording a good synchronism of the earliest history. This is Ambarisha, the fortieth, the contemporary of Gadhi, who was the founder of Gadhipura or Canonj. Nala, Surura, and Dilipa (Nos. 44, 45, 54 of my lists), are all omitted by Sir William Jones.

This comparative analysis of the chronologies of both these grand races cannot fail to be satisfactory. Those which I furnish are from the sacred genealogies in the library of a prince who claims common origin with them, and are less liable to interpolation. There is scarcely a chief of character for knowledge, who cannot repeat the genealogy of his line. The Prince of Mewar has a peculiarly retentive memory in this way. The professed genealogists, the Bhats, must have them graven on their memory, and the Charunas (the encomiasts) ought to be well versed therein.

The first table exhibits two dynasties of the Solar race of Princes of Ayodhya and Mithil Des, or Tirhoot, which latter I have seen no where else. It also exhibits four great and three lesser dynasties of the Lunar race; and an eighth line is added, of the race of Yadu, from the annals of the Batti tribe at Jessulmeer.

Ere quitting this halting-place in the Genealogical history of the ancient races, where the celebrated names of Rama, Crishna, and Yudhisthira, close the brazen age of India, and whose issue introduce the present iron age, or kali yuga, I shall shortly refer to the few synchronic points which the various authorities admit.

* I find them, however, in the *Agni Purana*.

Of periods so remote, approximations to truth are the utmost to be looked for; and it is from the *Ramayana* and the *Puranas* these synchronisms are hazarded.

The first commences with a celebrated name of the Solar line, Harischandra, son of Trisunkhu, still proverbial for his humility. He is the twenty-fourth* and declared cotemporary of Parasu-rama, who slew the celebrated Sahasra-Arjuna† of the Haihya (Lunar) race, prince of Mahismati on the Nerbudda. This is confirmed by the *Ramayana*, which details the destruction of the military class and assumption of political power by the Brahmins, under their chief Parasu-rama, marking the period when the military class "lost the umbrella of royalty," and, as the Brahmins ridiculously assert, their purity of blood. This last, however, their own books sufficiently contradict, as the next synchronism will shew.

This synchronism we have in Sagara, the thirty-second prince of the Solar line, the contemporary of Taljangha, of the Lunar line, the sixth in descent from Sahasra-Arjuna, who had five sons preserved from the general slaughter of the military class by Parasu-rama, whose names are given in the *Bhavishya*.

Wars were constantly carried on between these great rival races. Surya and Indu, recorded in the *Puranas* and *Ramayana*. The *Bhavishya* describes that between Sagara and Taljangha "to resemble that of their ancestors, in which the Haihyas suffered as severely as before." But that they had recovered all their power since Parasurama, is evident from their having completely retaliated on th Surya, and expelled the father‡ of Sagara from his capital of Ayodhya. Sagara and Taljangha appear to have been contemporary with Hasia of Hastinapura, and with Anga, descended from Boodha, the founder of Angadesa,§ or Ongdesa, and the Anga race.

* Sahyadri Khanda of the *Scanda Purana*.

† In the *Bhavishya Purana* this prince, Sahasra-Arjuna is termed a chakravarti, or paramount sovereign. That he conquered Karkataka of the Takshac, Toorehka, or snake race, and brought with him the population of Mahismati, and founded Hemanagra in the north of India on his expulsion from his dominions on the Nerbudda. Traditionary legends yet remain of this prince on the Nerbudda, where he is styled Sahasra Bahu, or with 'a thousand arms,' figurative of his numerous progeny.

The Takshac, or Snake race, here alluded to, will hereafter engage our attention. The names of animals in early times, planets, and things inanimate, all furnished symbolic appellations for the various races. In Scripture we have the fly, the bee, the ram, to describe the princes of Egypt, Assyria, and Macedonia: here we have the snake, horse, monkey. &c.

The Snake or Takshac race was one of the most extensive and earliest of Higher Asia, and celebrated in all its extent, and to which I shall have to recur hereafter.

In the *Ramayana* it is stated that the sacrificial horse was stolen by "a serpent (Takshac) assuming the form of Ananta."

‡ "Usita, the father of Sagara, expelled by hostile kings of the Haihyas, the Taljungas, and the Susooindhas, fled to the Himavut mountains, where he died leaving his wives pregnant, and from one of these Sagara was born." (1) It was to preserve the Solar race from the destruction which threatened it from the prolific Lunar race, that the Brahmin-Parasu-rama armed: evidently proving that the Brahminical faith was held by the Solar race; while the religion of Boodha, the great progenitor of the Lunar, still governed his descendants. This strengthened the opposition of the sages of the Solar line to Vishwamitra's (of Boodha's or the Lunar line) obtaining Brahminhood. That Crishna, of Lunar stock, prior to founding a new sect, worshipped Boodha, is susceptible of proof.

(1) Forty-first section, Book i, of the *Ramayana*, translation by Carey.

§ Angades, Ongdes, or Ondes, adjoins Thibet. The inhabitants call themselves Hoongias and appear to be the Hong-niu of the Chinese authors' the Huns (Hoons) of Europe and India which prove this Taotar race Lunar, and of Boodha.

The *Ramagana* affords another synchronism; namely, that Ambarisha of Ayodhya, the fortieth prince of the Solar line, was the contemporary of Gadhi, the founder of Canouj, and of Lompada the Prince of Angadesa.

The last synchronism is that of Crishna and Yudhisthira, which terminates the brazen, and introduces the Kaliyuga or iron age. But this is in the Lunar line; nor have we any guide by which the difference can be adjusted between the appearance of Rama of the Solar, and Crishna of the Lunar races.

Thus of the race of Crustha we have Kansa, Prince of Mathura, the fifty ninth, and his nephew Crishna, the fifty-eighth from Boodha; while of the line of Puru, descending through Ajamida and Deomida, we have Sal Jarasandha, and Yudhisthira, the fifty first, fifty-third, and fifty-fourth respectively.

The race of Anga gives Prithu-sena as one of the actors and survivors of the *Mahabharat*, and fifty-third from Boodha.

Thus, taking an average of the whole, we may consider fifty-five princes to be the number of descents from Boodha to Crishna and Yudhisthira; and, admitting an average of twenty years for each reign, a period of eleven hundred years: which being added to a like period calculated from thence to Vicramaditya, who reigned fifty-six years before Christ, I venture to place the establishment in Inda Proper of these two grand races, distinctively called those of Surya and Chandra, at about 2,256 years before the Christian era; at which period, though somewhat later, the Egyptian, Chinese, and Assyrian monarchies are generally stated to have been established,* and about a century and a half after that great event, the Flood.

Though a passage in the *Agni Purana*, indicates that the line of Surya, of which Ieshwacu was the head, was the first colony which entered India from Central Asia, yet we are compelled to place the patriarch Boodha as his cotemporary, he being stated to have come from a distant region, and married to Ella, the sister of Ieshwacu.

Ere we proceed to make any remarks on the descendants of Crishna and Arjuna, who carry on the Lunar line, or of the Cushites and Lavites from Cush and Lava, the sons of Rama, who carry on that of the Sun, a few observations on the chief kingdoms established by their progenitors on the continent of India will be hazarded in the ensuing chapter.

* Egyptian, under Misraim, B. C, 2188 Assyrian. 2059; Chinese, 2207.

CHAPTER IV.

Foundations of States and Cities by the different Tribes.

AYODHYA* was the first city founded by the race of Surya. Like other capitals, its importance must have risen by slow degrees; yet, making every allowance for exaggeration, it must have attained great splendour long anterior to Rama. Its site is well known at this day under the contracted name of Oude, which also designates the country appertaining to the titular Vizier of the Mogul empire; which country, twenty-five years ago, nearly marked the limits of Kosala, the pristine kingdom of the Surya race. Overgrown greatness characterized all the ancient Asiatic capitals, and that of Ayodhya was immense, Lucknow, the present capital, is traditionally asserted to have been one of the suburbs of ancient Oude, and so named by Rama, in compliment to his brother Lachshman.

Nearly coeval in point of time with Ayodhya was Mithila,† the capital of a country of the same name, founded by Mithila, the grandson of Icschwacu.

The name of Janaka,‡ son of Mithila, eclipsed that of the founder, and became the patronymic of this branch of the Solar race.

These are the two chief capitals of the kingdoms of the Solar line described in this early age; though there were others of a minor order, such as Rotas, Champapura, &c., all founded previously to Rama.

By the numerous dynasties of the Lunar race of Boodha many kingdoms were founded. Much has been said of the antiquity of Prayag; yet the first capital of the Indu or Lunar race appears to have been founded by Sahasra Arjuna, of the Haihya tribe. This was Mahesmati on the Nerbudda, still existing in Maheswar.§ The rivalry between the Lunar race and that of the

* The picture drawn by Valmink of the capital of the Solar is so highly coloured, that Ayodhya might stand for utopia, and it would be difficult to find such a catalogue of metropolitan embellishments, in this iron age of Oude. On the banks of the Sarayu is a large country called Kosala, in which is Ayodhya built by Manu, twelve yojans (forty-eight miles) in extent, with streets regular and well watered. It was filled with merchants, beautified by gardens ornamented with stately gates and high-arched porticos, furnished with arms, crowded with chariots, elephants, and horses, and with ambassadors from foreign lands; embellished with palaces whose domes resembled the mountain tops, dwellings of equal height resounding with the delightful music of the tobor, the flute, and the harp. It was surrounded by an impassable moat, and guarded by arches. Dasarathi was its king, a mighty charioteer. There were no ahiests. The affections of the men were in their consorts. The women were chaste and obedient to their lords, endowed with beauty, wit, sweetness, prudence, and industry, with bright ornaments and fair apparel; the men devoted to truth and hospitality, regardless of their superiors, their ancestors, and their gods."

"There were eight counsellors; two chosen priests profound in the law, besides another inferior council of six. Of subdued appetites, disinterested, forbearing, pleasant, patient; not avaricious; well acquainted with their duties and popular customs; attentive to the army, the treasury; impartially awarding punishment even on their own sons; never oppressing even an enemy; not arrogant; comely in dress; never confident about doubtful matters; devoted to the sovereign."

† Mithila, the modern Tirhoot in Bengal.

‡ Kusadhwa, father of Sita (spouse of Rama), is also called Janaka; a name common in this line, and borne by the third prince in succession after Suvurna Rama, the 'golden-haired' Chief Mithila.

§ Familiarly designated as Sahasra Bahu Ka Basteo, or 'the town of the thousand-armed.'

Suryas of Ayodhya, in whose aid the priesthood armed, and expelled Sahasra Arjuna from Mahismati has been mentioned. A small branch of these ancient Haihyas* yet exists in the line of the Nerbudda, near the very top of the valley at Sohagpur, in Bhagel-khund, aware of their ancient lineage, and, though few in number, are still celebrated for their valour.†

Kusasthali Dwarica, the capital of Crishna, was founded prior to Prayag, to Surpur, or Mathura. The *Bhagvat* attributes the foundation of the city to Anirt, the brother of Ieshwacu, of the Solar race, but states not how or when the Yadus became possessed thereof.

The ancient annals of the Jessulmeer family of the Yadu stock give the priority of foundation to *Prayag*, next to *Mathura*, and last to *Dwarica*. All these cities are too well known to require description; especially *Prayag*, at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges. The Prasi were the descendants of Puru‡ of *Prayag*, visited by Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus, and the principal city of the Yadus, ere it sent forth the four branches from *Satwati*. At *Prayag* resided the celebrated *Bharat*, the husband of *Sakuntala*.

In the *Ramayana*, the Susoovindhas§ (another Yadu race) are inscribed as allied with the Haihyas in the wars with the race of Surya; and of this race was *Sisupal*|| (the founder of *Chedy*),¶ one of the foes of *Crishna*.

We are assured by Alexander's historians, that the country and people round *Mathura*, when he invaded India, were termed *Surseni*. There are two princes of the name of *Sursen* in the immediate ancestry of *Crishna*; one his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these founded the capital *Surpur*,** whence the country and inhabitants had their appella-

* The Haihya race, of the line of *Boodha*, may claim affinity with the Chinese race which first gave monarchs to China.

† Of this I have heard the most romantic proofs in very recent times.

‡ *Puru* became the patronymic of this branch of the Lunar race. Of this Alexander's historians made *Porus*. The *Suraseni* of *Methoras* (descendants of the *Sur Sen* of *Mathura*) were all *Purus*, the *Prasi* of *Megasthenes*. *Allahabad* yet retains its Hindu name of *Prayag*, pronounced *Prag*.

§ The *Hares*, *Seesodia* is said to have the same derivation.

|| The princes of *Rinthum-bowur*, expelled by *Prithuraja* of *Delhi*, were of this race.

¶ The modern *Chanderi* is said to be this capital, and one of the few to which no Englishman has obtained entrance, though I tried hard in 1807. Doubtless it would afford food for curiosity; for being out of the path of armies in the days of conquest and revolution, it may, and I believe does retain, much worthy of research.

** I had the pleasure, in 1814, of discovering a remnant of this city, which the *Yamuna* has overwhelmed. The sacred place of pilgrimage, *Bhateswara*, stands on part of it. My discovery of it was doubly gratifying, for while I found out the *Suraseni* of the Greeks, I obtained a medal of the little-known *Apollodotus*, who carried his arms to the mouths of the *Indus*, and possibly to the centre of the land of the *Yadus*. He is not included by *Bayer* in his lists of the kings of *Bactria*, but we have only an imperfect knowledge of the extent of that dynasty *Bhagvat Puran* asserts thirteen *Yavan* or *Ionian* princes to have ruled in *Balich-des* or *Bactria* in which they mention *Pushpamitra Dootmitra*. We are justified in asserting this to be *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, but who did not succeed his father, as *Menander* intervened. Of this last conqueror I also possess a medal, obtained amongst the *Suraseni*, and struck in commemoration of victory, as the winged messenger of heavenly peace extends the palm branch from her hand. These two will fill up a chasm in the *Bactrian annals*, for *Menander* is well known to them. *Apollodotus* would have perished but for *Arrian*, who wrote the *Periplus* of the *Erythrean Sea* in the second century, while commercial agent at *Barcach*, or classically *Brigugatocha*, the *Baragata* of the Greeks.

Without the notice, this writer has afforded us, my *Apollodotus* would have lost half its value. Since my arrival in Europe I have also been made acquainted with the existence of a medal of *Demetrius*, discovered in *Bokhara*, and on which an essay has been written by a servant at *St. Petersburg*.

tion, we cannot say. Mathura and Clésobaras are mentioned by the historians of Alexander as the chief cities of the Suraseni. Though the Greeks sadly disfigure names, we cannot trace any affinity between Clesebaras and Surpur.

The city of Hastinapura was built by Hasti, a name celebrated in the Lunar dynasties. The name of this city is still preserved on the Ganges, about forty miles south of Hari-dwar,* where the Ganges breaks through the Sewaluk mountains and enters the plains of India. This might stream, rolling its masses of waters from the glaciers of the Himalaya, and joined by many auxiliary streams frequently carries destruction before it. In one night a column of thirty feet in perpendicular height has been known to bear away all within its sweep, and to such an occurrence the capital of Hasti is said to have owed its ruin.†

As it existed, however, long after the Mahabharat, it is surprising it is not mentioned by the historians of Alexander, who invaded India probably about eight centuries after that event. In this abode of the sons of Puru resided Purus, one of the two princes of that name, opponents of Alexander, and probably Barusar the son of Chandragupta, surmised to be the Abisares and Sandracoptos of Grecian authorities. Of the two princes named Purus mentioned by Alexander's historians, one resided in the very cradle of the Puru dynasties; the abode of the other bordered on the Punjab: warranting an assertion that the Pori of Alexander were of the Lunar race, and destroying all the claims various authors‡ have advanced on behalf of the princes of Mewar.§

Hasti sent forth three grand branches, Ajamida, Deomida, and Puramida. Of the two last we lose sight altogether; but Ajamida's progeny spread over all the northern parts of India, in the Punjab, and across the Indus. The period, probably one thousand six hundred years before Christ.

From Ajamida,|| in the fourth generation, was Bajaswa, who obtained possessions towards the Indus, and whose five sons gave their name *Panchalica*, to the Punjab, or space watered by the five rivers. The capital founded by the younger brother, Kampila, was named Kampilnagara.¶

The descendants of Ajamida by his second wife, Kesunee, founded another kingdom and dynasty, celebrated in the heroic history of northern India. This is the *Cusika* dynasty.

* The portal of Huri or Hari, whose trisula or trident is there.

† Wilford says this event is mentioned in two Puranas as occurring in the sixth or eighth generation of the great war. Those who have travelled in the Doab must have remarked where both the Ganges and Jumna have shifted their beds.

‡ Sir Thomas Roe; Sir Thomas Herbert; the Helstoin ambassador (by Olearius); Della Valle; Churchill, in his collection: and borrowing from these, D'Anville, Bayer, Orme, Rennell, &c.

§ The ignorance of the family Mewar of the fact, would by no means be a conclusive argument against it, could it be otherwise substantiated; but the race of Surya was completely eclipsed at this period by the Lunar and new races which soon poured in from west of the Indus, and in time displaced them all.

|| Ajamida, by his wife Nila, had five sons, who spread their branches (Sachas) on both sides the Indus. Regarding three the Puranas are silent, which implies their migration to distant regions. Is it possible they might be the origin of the Medes? These Medes are descendants of Yayati, third son of the patriarch Manu; and Madai, founder of the Medes, was of Japhet's line. Ajamodi, the patronymic of the branch of Bajaswa, is from Aja 'a goat.' The Assyrian Mede, in Scripture, is typified by the goat.

¶ Of this house was Droupadi, the wife, in common, of the five Pandu brothers; manners peculiar to Seythis.

Cush had four sons, two of whom, Cushnabha and Cushamba, are well known to traditional history, and by the still surviving cities founded by them. Cushnabha founded the city of Mahadya on the Ganges, afterwards changed to Canyacobja, or Canouj, which maintained its celebrity until the Mahomedan invasion of Shabudin (A. D. 1193), when this overgrown city was laid prostrate for ever. It was not unfrequently called Gadhipura, or the 'city of Gadhi.' This practice of multiplying names of cities in the east is very destructive to history. Abul Fuzil has taken from Hindu authorities an account of Canouj; and could we admit the authority of a poet on such subjects, Chund, the bard of Pirthwiraja,* would afford materials. Ferishta states it in the early ages to have been twenty-five cross (thirty-five miles) in circumference, and that there were thirty thousand shops for the sale of the areca or beetle-nut only; and this in the sixth century, at which period the Rahtore dynasty, which terminated with Jeychand, in the twelfth, had been in possession from the end of the fifth century.

Cushamba also founded a city, called after his own name *Causambi*.† The name was in existence in the eleventh century; and ruins might yet exist, if search were made on the shores of the Ganges, from Canouj southward.

The other sons built two capitals, Dharmaranya and Vasumuti; but of neither have we any correct knowledge.

Curu had two sons, Sudina and Parikhita. The descendants of the former terminated with Jarasandha, whose capital was Rajgraha (the modern Rajmahal) on the Ganges, in the province of Behar. From Parikhita descended the monarchs Santanu and Balica: the first producing the rivals of the Great War, Yudhishthira and Duryodhana; the other the Balicaputras.

Duryodhana, the successor to the throne of Curu, resided at the ancient capital, Hastinapura; while the junior branch, Yudhishthira, founded Indraprastha, on the Yamuna or Jumna, which name in the eighth century was changed to Delhi.

The sons of Balica founded two kingdoms; *Palibothra*, on the lower Ganges; and *Arore*;‡ on the eastern bank of the Indus, founded by Sehl.

* King of Delhi.

† An inscription was discovered at Kurrah on the Ganges, in which Yaspal is mentioned as prince of the realm of Causambi.—*As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 440, Wilford, in his Essay on the Geography of the Puranas, says "Causambi near Allahabad."—*As. Res.* vol. xiv.

‡ Arore, or Alore, was the capital of Scind in remote antiquity; a bridge over the stream which branched from the Indus, near Dura, is almost the sole vestige of the capital of the Sogdi of Alexander. On its site the shepherds of the desert have established an extensive hamlet; it is placed on a ridge of siliceous rock seven miles east of the insular Bekher, and free from the inundations of the Indus. The Soda tribe, a powerful branch of the Pramara race has ruled in the country from remote antiquity, and to a very late period they were lords of Omakote and Omrasocoura, in which division was Arore.

Sehl and his capital were known to Abul Fuzil, though he was ignorant of its position which he transferred to Debeil, or Dewul the modern Tatta. This indefatigable historian thus describes it. "In ancient times there lived a raja named Sehi, whose capital was Alore, and his dominions extended north to Cashmere and south to the ocean."

Sehl, or Sehr, became a titular appellation of the country, its princes and its inhabitants the Sehraes.

Alore appears to have been the capital of the kingdom of Sigertia, conquered by Menander of Bactria. Ebn Hanakul, the Arabian geographer, mentions it; but a superfluous point in writing has changed Arore into Azore, or Azour, as translated by Sir W. Ouseley.

The illustrious D'Anville mentions it; but, in ignorance of its position, quoting Abulfeda, says, in grandeur "Azour est presque comparable a Moodtan."

I have to claim the discovery of several ancient capital cities in the north of India; Surpur, on the Jumna, the capital of the Yadus; Alore, on the Indus, the capital of the

One great arm of the tree of Yayati remains unnoticed, that of Ooru or Oorvasu, written by others *Turvasu*.

Ooru was the father of a line of kings who founded several empires.

Viroata, the eighth prince from Ooru, had eight sons, two of whom are particularly mentioned as sending forth two grand shoots, Druhya and Babru.

From Druhya a dynasty was established in the north. Ar, with his son Khandar, is stated to have founded a state: Pritchita is said to have become king of Mlechha-desa, or the barbarous regions.

This line terminated with Dushhanta, the father of the celebrated Sacountala, married to Bharat, and who, labouring under the displeasure of some offended deity, is said by the Hindus to have been the cause of all the woes which subsequently befel the race.

The four grandson of Dushhanta, Kalinjar, Keral, Pand, and Chowal, gave their names to countries.

Kalinjar is the celebrated fortress in Boondelkhund, so well known for its antiquities, which have claimed considerable notice.

Of the second, Keral, it is only known that in the list of the thirty-six royal races in the twelfth century, the Keral makes one, but the capital is unknown.

The kingdom founded by Pand may be that on the coast of Malabar, the Pandu-Mandal of the Hindus, the *Reyia Pandiona* of the geographers of the west, and of which probably, Tanjore is the modern capital.

Chowal* is in the Saurashtra peninsula, and on the coast, towards Jugut Koont, 'the world's end,' and still retains its appellation.

The other shoot from Babru became celebrated. The thirty-fourth prince, Anga, founded the kingdom of Anga-desa, of which Champa† Malini was the capital, established about the same time with Canouj, probably fifteen hundred years before Christ. With him the patronymic was changed, and the Anga race became famous in ancient Hindu history: and to this day, *An-des* still designates the Alpine regions of Thibet bordering on Chinese Tartary.

Pristosena terminates the line of Anga; and as he survived the disasters of the Great War, his race probably multiplied in those regions, where caste appears never to have been introduced.

Sodas; Mundodri, capital of the Puriharas; Chandravati; at the foot of the Aravali Mountains, and Ballabhipura, in Gujarat, capital of the Balica-races, the Balharas of Arab travellers. The Balla Rajpoot of Saurashtra may have given the name to Ballachipura, as descendants of Balica from Behl of Arore. The blessing of the bard to them is yet, *Tatta Mooltan co Rao* ('lord of Tatta and Mooltan,' the sons of the Balica putras): nor is it improbable that a branch of these, under the India Hercules, Balaram, who left India after the Great War, may have founded Balich, or Balikh, emphatically called the 'mother of cities.' The Jesulmeer annals assert that the Yadu and Balica branches of the Indu race ruled Khorassan after the Great War, the Indo Scythic race of Grecian authors.

Besides the Balicas, and the numerous branches of the Indo-Medes, many of the sons of Curu dispersed over these regions: amongst whom we may place Ootara Curu (*Northern Curus*) of the Puranas, the Ottochorum of the Greek authors. Both the Indu and Surya races were eternally sending their superfluous population to those distant regions, when probably the same primeval religion governed the race east and west of the Indus.

* From Chowal on the coast, in journeying towards Joonagurh, and about seven miles from the former, are the remains of an ancient city.

† From the description in the *Kamayana* of king Dasaratha proceeding to Champamallni, the capital of Lompada, king of Agra (sixth in descent from the founder), it is evident that it was a very mountainous region, and the deep forests and large rivers presented serious obstructions to his journey. From this I should imagine it impossible that Anga-desa should apply to a portion of Bengal, in which there is a Champa-mallina, described by Colonel Francklin in his *Wassav on Palibothra*.

Thus have we rapidly reviewed the dynasties of Surya and Chandra, from Manu and Boodha to Rama, Crishna, Yudhishthira, and Jarasandha; establishing, it is hoped, some new points, and perhaps adding to the credibility of the whole.

The wrecks of almost all the vast cities founded by them are yet to be traced in ruins. The city of Ieshwacu and Rama, on the Sarayu; Indraprastha, Mathura, Surpura, Prayag on the Yamuna; Hastinapura, Canyacubja, Rajgraha on the Ganges; Maheswar on the Nerbudda; Arore on the Indus; and Kusasthali Dwarica on the shore of the Indian ocean. Each has left some memorial of former grandeur: research may discover others.

There is yet an unexplored region in Panchalica; Kampilnagara its capital, and those cities established west of the Indus by the sons of Bajaswa.

Traces of the early Indo-Scythic nations may possibly reward the search of some adventurous traveller who may penetrate into Transoxiana, on the sites of Cyropolis, and the most Northern Alexandria; in Balkh, and amidst the caves of Bamian.

The plains of India retain yet many ancient cities, from whose ruins somewhat may be gleaned to add a mite to knowledge; and where inscriptions may be found in a character which, though yet unintelligible, will not always remain so in this age of discovery. For such let the search be general, and when once a key is obtained, they will enlighten each other. Wherever the races of Curu, Ooru, and Yadu have swayed, have been found ancient and yet undecyphered characters.

Much would reward him who would make a better digest of the historical and geographical matter in the *Puranas*. But we must discard the idea that the history of Rama, the *Mahabharat* of Crishna and the five Pandus* brothers, are mere allegory: an idea supported by some, although their races, their cities, and their coins still exist. Let us master the characters on the columns of Indraprastha, of Prayag and Mewar, on the rocks of Joonagurh† at Bijollie, on the Aravali, and in the Jain temples scattered over India, and then we shall be able to arrive at just and satisfactory conclusions.

* The history and exploits of the Pandus and Hariculas are best known in the most remote parts of India; amidst the forest-crowned mountains of Saurashtra, the deep woods and caves of Herimba and Virat (still the shelter of the savage Bhil and Koli), or on the craggy banks of the Charmanvati (Chumbul). In each, tradition has localized the shelter of these heroes when exiled from the Yamuna; and colossal figures cut from the mountain, ancient temples and caves inscribed with characters yet unknown, attributed to the Pandus, confirm the legendary tale.

† The 'ancient city,' *Par eminence*, is the only name this old capital, at the foot of, and guard-

CHAPTER V.

The Dynasties which succeeded Rama and Crishna.—The Pandu Family.—Periods of the different Dynasties.

HAVING investigated the line from Ieshwacu to Rama, and that from Boodha (the parent and first emigrant of the Indu† race, from Saca Dwipa, or Scythia, to Hindusthan) to Crishna and Yudhisthira, a period of twelve hundred years, we proceed to the second division and second table of the genealogies.

From Rama, all the tribes termed Suryavansa, or 'Race of the Sun,' claim descent, as the present princes of Mewar, Jeypur, Marwar, Bikaner, and their numerous clans; while from the Lunar (Indu) line of Boodha and Crishna, the families of Jessulmeer and Cutch (the Bhatti‡ and Jareja races), extending throughout the Indian desert from the Sutledge to the ocean, deduce their pedigres.

Rama preceded Crishna: but as their historians, Valmika and Vyasa, who wrote the events they witnessed, were contemporaries, it could not have been by many years.

The present table contains the dynasties which succeeded these great beacons of the Solar and Lunar races, and are three in number.§

- 1st. The Suryavansa, descendants of Rama.
- 2nd. The Induvansa, descendants of Pandu through Yudhisthira.
- 3rd. The Induvansa, descendants of Jarasandha, monarch of Rajgraha.

The *Bhagvat* and *Agni Puranas* are the authorities for the lines from Rama and Jarasandha; while that of Pandu is from the *Raj-Tarangini* and *Rajawali*.

ing, the sacred mount Girnar, is known by. Abul Fazil says it had long remained desolate and unknown, and was discovered by mere accident. Tradition even being silent, they gave it the emphatic application of Juna (old) Gurh (fortress). I have little doubt that it is the Asildurga, or Asilgurh, of the Grahilote annals; where it is said that prince Asil raised a fortress called after him, near to Girnar, by the consent of the Dabi prince, his uncle.

* Indu, Som, Chandra, in Sanscrit 'the moon;' hence the Lunar race is termed the Chandra-vansa, Som-vansa, or Indu-vansa, most probably the root of *Hindu*.

† The isolated and now dependent chieftainship of Dhat, of which Omrakote is the capital, separates the Bhattis from the Jarejas. Dhat, is now amalgamated with Scind. Its prince, of Pramara race and Soda tribe, ancient lords of all Scind.

‡ A fourth and fifth might have been given, but imperfect. First the descendants of Cush, second son of Rama, from whence the princes of Nirwar and Ambar; secondly, the descendants of Crishna, from whom the princes of Jessulmeer.

The existing Rajpoot tribes of the Solar race claim descent from Lava and Cush, the two elder sons of Rama: nor do I believe any existing tribes trace their ancestry to his other children, or to his brothers.

From the eldest son, Lava, the Ranas of Mewar claim descent: so do the Birgoogir tribe, formerly powerful within the confines of the present Ambar, whose representative now dwells at Anupshahar on the Ganges.

From Cush, descend the Cushwaha* princes of Nirwar and Ambar, and their numerous clans. Ambar, though the first in power, is but a scion of Nirwar, transplanted about one thousand years back, whose chief, the representative of the celebrated Prince Nala, enjoys but a sorry district† of all his ancient possessions.

The house of Marwar also claims descent from this stem, which appears to originate in an error of the genealogists, confounding the race of Cush with the Causika of Canouj and Causambi. Nor do the Solar genealogists admit his assumed pedigree.

The Ambar prince, in his genealogies traces the descent of the Mewar family from Rama to Sumitra, through Lava, the eldest brother and not through Cush‡ as in some copies of the *Puranas*, and in that whence Sir William Jones had his lists.

Mr. Bently, taking this genealogy from the same authority as Sir William Jones, has mutilated it by a transposition, for which his reasons are insufficient, and militate against every opinion of the Hindus. Finding the names Vrihadbala and Vridasura, declared to be princes cotemporary with Yudhishthira, he transposes the whole ten princes of his list, intervening between Takshac|| and Bahuman.¶

Bahuman,** or 'the man with arms,' (Derazdust or Longimanus) is the thirty-fourth prince from Rama; and his reign must be placed nearly intermediate between Rama and Sumitra, or his cotemporary Vicrama, and in the sixth century from either.

* In modern times always written and pronounced *Cutchwaha*.

† It is in the plateau of Central India, near Shahabad.

‡ Whatever dignity attaches to this pedigree, whether true or false, every Prince and every Hindu of learning, admit the claims of the princes of Mewar as heir to 'the chair of Rama,' and a degree of reverence has consequently attached, not only to his person, but to the seat of his power.

When Madiajee Sindhia was called by the Rana to reduce a traitorous noble in Cheeter, such was the reverence which actuated that (in other respects) little scrupulous chieftain, that he could not be prevailed on to point his cannon on the walls within which consent established 'the throne of Rama.' The Rana himself, then a youth, had to break the ice, and fired a cannon against his own ancient abode.

§ Bryant, in his *Analysis*, mentions that the children of the Cushite Ham used his name in salutation as a mark of recognition. 'Ram,' 'Ram,' is the common salutation in these Hindu countries; the respondent often joining Seta's name with that of her consort Rama 'Seta Ram.'

|| Twenty-eight prince from Rama in Mr. Bently's list, and twenty-fifth in mine.

¶ Thirty-seventh in Mr. Bently's list, and thirty-fourth in mine: but the intervening names being made to follow Rama, Bahuman (written by him *Banumat*) follows Takshac.

** The period of time, also, would allow of their grafting the son of Artaxerxes and father of Darius, the worshipper of Mithras, on the stem of the adorers of Surya, while a curious notice of the Raja Jey Sing's on a subsequent name on this list, which he calls Noahirwan, strengthens the coincidence. Bahuman (see articles 'Bahuman,' D' Herbelot's *Bibli Orient*) actually carried his arms into India, and invaded the kingdoms of the Solar race of Mithila and Magadha. The time is appropriate to the first Darius and his father; and Herodotus tells us, that the richest and best of the satrapies of his empire was the Hindu.

Sumitra concludes the line of Surya or Rama from the *Bhagvat Purana*. Thence it is connected with the present line of Mewar, by Jey Sing's authorities; which list has been compared with various others, chiefly Jain, as well be related in the annals of Mewar.

It will be seen that the line of Surya exhibits fifty-six princes, from Lava, the son of Rama, to Sumitra, the last prince given in the *Puranas*. Sir William Jones exhibits fifty-seven.

To these fifty-six reigns I should, be willing to allow the average of twenty years, which would give 1,120 from Rama to Sumitra, who preceded by a short period Vicramaditya; and as 1,100 have been already calculated to have preceded the era of Rama and Yudhisthira, the inference is, that 2,200 years elapsed from Ieshwacu, the founder of the Solar line, to Sumitra.

From the *Raj-Tarangini* and *Rajavati*, the Induvansa family (descendants of Pandu through Yudhisthira) is supplied. These works, celebrated in Rajwarra as collections of genealogies and historical facts, by the Pandits Vidyadhara and Raghunath, were compiled under the eye of the most learned prince of his period, Sowae Jey Sing of Ambar, and give the various dynasties which ruled at Indraprastha, or Delhi, from Yudhisthira to Vicramaditya; and although barren of events, may be considered of value in filling up a period of entire darkness.

The *Tarangini* commences with Adinath* or Rishubhadeva,† being the Jain‡ theogony. Rapidly noticing the leading princes of the dynasties discussed, they pass to the birth of the kings Dhritarashtra and Pandu, and their offspring, detailing the causes of their civil strife, to that conflict termed the Mahabharat, or great war.

The origin of every family, whether of east or west, is involved in fable. That of the Pandus§ is entitled to as much credence as the birth of Romulus, or other founders of a race.

Such traditions|| were probably invented to cover some great disgrace in the Pandu family, and have relation to the story already related of Vyasa, and the debasement of this branch of the Hari-culas. Accordingly, on the death of Pandu, Duryodhana, nephew of Pandu (son of Dhritarashtra, who from blindness could not inherit), asserted their illegitimacy before the assembled kin at Hastinapur.

With the aid, however, of the priesthood, and the blind Dhritarashtra, his nephew, Yudhisthira, elder son of Pandu, was invested by him with the seal of royalty, in the capital, Hastinapur.

* First lord.

† Lord of the Bull.

‡ Vidyadhara was a Jain.

§ Pandu not being blessed with progeny, his queen made use of a charm by which she

enticed the deities from their spheres. To Dharma Raj (Minos) she bore Yudhisthira; by Pavan (Eolus) she had Bhima; by Indra (Jupiter Cælus) she had Arjuna, who was taught by him, the use of the bow, so fatal in the Great War; and Nacula and Sahadeva owed their birth to A-wini Kamar (Esculapius) the physician of the gods.

|| We must not disregard the intellect of the Ambar prince, who allowed these ancient traditions to be incorporated with the genealogy compiled under his eye. The prince who obtained De Silva from Emanuel III, of Portugal, who combined the astronomical tables of Europe and Asia, and raised these monuments of his scientific genius in his favourite pursuit (astronomy) in all the capital cities of India, while engrossed in war and politics, requires neither eulogy nor defence.

Duryodhana's plots against the Pandu and his partizans were so numerous, that the five brothers determined to leave for a while their ancestral abodes on the Ganges. They sought shelter in foreign countries about the Indus, and were first protected by Drupada, king of Panchalica, at whose capital, Kampilnagara, the surrounding princes had arrived as suitors for the hand of his daughter, Droupadi.* But the prize was destined for the exiled Pandu, and the skill of Arjuna in archery, obtained him the fair who "threw round his neck the (baramala) garland of marriage." The disappointed princes indulged their resentment against the exile: but by Arjuna's bow they suffered the fate of Penelope's suitors, and the Pandu brought home his bride, who became the wife in common of the five brothers: manners† decisively Scythic.

The deeds of the brothers abroad were bruited in Hastinapur, and the blind Dhritarashtra's influence effected their recall. To stop, however, their intestine feuds, he partitioned the Pandu sovereignty: and while his son, Duryodhana, retained Hastinapur, Yudhishthira founded the new capital of Indraprastha but shortly after the Mahabharat he abdicated in favour of his grand nephew, Parikshita introducing a new era, called after himself, which existed for eleven hundred years, when it was overturned, and Indraprastha was conquered by Vicramaditya Tuar of Oojein, of the same race, who established an era of his own.

On the division of the Pandu sovereignty, the new kingdom of Indraprastha eclipsed that of Hastinapur. The brothers reduced to obedience the surrounding‡ nations, and compelled their princes to sign tributary engagements (*Paenamah*)§

Yudhishthira, firmly seated on his throne determined to signalize his reign and paramount sovereignty, by the imposing and solemn rites of '*Aswamedha*'|| and '*Rajasya*.'

In these magnificent ceremonies, in which princes alone officiate, every duty, down to that of porter, is performed by royalty.

The 'Steed of Sacrifice' was liberated under Arjuna's care, having wandered whither he listed for twelve months; and none daring to accept this challenge of supremacy, he was reconducted to Indraprastha, where, in the mean while, the hall of sacrifice was prepared, and all the princes of the land were summoned to attend.

The heart of Curus¶ burned with envy at the assumption of supremacy by the Pandus, for the prince of Hastinapur's office was to serve out the sacred food.

* Drupadi was of the Aswa race, being descended from Bajaswa (or Hyaswa) of the line of Ajamida.

† This marriage, so inconsistent with Hindu delicacy, is glossed over. Admitting the polyandry, but in ignorance of its being a national custom, puerile reasons are interpolated. In the early annals of the same race, predecessors of the Jessalmeer family, the younger son is made to succeed; also Scythic or Tatar.

§ The manners of the Scythæ described by Herodotus are found still to exist amongst their descendants: "a pair of slippers at the wife's door" is a signal well understood by all Elimaik husbands.—*Elphinstone's Caubul*, vol. ii. q. 251.

¶ Turangini.

|| *Paenamah* is a word peculiarly expressive of subserviency to paramount authority, whether the engagement be in money or service: from *pae*, 'the foot.'

¶ Sacrifice of the horse to the sun, of which a full description is given hereafter.

¶ Duryodhana, as the elder branch, retained his title as head of the Curus; while the junior, Yudhishthira, on the separation of authority, adopted his father's name, Pandu, as the patronymic of his dynasty. The site of the great conflict (or Mahabharat) between these rival clans, is called *Curu-Kshetra*, or 'Field of the Curus.'

The rivalry between the races burst forth afresh : but Duryodhana, who so often failed in his schemes against the safety of his antagonists, determined to make the virtue of Yudhishthira the instrument of his success. He availed himself of the national propensity for play, in which the Rajpoot continues to preserve his Scythic* resemblance. Yudhishthira fell into the snare prepared for him. He lost his kingdom, his wife, and even his personal liberty and that of his brothers, for twelve years, and became an exile from the plains of the Yamuna.

The traditional history of these wanderers during the term of probation, their many lurking places now sacred, the return to their ancestral abodes, and the grand battle (Mahabharat) which ensued, from highly interesting episodes in the legends of Hindu antiquity.

To decide this civil strife, every tribe and chief of fame, from the Caucasus to the ocean, assembled on Curu-Kshetra, the field on which the empire of India has since more than once been contested† and lost.

This combat was fatal to the dominant influence of the "fifty-six tribes of Yadu." On each of its eighteen day's combat, myriads were slain : for "the father knew not the son, nor the disciple his preceptor."

Victory brought no happiness to Yudhishthira. The slaughter of his friends disgusted him with the world, and he determined to withdraw from it ; previously performing, at Hastinapur, funeral rites for Duryodhana (slain by the hand of Bhima), whose ambition and bad faith had originated this exterminating war.

"Having regained his kingdom, he proclaimed a new era, and placing on "the throne of Indraprastha, Parikshit, grandson to Arjuna, retired to Dwarka with Crishna and Baladeva : and since the war to the period of writing, 463½ years have elapsed."‡

Yudhishthira, Baladeva, and Crishna, having retired with the wreck of this ill-fated struggle to Dwarica, the two former had soon to lament the death of Crishna, slain by one of aboriginal tribes of Bhils; against whom, from their shattered condition, they were unable to contend. After this event Yudhishthira, with Baladeva and a few followers, entirely withdrew from India, and emigrating northwards, by Scind, to the Himalayan mountains, are there abandoned by Hindu traditional history, and are supposed to have perished in the snows.§

* Herodotus describes the ruinous passion for play amongst the Scythic border, and which may have been carried west by Odin into Scandinavia and Germany. Tacitus tells us that the Germans like the Fandus, staked even personal liberty, and were sold as slaves by the winner.

† On it the last Hindu monarch, Prithwiraja, lost his kingdom, his liberty, and life.

‡ Raj-Tarangini. The period of writing was A. D. 1740.

§ Having ventured to surmise analogies between the Hercules of the east and west, I, shall carry them a point farther. Amidst the snows of Caucasus, Hindu legend abandons the Hariculus, under their leaders Yudhishthira and Baladeva : yet if Alexander established his altars in Pa-chalia, amongst the sons of Poorn and the Hariculus, what physical impossibility exists that a colony of them, under Yudhishthira and Baladeva, eight centuries anterior, should have penetrated to Greece? Comparatively far advanced in science and arms, the conquest would have been easy. When Alexander attacked the "free cities" of Pauchalica, the Porus and Hariculus who opposed him evinced the recollections of their ancestor, in carrying the figure of Hercules as their standard. Comparison proves a common origin to Hindu and Grecian Mythology : and Plato says the Greeks had theirs from Egypt and the East. May not this colony of the Hariculus be the Heracidae, who penetrated into the Peloponnesus (according to Volney) 1078 years before Christ sufficiently near our calculated period of the Great War?

From Parikshita, who succeeded Yudhishthira, to Vicramaditya, four* dynasties are given in a continuous chain, exhibiting sixty-six princes to Rajpal, who, invading Kumaon, was slain by Sukwanta. The Kumaon conqueror seized upon Delhi, but was soon dispossessed by Vicramaditya, who transferred the seat of imperial power from Indraprastha to Avanti, or Oojein, from which time it became the first meridian of the Hindu astronomy.

Indraprastha ceased to be a regal abode for eight centuries, when it was re-established by Anungpal,† the founder of the Tuar race, claiming descent from the Pandus. Then the name of Delhi superseded that of Indraprastha.

"Sukwanta, a prince from the northern mountains of Kumaon, ruled fourteen years when he was slain by Vicramaditya‡ and from the Bharat to this period 2,915 years have elapsed."§

Such a period asserted to have elapsed while sixty-six princes occupied the throne, gives an average of forty-four years to each; which is incredible, if not absolutely impossible.

In another passage the compiler says: "I have read many books (shas-tras) and all agreed to make one hundred princes, all of Khetri|| race, "occupy the throne of Delhi from Yudhishthira to Prithwiraja, a period of 4,100 years¶, after which the Rewad** race succeeded."

The Heraclidæ claimed from Atreus: the Hariculas claim from Atri.

Euriatheneus was the first king of the Heraclidæ: Yudhishthira has sufficient affinity in name to the first Spartan king, not to startle the etymologists, the d, and r being always permutable in Sanscrit.

The Greeks or Ionians descended from Yavan, or Javan, the seventh from Japhet. The Hariculas are also Yavans claiming from Javans or Yavan, the thirteenth in descent from Yayati, the third son of the primeval patriarch.

The ancient Heraclidæ of Greece asserted they were as old as the sun, and older than the moon. May not this boast conceal the fact, that the Heliadæ (or Surya-vans) of Greece had settled there anterior to the colony of the Indu (Lunar) race Haricula?

In all that relates to the mythological history of the Indian demi-gods, Baladeva (Hercules), Oriahna or Kanya (Apollo), and Boodha (Mercury), a powerful and almost perfect resemblance can be traced between those of Hindu legend, Greece, and Egypt. Baladeva (the god of strength) Haricula is still worshipped as in the days of Alexander; his shrine at Buldeo in (Vrij, the Suraseni of the Greeks), his club a ploughshare, and a lion's skin his covering.

An Hindu intaglio of rare value, represents Hercules exactly as described by Arrian, with a monogram consisting of two ancient characters now unknown, but which I have found wherever tradition assigns a spot to the Hariculas; especially in Saurashtra, where they were long concealed on their exile from Delhi.

This we may at once decide to the exact figure of Hercules which Arrian describes his descendants to have carried as their standard, when Poms opposed Alexander. The intaglio will appear in the *Trans. R. A. S.*

* The twenty-eighth prince, Khemraj, was the last in lineal descent from Parikshita, the grand nephew of Yudhishthira. The first dynasty lasted 1864 years. The second dynasty was of Viserwa, and consisted of fourteen princes; this lasted five hundred years. The third dynasty was headed by Mahraj, and terminated by Untinai, the fifteenth prince. The fourth dynasty was headed by Dhoodsen, and terminated by Rajpal, the ninth and last king.—(*Raj-Tarangini*.)

† The *Raj-Tarangini* gives the date A.V. 848, or A.D. 792, for this; and adds: "Princes from Sewaluk, or northern hills, held it during this time, and it long continued desolate until the Tuars."

‡ Fifty-six years, A. C.

|| Rajpoot, or Chatrya.

§ Raghunath.

¶ This period of 4,100 years may have been arrived at by the compiler taking for granted the number of years mentioned by Raghunath as having elapsed from the Mahabharat to Vicramaditya, namely, 2,915, and adding thereto the well authenticated period of Prithwiraja, who was born in Samvat 1215: for if 2,915 be subtracted from 4,100, it leaves 1,185 the period within thirty years of the birth of Prithwiraja, according to the Cuohan chronicles.

** Solar.

It is fortunate for these remnants of historical data, that they have only extended the duration of reigns, and not added more heads. Sixty-six links are quite sufficient to connect Yudhisthira and Vicramaditya.

We cannot object to the "one hundred princes" who fill the space assigned from Yudhisthira to Prithwiraja, though there is no proportion between the number which precedes and that which follows Vicramaditya; the former being sixty-six, the latter only thirty-four princes, although the period cannot differ half a century.

Let us apply a test to these one hundred kings, from Yudhisthira to Prithwiraja: the result will be 2,250 years.

This test is derived from the average rate of reigns of the chief dynasties of Rajasthan, during a period of 633, to 663+ years, or from Prithwiraja to the present date.

Of Mewar,...34½ princes, or 16 years to each reign.

Of Marwar,...28 princes,.....23½ ditto

Of Ambar,...29 princes,.....22½ ditto

Of Jessulmeer,...28 princes,.....23½ ditto

giving an average of twenty-two years for each reign.

It would not be proper to ascribe a longer period to each reign, and it were perhaps better to give the minimum nineteen, to extended dynasties; and to the sixty-six princes from Yudhisthira and Vicramaditya not even so much, four revolutions and usurpations marking this period.

The remaining line, that of Jarasandha, taken from the *Bhagvat*, is of considerable importance, and will afford scope for further speculation.

Jarasandha was the monarch of Rajgraha,|| or Behar, whose son Sydeva, and grandson Marjairi, are declared to have been contemporaries of the Mahabharat, and consequently coeval with Parikshit the Delhi sovereign.

The direct line of Jarasandha terminates in twenty-three descents with Ripoonjya, who was slain, and his throne assumed by his minister, Sanaka, whose dynasty terminated in the fifth generation with Nandivardhan. Sanaka derived no personal advantage from his usurpation, as he immediately placed his son, Pradhyota, on the throne. To these five princes one hundred and thirty-eight years are assigned.

A new race entered Hindusthan, led by a conqueror termed Sesnag, from Sesnagdesa,¶ who ascended the Pandu throne, and whose line terminates in ten descents with Mahananda, of spurious

* From S. 1250, or A. D. 1194, captivity and dethronement of Prithwiraja.

† From S. 1212, A. D. 1156, the founding of Jessulmeer by Jessul, to the accession of Gaj Sing, the present prince, in S. 1876 or A. D. 1820.

‡ Many of its early princes were killed in battle; and the present prince's father succeeded his own nephew, which was retrograding.

§ The historians sanction the propriety of these changes, in their remarks, that the deposed were "deficient in [capacity for] the cares and duties of government."

|| Rajgraha, or Rajmahal, capital of Magadha-desa, or Behar.

¶ Figuratively, the country of the head of the Snakes; Nag, Tak, Takhaz, being synonymous; and which I conclude to be the abode of the ancient Scythic Tachari of Strabo; the *Tai-t-uts* of the Chinese, the *Tajaks* of the present day of Turkistan. This race appears to be the same with that of *Toorshka* (of the *Puranas*), who ruled on the *Arverina* (the *Araxes*), in *Saca-Dwipa*, or *Scythia*.

birth. This last prince, who was also named Bykyat, carried on an exterminating warfare against the ancient Rajpoot princes of pure blood, the *Pooranas* declaring that since the dynasty of Sahesnag, the princes were Sudras. Three hundred and sixty years are allotted to these ten princes.

A fourth dynasty commenced with Chandragupta Mori, of the same Takshac race. The Mori dynasty consisted of ten princes, who are stated to have passed away in one hundred and thirty-seven years.

The fifth dynasty of eight princes were from Sringi-des and are said to have ruled one hundred and twelve years, when a prince of Canva-des deprived the last of life and kingdom. Of these eight princes, four were of pure blood, when Kistna, by a Sudra woman, succeeded. The dynasty of Canva-des terminates in twenty three generations with Salombdhi.

Thus from the Great War six successive dynasties are given, presenting a continuous chain of eighty-two princes, reckoning from Shahadeva, the successor of Jarasandha, to Salombdhi.

To some of the short dynasties, periods are assigned of moderate length; but as the first and last are without such data, the test already decided on must be applied; which will yield 1,704 years, being six hundred and four after Vicramaditya, whose cotemporary will thus be Basdeva, the fifty fifth prince from Sahadeva of the sixth dynasty, said to be a conqueror from the country of Kutter. If these calculations possess any value, the genealogies of the *Bhagvat* are brought down to the close of the fifth century following Vicramaditya. As we cannot admit the gift of prophesy to the compilers of these books, we may infer that they remodelled their ancient chronicles during the reign of Salombdhi, about the year of Vicrama 600, or A.D. 546.

With regard to calculations already adduced, as to the average number of years for the reigns of the foregoing dynasties, a comparison with those which history affords of other parts of the world will supply the best criterion of the assumed data.

From the revolt of the ten tribes against Rehoboam† to the capture of Jerusalem, a period of three hundred and eighty-seven years, twenty kings sat on the throne of Judah, making each reign nineteen and a half years; but if we include the three anterior reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, prior to the revolt, the result will be twenty-six and a half years each.

From the dismemberment of the Assyrian ‡ empire under Sardanapalus, nearly nine hundred years before Christ, the three consequent confluent dynasties of Babylonia, Assyria, and Media, afford very different results for comparison.

The Assyrian preserves the medium, while Babylonish and Median run into extremes. Of the nine princes who swayed Babylon, from the period of

* Mr. Bentley (1) states, that the astronomer, Brahmagupta, flourished about A. D. 522 or of Vicrama 583, shortly preceding the reign of Salombdhi: that he was the founder of the system called the Calpa of Brahma, on which the present Hindu chronology is founded, and to which Mr. Bentley says their historical data was transferred. This would strengthen my calculations; but the weight of Mr. Bentley's authority has been much weakened by his unwarrantable attack on Mr. Colebrooke, whose extent of knowledge is of double value from his entire aversion to hypothesis.

(1) On the Hindu System of Astronomy; *As. Res.* vol. viii. p. 236-7.

† 987 years before Christ.

‡ For these and the following dates I am indebted to Gouquet's chronological tables, in his *Origin of Laws*.

its separation from, till its reunion to Assyria, a space of fifty-two years, Darius, who ruled Media sixty years, outlived the whole. Of the line of Darius there were but six princes, from the separation of the kingdoms to their reunion under Cyrus, a period of one hundred and seventy-four years or twenty-nine to each reign.

The Assyrian reigns form a juster medium. From Nebuchadnezzar to Sardanapalus we have twenty-two years to a reign ; but from thence to the extinction of this dynasty, eighteen.

The first eleven kings, the Heraclidæ of Lacedæmon, commencing with Euristhenes (1078 before Christ), average thirty-two years ; while in republican Athens, nearly cotemporary, from the first perpetual archon until the office became decennial in the seventh Olympiad, the reigns of the twelve chief magistrates average twenty-eight years and half.

Thus we have three periods, Jewish, Spartan, and Athenian each commencing about eleven hundred years before Christ, not half a century remote from the Mahabharat ; with those of Babylonia, Assyria, and Media, commencing where we quit the Grecian, in the eighth century before the Christian era, the Jewish ending in the sixth century.

However short, compared with our Solar and Lunar dynasties, yet these combined with the average reigns of existing Hindu dynasties, will aid the judgment in estimating the periods to be assigned to the lines thus afforded instead of following the improbable value attached by the Brahmins.

From such data, longevity appears in unison with climate and simplicity of life : the Spartan yielding the maximum of thirty-two to a reign, while the more luxurious Athens gives twenty-eight and a half. The Jews, from Saul to their exile 'to the waters of Babylon,' twenty-six and half. The Medes equal the Lacedæmonians, and in all history can only be paralleled, by the princes of Anahulwarra, one of whom, Chaond almost equalled Darius.

Of the separated ten tribes, from the revolt to the captivity, twenty-kings of Israel passed away in two centuries, or ten years each.

The Spartan and Assyrian present the extremes of thirty-two and eighteen, giving a medium of twenty-five years to a reign.

The average result of our four Hindu dynasties, in a period of nearly seven hundred years, is twenty-two years.

From all which data, I would presume to assign from twenty to twenty-two years to each reign in line of fifty princes.

If the value thus obtained be satisfactory, and the lines, of dynasties derived from so many authorities correct, we shall arrive at the same conclusion with Mr. Bentley ; who, by the more philosophical process of astronomical and genealogical combination, places Yudhisthiras's era in the year 2825 of the world ; which being taken from 4004 (the world's age at the birth of Christ), will leave 1179 before Christ for Yudhisthira's era, or 1123 before Vicramaditya.

CHAPTER VI.

Genealogical History of the Rajpoot Tribes subsequent to Vicramaditya.—Foreign Races which entered India.—Analogies between the Scythians, the Rajpoots, and Tribes of Scandinavia.

HAVING thus brought down the genealogical history of the ancient martial races of India from the earliest period to Yudhisthira and Crishna, and thence to Vicramaditya and the present day, a few observations on the races invading India during that time, and now ranked amongst the thirty-six royal races of Rajasthan, affording scope for some curious analogies, may not be inopportune.

The tribes alluded to are the Haya or Aswa, the Takshac, and the Jit or Gete; the similitude of whose theogony, names in their early genealogies, and many other points, with the Chinese, Tatar, Mogul, Hindu, and Scythic races, would appear to warrant the assertion of one common origin.

Though the periods of the passage of these tribes into India cannot be stated with exactitude, the regions whence they migrated may more easily be ascertained.

Let us compare the origin of the Tatars and Moguls, as given by their historian, Abulgazi, with the races we have been treating of from the *Pooranas*.

Mogul was the name of the Tatarian patriarch. His son was Ogz,* the founder of all the races of these northern regions, called Tatars and Mogul.

Ogz, or Oguz, had six sons.† First, Kiun,‡ 'the sun,' the Surya of the *Pooranas*: secondly, Ay,§ 'the moon,' the Indu of the *Pooranas*.

In the latter, Ayu we have even the same name as in the *Pooranas* for lunar ancestor.

The Tatars all claim from Ayu, 'the moon,' the Indu of the *Pooranas*. Hence with them, as with the German tribes, the moon was always a male deity.

The Tatar Ay had a son, Juldus. His son was Hyu, from whom came the first race of the kings of China.

The *Pooranic* Ayu had a son, Yadu (pronounced Jadoo); from whose third son, Hyu, the Hindu genealogists deduces no line, and from whom the Chinese may claim their Indu || origin.

El Khan (ninth from Ay) had two sons: first, Kaian; and secondly, Nagas; whose descendants peopled all Tataria.

From Kaian, Jungeez Khan claimed descent.

* Query, if from Mogul and Ogz, compounded, we have not the Magog, son of Japhet, of Scripture?

† The other four sons are the remaining elements, personified: whence the six races of Tatars. The Hindus had long but two races, till the four agni-cula made them also six, and now thirty-six!

‡ In Tatar, according to Abulgazi, the sun and moon.

§ De Guignes.

|| Sir W. Jones says the Chinese assert their Hindu origin; but a comparison prove both these Indu races to be of Scythic origin.

Nagas was probably the founder of the Takshac, or Snake race* of the Pooranas and Tatar genealogists, the Tik-i-uk Mogul of De Guignes.

Such are the comparative genealogical origin of the three races. Let us compare their theogony, the fabulous birth assigned by each for the founder of the Indu race.

1st. The Pooranic, "Ella (*the earth*), daughter of the sun-born Iesh-wacu while wandering in the forest was encountered by Boodha (*Mercury*), "and from the rape of Ella sprung the Indu race."

2nd. The Chinese account of the birth of Yu (Ayu), their first monarch. "A star † (*Mercury or Fo*), struck his mother while journeying. She conceived, and gave to the world Yu, the founder of the first dynasty which reigned in China. Yu divided China into nine provinces, and began to reign "2207½ years before Christ."

Thus the Ay of the Tatars, the Yu of the Chinese, and the Ayu of the Pooranas, evidently indicate the great Indu (Lunnar) progenitor of the three races.

Boodha (*Mercury*), the son of Indu (*the moon*), became the patriarchal and spiritual leader; as Fo, in China; Woden and Teutates, § of the tribes migrating to Europe.

Hence it follows, that the religion of Boodha must be coeval with the existence of these nations; that it was brought into India Proper by them, and guided them until the schism of Crishna and the Suryas, worshippers of Bal, in time depressed them, when the Boodha religion was modified into its present mild form, the Jain.

Let us contrast with these the origin of the Scythic nations, as related by Diodorus;|| when it will be observed, the same legends were known to him which have been handed down by the Pooranas and Abulgazi.

"The Scythians had their first abodes on the Araxes.¶ Their origin was from a virgin born of the earth (Ella),** of the shape of a woman from the waist upwards, and below a serpent (symbol of Boodha or Mercury): that Jupiter had a son by her, named Scythes, †† whose name the nation adopted. Scythes had two sons, Palas and Napas (*qu. the Nagas, or Snake-race, of the Tatar genealogy?*), who were celebrated for their great actions, and who divided the countries; and the nations were called after them, the Palians (*qu. Pali*) ‡‡ and Napians. They led their forces as far as the "Nile in Egypt, and subdued many nations. They enlarged the empire of the Scythians as far as the Eastern ocean, and to the Caspian and lake Mæotis. "The nation had many kings, from whom the Sacans (*sacæ*) the Massagetæ

* Naga and Takshac are Sanscrit names for a snake or serpent, the emblem of Boodha or Mercury. This Naga-race so well known to India, the Takshacs or Takiaks of Scythia, invaded India about six centuries before Christ.

† De Guignes, 'sur les Dynasties des Huns,' vol. i. p. 7.

‡ Nearly the calculated period from the Pooranas.

§ Taut'ā, 'father' in Sanscrit. Qu. Teuths, and Toth, the Mercury of Egypt?

|| Diodorus Siculus, book II.

¶ The Arcterna of the Pooranas thus describe Saca-Dwipa or Scythia. Diodorus (lib. II.) makes the Hemadus the boundary between Saca-Scythia, and India Proper.

** Ella, the mother of the Lunnar-race, is the earth personified. Ertha of the Saxon; era of the Greeks; and in Hebrew.

†† Scythes from Sacat'at, 'Saca-dwipa, and as 'Lord' of Sacati' or Scythia.

‡‡ Qu. Whether the Scythic Pali may not be the shepherd invaders of Egypt. The Pali character yet exists, and appears the same as ancient fragments of the Boodha-inscriptions, in my possession: many letters assimilate with the Coptic.

*(Gates or Jits), the Ari-aspians (*Aswos* of Aria), and many other races. They "overran Assyria and Media,* overturning the empire, and transplanting the "inhabitants to the Araxes under the name of Sauro-Matians.†

As the Sacæ, Getæ, Aswa, and Takshac, are names which have crept in amongst our thirty-six royal races, common with others also to early civilization in Europe, let us seek further ancient authority on the original abodes.

Strabo‡ says: "All the tribes east of the Caspian are called "Scythic. "The Dahæ§ next the sea, the Massagetæ (*Great Getæ*) and Sacæ more eastward; but every tribe has a particular name. All are nomadic: but of these "nomades the best known are the Asi,|| the *Pasiani*, *Tachari*, *Sacaranli*, "who took Bactria from the Greeks. The Sacæ¶ ('races') have made in Asia "irruptions similar to those of the Cimmerians; thus they have been seen to "possess themselves of Bactria, and the best district of Armenia, called "after them *Sacasena*."**

Which of the tribes of Rajasthan are the offspring of the Aswa and Medes, of Indu race, returned under new appellations, we shall not now stop to inquire, limiting our hypothesis to the fact of invasions, and adducing some evidence of such being simultaneous with migrations of the same bands into Europe. Hence the inference of a common origin between the Rajpoot and early races of Europe; to support which, a similar mythology, martial manners and poetry, language, and even music and architectural ornaments, may be adduced.††

Of the first migrations of the Indu-Scythic Gets, Takshac, and Asi, into India, that of Sehesnag (Takshac), from, Sēsagdesa (Tocharisthan †) or Sēsag, six centuries, by calculation, before Christ, is the first noticed by the Poornas. About this period a grand irruption of the same races conquered Asia Minor, and eventually Scandinavia; and not long after this Asi and

* The three great branches of the Indu (Lunar) Aswa bore the epithet of *Mida* (pronounced *Mede*), viz. Poorn-mede, Uja-mede and Deomede. Qu. The Aswa invaders of Assyria and Media, the sons of Bajawva, expressly stated to have multiplied in the countries west of the Indus, emigrating from their paternal seats in Panchalica?

† Sun-worshippers, the Suryavansa.

‡ Strabo, lib. xi. p. 254.

§ Dahya (one of the thirty-six tribes), now extinct.

|| The Asi and Tachari, the Aswa and Takshac, or Toorshka races, of the Poornas, of Saca-Dwipa.

"C'est vraisemblablement d'après le mon de Tachari, que M. D' Anville aura cru devoir "placer les tribus ainsi dénommées dans le territoire qui s'appelle aujourd'hui Tokaristhan, "situe, dit, ce grand géographe, entre les montagnes et le Gihon ou Amou."—Note 3, lib. xi p. 254, Strabon.

¶ Once more I may state, Sacæ in Sanscrit has the aspirate, Sac'hæ: literally, the 'branches' or 'races.'

** "La Sacasene étoit une contrée de l' Arménie sur les confins de l' Albanie ou du Shirvan." —Note 4, tome i. p. 191, Strabon.—"The Sacasene were the ancestors of the Saxons,"—Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxon.

†† Herodotus (Melpomene, p. 190) says: "The Cimmerians, expelled by the Massagetæ, migrated to the Crimea." Here were the Thyasagetæ, or western Getæ; and thence both the Getæ and Cimbri found their way to the Baltic.

Rubruquis the Jesuit, describing the monuments of the Comani in the Deshte Kipchak, whence these tribes, says, "their monuments and circles of stones are like "our Celtic or Druidical remains."—Bell's Collection.

The Comani are a branch of the Catti tribe of Saurashtra, whose pallias, or funeral monumental pillars, are seen in groups at every town and village. The Catti were one of the early German tribes.

Tachari overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the Romans felt the power of the Asi,* the Catti, and Cimbr, from the Baltic shore.

"If we can shew the Cermans to have been originally Scythæ or Goths, (Geta or Jits), a wide field of curiosity and inquiry is open to the origin of government, manners, &c.; all the antiquities of Europe will assume a new appearance, and, instead of being traced to the bands of Germany, as Montesquieu and the greatest writers have hitherto done, may be followed through long descriptions of the manners of the Scythians, &c. as given by Herodotus. Scandinavia was occupied by the Scythæ five hundred years before Christ. These Scythians worshipped Mercury (Boodha), Woden or Odin, and believed themselves his progeny. The Gothic mythology, by parallel, might be shewn to be Grecian, whose gods were the progeny of Cœlus and Terra (Boodha and Ella).† Dryads, satyrs, fairies, and all the Greek and Roman superstition, may be found in the Scandinavian creed. The Goths consulted the heart of victims, had oracles, had sybils, had a Venus in Freya, and Parce in the Valkyrie."

Ere we proceed to trace these mythological resemblances, let us adduce further opinions in proof of the position assumed, of a common origin of the tribes of early Europe and the Scythic Rajpoot.

The translator of Abulgazi, in his preface, observes: "Our contempt for the Tatars would lessen did we consider how nearly we stand related to them, and that our ancestors originally came from the north of Asia, and that our customs, laws, and way of living, were formerly the same as theirs. In short, that we are no other than a colony of Tatars."

"It was from Tatarly those people came, who, under the successive names of Cymbrians,§ Kelts, and Gauls, possessed all the northern part of Europe. What were the Goths, Huns, Alans, Swedes, Vandals, Tranks, but swarms, of the same hive: The Swedish chronicles bring the Swedes|| from Cashgar and the affinity between the Saxon language and Kipchak is great; and the Keltick language still subsisting in Britany and Wales is a demonstration that the inhabitants are descended from Tatar nations".

From between the parallels of 30° and 50° of north latitude, and from 75° to 95° of east longitude, the highlands of Central Asia, alike removed from the fires of the equator and the cold of the arctic circle, migrated the races which passed into Europe and within the Indus. We must therefore voyage up the Indus, cross the Paropamisian, to the Jaxartes or Jihoon, to

* Asi was the term applied to the Gotes, Yents or Juts, when they invaded Scandinavia and founded Yeutland or Jutland.—See Edda, Mallet's Introduction.

† Mercury and earth.

‡ Pinkerton on the Goths, vol. ii. p. 94.

§ Camari was one of the eight sons of Japhet, says Abulgazi; whence the Camari, Cim-meri, or Cambri. Camari is one of the tribes of Saurashtra.

|| The Sufones, Suevi, or Su. Now the Su, Yuchi, or Yuit are Gotes, according to De Guignes. Marco Polo calls Cashgar, where he was in the sixth century, the birthplace of the Swedes: and De la Croix adds, that in 1691 Sparvenfeldt, the Swedish ambassador at Paris, told him he had read in Swedish chronicles that Cashgar was their country. When the Huns were chased from the north of China, the greater part retired into the southern countries adjoining Europe. The rest passed directly to the Oxus and Jaxartes; thence they spread to the Caspian and Persian frontier. In Mawer-ool-nehr (Transoxiana) they mixed with Su, the Yuchi, or Gotes, who were particularly powerful, and extended into Europe. One would be tempted to regard them as the ancestor of those Gotes who were known as the Suevi.

Sakitai† or Saca-Dwipa, and from thence and the Deshte Kipchok conduct the Takshacs, the Getes, the Camari, the Catti, and the Huns, into the plains of Hindusthan.

We have much to learn in these unexplored regions, the abode of ancient civilization, and which, so late as Jungceez Khan's invasion, abounded with large cities. It is an error to suppose that the nations of Higher Asia were merely pastoral; and De Guignes, from original authorities, informs us that when the Su invaded the Yuchi or jits, they found upwards of a hundred cities containing the merchandize of India, and with the currency bearing the effigies of the princee.

Such was the state of Central Asia long before the Christian era, though now depopulated and rendered desert by desolating wars which have raged in these countries, and to which Europe can exhibit no parallel. Timoor's war in modern times, against the Getic nation, will illustrate the paths of his ambitious predecessors in the career of destruction.

If we examine the political limits of the great Getic nation in the time of Cyrus, six centuries before Christ, we shall find them little circumscribed in power on the rise of Timoor, though twenty centuries had elapsed.

At this period (A. D. 1330), under the last prince of Getic race, Togluc Timoor Khan, the kingdom of Chagitai* was bounded on the west by the Deshte Kipchak and on the south by the Jaxartes or Jihoon, on which river the Getic Khan, like Tomyris, had his capital. Kogend, Tashkant, Ootrar,† Cyropolis, and the most northern of the Alexandrias, were within the bound of Chagitai.

The Gate, Jote, or Jit, and Takshac races, which occupy places amongst the thirty-six royal races of India, are all from the region of Sakatai. Regarding their earliest migration, we shall endeavour to make the Poorans contribute; but of their invasions in more modern times the histories of Mahmood of Ghizni, and Timoor, abundantly acquaint us.

From the mountains of Joud‡ to the shores of Mekran,§ and along the Ganges, the Jit is widely spread; while the Takshac name is now confined to inscriptions or old writings.

Inquiries in their original haunts, among tribes now under different names, might doubtless bring to light their original designation, now best known within the Indus; while the Takshac or Takiuk may probably be discovered in the Tajik, still in his ancient haunts, the Transoxiana and Choresmia of classic authors; the Mawer-ool-nehr of the Persians; the Turan, Turkis than or Tocharisthan of native geography: the abode of the

† Mr. Pinkerton's research had discovered Sakitai, though he does not give his authority (D'Anville) for the Saca-Dwipa of the Poorans! 'Sakitai, a region at the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes, styled Sakita from the Saca' D'Anville. *Ann. Geog.*

The Yadus of Jessulmeer, who ruled Zabulisthan and founded Guzni, claim the Chagitais as of their own Indu stock; a claim which, without deep reflection, appeared inadmissible; but which I now deem worthy of credit.

* Chagitais, or Sakatai the Saca-dwipa of the Poorans (corrupted by the Greeks to Scythia), 'whose inhabitants worship the sun, and whence is the river Arverna.'

† Ootara, probably the Ottoracum of ancient geography; the Uttara (northern) scora (race); a branch of Indu stock.

‡ Jiddoo Ca dang, the Joudes of Rennell's map; the Yada hills high up in the Punjab, where a colony of the Yada race dwelt when expelled Saurashtra.

§ The Noomri, or Loomri (foxes) of Balochisthan, a Jits. These are the Nomadus of Rennell.

Tachari, Takshac, or Toorshaka invaders of India, described in the Poorans and existing inscriptions.

The Getes had long maintained their independence when Tomyris defended their liberty against Cyrus. Driven in successive wars across the Sutledge we shall elsewhere shew them preserving their ancient habits, as desultory cavaliers, under the Jit leader of Lahore, in pastoral communities in Bikaner, the Indian desert and elsewhere, though they have lost sight of their early history. The transition from pastoral to agricultural pursuits is but short, and the descendant of the nomadic Gete of Transoxiana is now the best husbandman on the plains of Hindusthan.

The invasion of these Indu-Scythic tribes, Getes, Takshacs, Asi, Catti, Rajpali,* Huns, Camari, introduced the worship of Boodha, the founder of the Indu or Lunar race.

Herodotus says the Getes were theists,† and held the tenets of the soul's immortality; so with the Booddhists.

Before, however, touching on points of religious resemblance between the Asi, Gete, or Jut of Scandinavia (who gave his name to the Cimbric Chersonse) and the Gete of Scythia and India, let us make a few remarks on the Asi or Aswa.

To the Indu race of Aswa (the descendants of Deomida and Bajaswa), spread over the countries on both sides the Indus, do we probably owe the distinctive appellation of Asia.

Herodotus ‡ says the Greeks denominated Asia from the wife of Prometheus; while other deduce it from a grandson of Manes, indicating the Aswa descendants of the patriarch Meun.

Asa, § Sacambhari, ¶ Mata, ¶ is the divinity *Hope*, 'mother-protectress of the Sacæ,' or races.

Every Rajpoot adores Asapoorna, 'the fulfiller of desire;' or, as Sacambhari Devi (goddess protectress), she is invoked previous to any undertaking.

The Aswas were chiefly of the Indu race; yet a branch of the Suryas also bore this designation. It appears to indicate their celebrity as horsemen.** All of them worshipped the horse, which they sacrificed to the sun. This grand rite, the Aswamedha, on the festival of the winter solstice, would alone go far to exemplify their common Scythic origin with the Getic Sacæ authorizing the inference of Pinkerton, "that a grand Scythic nation extended from the Caspian to the Ganges."

The Aswamedha was practised on the Ganges and Sarjoo by the Solar prince, twelve hundred years before Christ, as by the Getes in the time of Cyrus; "deeming it right," says Herodotus, "to offer the swiftest of created

* Royal pastors.

† The sun was their 'great deity,' though they had in Xamolxis a lord of terror, with affinity to Yama, or the Hindu Pluto. "The chief divinity of the Fenns, a Scythic race, was Yammalu."—Pinkerton's Hist. of the Goths vol. II. p. 215.

‡ Melpomene, chap. xiv.

§ Asa, 'hope.'

¶ Sacambhari: from Sacaw, the plural of sachæ, "branch or race," and ambhar 'covering, protecting.

¶ Mata, 'mother.'

** *Aswa* and *Aya* are synonymous Sanscrit terms for 'horse; *asp* in Persian; and as applied by the prophet Ezekiel to the Getic invasion of Scythia, A. C. 600: "the" sons of Tegar-amh riding on horses; described by Biedorus, the period the same as the Takshac invasion of India.

to the chief of uncreated beings:" and this worship and sacrifice of the horse has been handed down to the Rajpoot of the present day. A description of this grand ceremony shall close these analogies.

The Getic Asi carried this veneration for the steed, symbolic of their chief deity the sun, into Scandinavia: equally so of all the early German tribes, the Su, Sueri, Catti, Sacimbri, in the forests of Germany and on the banks of the Elbe and Weser.

The milk-white steed was supposed to be the organ of the gods, from whose neighing they calculated future events: notions possessed also by the Aswa sons of Boodha (Woden), on the Yamuna and Ganges, when the rocks of Scandinavia and the shores of the Baltic were yet untrod by man. It was this omen which gave Darius Hystaspes (*hysna*, 'to neigh,' *aspa*, 'a horse' & crown. The bard Chund makes it the omen of death to his principal heroes.

The steed of the Scandinavian god of battle was kept in the temple of Upsala, and always "found foaming and sweating after battle." "Money," says Tacitus, "was only acceptable to the German when bearing the effigies of the horse."

In the *Edda* we are informed that the Getes, or Jits, who entered Scandinavia, were termed Asi, and their first settlement As-gard.*

Pinkerton rejects the authority of the *Edda*, and follows Torfæus, who "from Icelandic chronicles and genealogies concludes Odin to have come into Scandinavia in the time of Darius Hystaspes, five hundred years before Christ."

This is the period of the last Boodha, or Mahavira, whose era is four hundred and seventy-seven years before Vicrama, or five hundred and thirty-three before Christ.

The successor of Odin in Scandinavia, was Gotama; and Gotama was the successor of the last Boodha, Mahavira,† who was Gotama, or Gaudama, is still adored from the Straits of Malacca to the Caspian Sea.

"Other antiquaries," says Pinkerton, "assert another Odin, who was put as the Supreme deity one thousand years before Christ."

Mallet admits two Odins, but Mr. Pinkerton wishes he had abided by that of Torfæus, in 500 A. C.

It is a singular fact, that the periods of both the Scandinavian Odins should assimilate with the twenty-second Boodha, Naimnat'h, and twenty-fourth and last, Mahavira: the first the cotemporary of Crishna, about 1000 or 1100 years, the last 533. before Christ. The Asi, Getes, &c. of Europe worshipped Mercury as founder of their line, as did the Eastern Asi, Takshacs, and Getes.

The Chinese and Tatar historians also say Boodha, or Fo, appeared 1027 years before Christ.

"The Yuchi, established in Bactria and along the Jihoon, eventually bore the name of Jeta or Yetan†, that is to say, Getes. Their empire subsisted a long time in this part of Asia, and extended even into India: These are

* Asi-gurh, 'fortress of the Asi.'

† The great (milk) warrior (vîr).

‡ Yentland was the name given to the whole Cimbric Chersonese, or Jutland.—Pinkerton on the Goths.

"the people whom the Greeks knew under the name of Indo-Scythes. Their "mapers are the same as those of the Turks.* Revolutions occurred in the "very heart of the East, whose consequences were felt afar."†

The period allowed by all the authorities for the migration of these Scythic hordes into Europe, is also that for their entry into India.

The sixth century is that calculated for the Takshac from Sehenagdesa ; and it is on this event and reign that the Poorans declare, that from this period "no prince of pure blood would be found, but that the Soodra, the "Turshka, and the Yavan, would prevail."

All these Indo-Scythic invaders held the religion of Boodha : and hence the conformity of manners and mythology between the Scandinavian or German tribes and the Rajpoots, increased by comparing their martial poetry.

Similarity of religious manners affords stronger proofs of original identity than language. Language is eternally changing—so are manners; but an exploded custom or rite traced to its source, and maintained in opposition to climate, is a testimony not to be rejected.

PERSONAL HABITS AND DRESS.—When Tacitus informs us that the first act of a German on rising was ablution, it will be conceded, this habit was not acquired in the cold climate of Germany, but must have been of eastern† origin ; as were "the loose flowing robe ; the long and braided hair "tied in a knot at the top of the head," with many other customs, personal habits, and superstitions of the Scythic Cimbri, Juts, Catti, Suevi, analogous to the Getic nations of the same name, as described by Herodotus, Justin, and Strabo, which yet obtain amongst the Rajpoot Sachæ of the present day.

Let us contrast what history affords of resemblance in religion or manners. First as to religion.

THEOGONY.—Tuisto (Mercury) and Ertha (the earth) were the chief divinities of the early German tribes.

Tuisto‡ was born of the Earth (Ella) and Manus (Menu). He is often confounded with Odin, or Woden, the Boodha of the eastern tribes, though they are the Mars and Mercury of these nation.

RELIGIOUS RITES.—The Suiones or Suevi, the most powerful Getic nation of Scandinavia was divided into many tribes, one of whom the Su (Yuchi or Jit), made human sacrifices in their consecrated groves § to Earth (Ella), whom all worshipped, and whose chariot was drawn by a cow.¶

The Suevi worshipped Isis (Isa, Gowri, the Isis and Ceres of Rajasthan), in whose rites the figure of a ship is introduced ; "symbolic," observes Tacitus,

* Turc, Turshka, Takshac, or 'Tauuak, fils de Turc,'—Abulgazi, History of the Tatars.

† Historie des Huns, vol. i. p. 42.

‡ Though Tacitus calls the German tribes indigenous, it is evident he knew their claim to Asiatic origin, when he "who would leave the softer atodes of Asia for Germany, where nature yields nothing but deformity?"

§ In an inscription of the Gete or Jit Prince of Salindrapoor (Sulpur) of the fifth century, he is styled "of the race of Tusta" (q. Tuisto ?). It is in that ancient nail-headed character used by the ancient Boodhists of India, and still the sacred character of the Tatar Lamas : in short, the Pall. All the ancient inscriptions I possess of the branches of the Agnicolas, as the Chohsen, Pramara, Solanki, and Purihara, are in this Character. That of the Jit prince styles him "Jit Cathi-da." (Qu. of (da Cathay ?). From Tuisto and Woden we have our Tuesday and Wednesday. In India, Wednesday is Budh-Var (Dies Mercurii), and Tuesday Mungul (Var Dies Martis), the Mardi of the French.

¶ Tacitus, xxxviii.

‡ The geo, or cow, symbolic of Prithu the earth. On this see note, page 19.

“of its foreign origin.” The festival of Isa, or Gowri, wife of Iswara, at Oodipoor, is performed on the lake, and appears to be exactly that of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, as described by Herodotus. On this occasion Iswara (Osiris) who is secondary to his wife has a stalk of the onion in blossom in his hand, a root detested by the Hindus generally, though adored by the Egyptians.

WARLIKE CUSTOMS.—They sung hymns in praise of Hercules, as well as Tuisto or Odin, whose banners and images they carried to the field; and fought in clans, using the feram or javelin, both in close and distant combat. In all maintaining the resemblance to the Hericula, descendants of Boodha, and the Aswa, offspring of Bajaswa, who peopled those regions west of the Indus, and whose redundant population spread both east and west.

The Suevi, or Suiones, erected the celebrated temple of Upsala, in which they placed the statues of Thor, Woden and Freya, the triple divinity of the Scandinavian Asi, the Scandinavian Asi, the Tri murti of the Solar and Lunar races. The first (Thor, the thunderer, or god of war) is Hara, or Mahadeva, the destroyer: the second (Woden) is Boodha,* the preserver; and the third (Freya) is Ooma, the creative power.

The grand festival to Freya was in spring when all nature revived; then boars were offered to her by the Scandinavians and even boars of paste were made and swallowed by the peasantry.

As Vasanti, or spring personified, the consort of Har is worshipped by the Rajpoot, who opens the season with a grand hunt,† led by the prince and his vassal chiefs, when they chase, slay, and eat the boar. Personal danger is disregarded on this day, as want of success is ominous that the *Great Mother* will refuse all petition throughout the years.

Pinkerton, quoting Ptolemy (who was fifty years after Tacitus), says there were six nations in Yeutland or Jutland, the country of the Juts, of whom were the Sablingii (Suevi,‡ or Suiones), the Catti and Hermandri, who extended to the estuary of the Elbe and Weser. There they erected the pillar Irmanseul to “the god of war,” regarding which Sammes§ observes, “some will “have it to be Mars his pillar, other *Hermes Saul*, or the pillar of Hermes or “Mercury; and he naturally asks, “how did the Saxons come to be acquainted with the Greek name of Mercury?”

Sacrificial pillars are termed *Sura* or *Sula* in Sanscrit: which conjoined with Hara,|| the Indian god of war would be Hara-sula. The Rajpoot warrior invokes Hara with his trident (tri-sula) to help him in battle, while his battle shout is ‘mar ! mar !’

The Cimbri, one of the most celebrated of the six tribes of Yeutland, derive their name from their fame as warriors.**

Ku-mara** is the Rajpoot god of war. He is represented with seven

* Crishna is the preserving deity of Hindu triad. Crishna is of the Indu line of Boodha, whom he worshipped prior to his own deification.

† ‘Muhoorut ea sikar.’

‡ The Siebi of Tacitus.

§ Sammes’ Saxon Antiquities.

|| Hara is the Thor of Scandinavia; Hari is Boodha. Hermes, or Mercury.

¶ Mallet derives it from *kempfer* ‘to fight.’

** Cu or Ku is a mere prefix, meaning ‘evil;’ ‘the evil striker (Mar).’ Hence, probably the Mars of Rome. The birth of Ku-mar, the general of the army of the gods, with the Mindus, is exactly that of the Grecians, born of the goddess Jahnvi (Juno,) without sexual intercourse. Kumara is always accompanied by the peacock, the bird of Juno.

heads in the Hindu mythology : the Saxon god of war has six.*

The six-headed Mars of the Cimbri Chersonese, to whom was raised the Irmenseul on the Weser, was worshipped by the Sacserse, the Catti, the Siebi or Suevi, the Jotæ or Getæ, and the Cimbri, evincing in name, as in religious rites, common origin with the martial warriors of Hindustan.

The religion of the martial Rajpoot, and the rites of Hara, the god of the battle, are little analogous to those of the meek Hindus, the followers of the pastoral divinity, the worshippers of kine, and feeders on fruits, herbs, and water. The Rajpoot delights in blood : his offerings to the god of battle are sanguinary, blood and wine. The cup (*kharpāra*) of libation is the human skull. He loves them because they are emblematic of the deity he worships ; and he is taught to believe that Hara loves them, who in war is represented with the skull to drink the foeman's blood, and in peace is the patron of wine and women. With Parbutti on his knee, his eyes rolling from the juice of the p'fool and opium, such is this Bacchanalian divinity of war. Is this Hinduism, acquired on the burning plains of India ? Is it not rather a perfect picture of the manners of the Scandinavian heroes ?

The Rajpoot slays buffaloes, hunts and eats the boar and deer, and shoots ducks and wild fowl (*cookra*) ; he worships his horse, his sword, and the sun† and attends more to the martial song of the bard than to the lit any of the Brahmin. In the martial mythology and warlike poetry of the Scandinavians a wide field exists for assimilation, and a comparison of the poetical remains of the Asi of the east and west would alone suffice to suggest a common origin.

BARDS.—In the sacred *Bardai* of the Rajpoot we have the bard of our Saxon ancestry ; those reciters of warlike poetry, of whom Tacitus says, "with their barbarous strains, they influence their minds in the day of battle" "with a chorus of military virtue."

A comparison, in so extensive a field, would include the whole of their manners and religious opinions, and must be reserved for a distinct work.‡ The Valkyrie, or fatal sisters of the Suevi or Siebi, would be the twin sisters of the Apsars who summon the Rajpoot warrior from the field of battle, and bear him to "the mansion of the sun," equally the object of attainment with the children of Odin in Scandinavia, and of Boodha and Surya in the plains of Scythia and on the Ganges like the Elysium of the Helindæ of Greece.

In the day of battle we should see in each the same excitements to glory and contempt of death, and the *dramatis personæ* of the field, both celestial and terrestrial, move and act alike. We should see Thor, the thunderer, leading the Si-bi, and Hara (Siva), the Indian Jove, his own worshippers (Sivseba), in which Freya, or Bhavani, and even the preserver (Crishna) himself, not unfrequently mingle.

WAR CHARIOT.—The war chariot is peculiar to the Indo-Scythic nations from Daxratha § and the heroes of the Mahabharat, to the conquest of

* For a drawing of the Scandinavian god of battle, see Sammer.

† I have in contemplation to give to the public a few of the sixty-nine books of this poems of Chund, the last great bard of the last Hindu emperor of India, Prithwiraj. They are entirely heroic : each book a relation of one of the exploits of this prince, the first warrior of his time. They will aid a comparison between the Rajpoot and Scandinavian bards, and shew how far the Provençal Troubadour, the Neustrienne Trouveur, and Minnesinger of Germany have any thing in common with the Rajpoot Bar'at.

‡ Published from *Wick's* the sun, also a title of Aplo, the Hari of India.

§ This title of the father of Rama denotes a 'chariot-warrior.'

Hindusthan by the Mahomedans, when it was laid aside. On the plains of Coorukshetra, Krishna becomes charioteer to his friend Arjuna; and the Getic hordes of the Jaxartes, when they aided Xerxes in Greece, and Darius on the plains of Arbela,* had their chief strength in the war-chariot.

The war chariot continued to be used later in the south west of India than elsewhere, and Catti,† Comani, Comari, of Saurashtra have to recent times retained their Scythic habits, as their monumental stones testify, expressing their being slain from their cars.

CONDUCT TO FEMALES.—In no point does resemblance more attach between the ancient German and Scandinavian tribes, and the martial Rajpoot or ancient Gete, than in their delicacy towards females.

"The Germans," says Tacitus, "deemed the advice of a woman in periods 'exigence oracular.'" So does the Rajpoot, as the bard Chund often exemplifies; and hence they append to her name the epithet *Devi*, (or contracted *De*) 'godlike' "To a German mind," says Tacitus, "the idea of a woman 'led into captivity is insupportable,' and to prevent this the Rajpoot raises the poignard against the heart which beats only for him, though never to survive the dire necessity. It is then they performed the sacrifice 'johura,' when every sachce (branch) is cut off: and hence the Rajpoot glories in the title of *Sacha-band*, from having performed the sachce; an awful rite, and with every appearance of being the *succa* of the Scythic Gete, as described by Strabo.‡

GAMING.—In passion for play at games of chance, its extent and dire consequence, the Rajpoot, from the earliest times, has evinced a predilection and will stand comparison with the Scythian and his German offspring.

* The Indian satrapy of Darius, says Herodotus, was the richest of all the Persian provinces, and yielded six hundred talents of gold. Arrian informs us that his Indo-Scythic subjects, in his wars with Alexander, were the *élite* of his army. Besides the Sacasene, we find tribes in name similar to those including in the thirty-six Rajpoots; especially the Dahse (Dabyn), one of the thirty-six races).

The Indo-Scythic contingent was two hundred war chariots and fifteen elephants, which were marshalled with the Parthii on the right, and also near Darius's person. By this disposition they were opposed to the cohort commanders by Alexander in person.

The chariots commenced the action, and prevented a manœuvre of Alexander to turn the "left flank of the Persians. Of their horse also, the most honourable mention is made; they "penetrated in to the division where Parmenio commanded, to whom Alexander was compelled to send reinforcements. The Grecian historian dwells with pleasure on Indo-Scythic valour—"there were no equestrian seats, distant fighting with darts, but each fought as if victory depended on his sole arm." They fought the Greeks hand to hand.

But the loss of empire was decreed at Arbela and the Sacae and Indoo-Scythæ had the honour of being slaughtered by the Yavans of Greece, far from their native land, in the aid of the king of kings.

† The Cattiave celebrated in Alexander's wars. The Cattiawar Catti can be traced from Mool-than (the ancient *abode*). The Dahva (Dahæ), Johya (the latter Hunnish), and Catti, are amongst the thirty-six races. All dwelt, six centuries ago, within the five streams and in the Deserts south of the Gara. The two last have left but a name.

‡ The Sacæ had invaded the inhabitants on the borders of the Pontic sea: whilst engaged in dividing the booty, the Persian generals surprised them at night, and exterminated them. To eternize the remembrance of this event, the Persians heaped up the earth round a rock in the plain where the battle was fought, on which they erected two temples, one to the goddess Anahit, the other to the divinities Omanus and Anandate, and then founded the annual festival called *Saca*, still celebrated by the possessors of Zela. Such is the account by some authors of the origin of Sacæ. According to others it dates from the reign of Cyrus only. This prince, they say, having carried the war into the country of the Sacæ (Massagetae of Herodotus) lost a battle. Compelled to fall back on his magazines, abundantly stored with provisions, but especially wine, and having halted sometime to refresh his army, he departed before the enemy, feigning a flight, and leaving his camp standing full of provisions. The

The German staked his personal liberty, became a slave, and was sold as the property of the winter. To this vice the Pandus owed the loss of their sovereignty and personal liberty, involving at last the destruction of all the Idû races; nor has the passion abated. Religion even consecrates the vice; and once a year, on the 'Festival of Lamps' (*pevali*) all propitiate the goddess of wealth and fortune (Lakshmi), by offering at her shrine.

Destitute of mental pursuits the martial Rajpoot is often slothful or attached to sensual pleasures, and when roused, reckless on what he may wreck a fit of energy. Yet when order and discipline prevail in a wealthy chieftainship, there is much of that patriarchal mode of life, with its amusements, alike suited to the Rajpoot, the Gète of Jihoon, or Scandinavian.

OMENS AND AUGURIES.—Divination by lots, auguries, and omens by flights of Birds, as practised by the Getic nations described by Herodotus, and amongst the Germans by Tacitus, will be found amongst the Rajpoots from whose works* on this subject might have been supplied the whole of the Augurs and Aruspices, German or Roman.

LOVE OF STRONG DRINK.—Love of liquor, and indulgence in it to excess, were deep-rooted in the Scandinavian Asi and German tribes, and in which they shewed their Getic origin; nor is the Rajpoot behind his brethren either of Scythia or Europe. It is the free use of this and similar indulgences, prohibited by ordinances which govern the ordinary Hindu, that first induced me to believe that these warlike races were little indebted to India.

The Rajpoot welcomes his guest with the *munear peala*, or 'cup of request,' in which they drown ancient enmities. The heroes of Odin never relished a cup of mead more than the Rajpoot his *madhva*;† and the bards of Scandinavia and Rajwarra are alike eloquent in the praise of the bowl, on which the Bardai exhausts every metaphor, and call it ambrosial immortal.‡
'The bard, as he sipped the ambrosia, in which sparkled the ruby seed of

Sacæ, who pursued, reaching the abandoned camp stored with provisions, gave themselves up to debauch. Cyrus returned and surprised the inebriated and senseless barbarians. Some, buried in profound sleep, were easily massacred; others occupied in drinking and dancing, without defence, fell into the hands of armed foes: so that all perished. The conqueror, attributing his success to divine protection, consecrated this day to the goddess honoured in his country, and decreed it should be called 'the day of the Sacæ.' (1)

Amongst the Rajpoot Sacæ, all grand battles attended with fatal results are termed *sacæ*. When besieged, without hope of relief, in the last effort of despair, the females are immolated, and the warriors, decorated in saffron robes, rush on inevitable destruction. This is to perform *sacæ*, where every branch (*sacæ*) is cut off. Cheetore has to boast of having thrice (and a half) suffered *sacæ*. *Cheetore sacæ ka pap*, 'by the sin of the sack of Cheetore, the most solemn adjuration of the Gehlote Rajpoot.

If such the origin of the festival from the slaughter of the Sacæ of Tomyris, it will be allowed to strengthen the analogy contended for between the Sacæ east and west of the Indus.

(1) This is the battle related by Herodotus, to which Strabo alludes, between the Persian monarch and Tomyris queen of the Gètes.

* I presented a work on this subject to the Royal Asiatic Society, as well as another on Palmistry, &c.

† *Madhva* is intoxicating drink, from *madhu* 'a bee' in Sanscrit. It is well known that mead is from honey. It would be curious if the German mead was from the Indian *madhu* (bee); then both cup (*cupra*), and beverage would be borrowed.

‡ *Amrita* (immortal), from the initial privative and *Mrit* 'death. Thus the *Immurtha*, or 'vale of immortality,' at Neufchatel, is as good Sanscrit as German.

"the pomegranate, rehearsed the glory of the race of the fearless.* May the king live for ever, alike bounteous in gifts the bard and the foe!"

Even in the heaven of Indra, the Hindu warrior's paradise, akin to Valhalla, the Rajpoot has his cup, which is served by the Apsara, the twin sister of the celestial Hebe of Scania. "I shall quaff full goblets amongst the gods," says the dying Getic warrior;† "I die laughing" sentiments "which would be appreciated by a Rajpoot."

A Rajpoot inebriated is a rare sight: but a more destructive and recent vice has usurped much of the honours of the "invitation" cup, which has been degraded from the pure "flower"‡ to an infusion of the poppy, destructive of every quality. Of this pernicious habit we may use words which the historian of German manners applies the tribes of the Weser and Elbe, in respect to their love of strong drink: "Indulge it, and you need not employ the terror of your arms: their own vices will subdue them."

The cup of the Scandinavian worshippers of Thor, the god of battle, was a human skull, that of the foe, in which they shewed their thirst of blood; also borrowed from the chief of the Hindu Triad, Hara, the god of battle, who leads his heroes in the "red field" of slaughter" with the *khurpara*§ in his hand, with which he gorges on the blood of the slain.

Hara is the patron of all who love war and strong drink, and is especially the object of the Rajpoot warrior's devotion: accordingly blood and wine from the chief oblations to the great god of the Indus. The gosen,|| the peculiar priests of Har, or Bal, the sun, all indulge in intoxicating drugs, herbs, and drinks, seated on their lion, leopard or deer-skins, their bodies covered with ashes, their hair matted and braided, with iron tongs to feed the penitential fires, their savage appearance makes them fit organs for the commands of the god of blood and slaughter. Contrary, likewise, to general practice, the minister of Hara, the god of war, at his death is committed to the earth, and a circular tumulus is raised over him; and with some classes of gosen, small tumuli whose form is the frustrum of a cone, with lateral steps, the apex crowned with a cylindrical stone.¶

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.—In the last rites for the dead, comparison will yield proofs of original similarity. The funeral ceremonies of Scandinavia have distinguished the national eras, and the 'age of fire' and 'the age of hills**' designated the periods when the warrior was committed to mother earth or consumed on the pyre.

Odin (Boodha) introduced the latter custom, and the raising of tumuli over the ashes when the body was burned; as also the practice of the wife

* Ubbye Sing, the fearless lion prince of Mewar whose bard makes this speech at the festal board when prince presented with his own hand the cup to the bard.

† Regner Lodbrog, in his dying ode, when the destinies summon him.

‡ P'fool the flower of the mahwa tree, the favourite drink of a Rajpoot. Classically, in Sanscrit it is *madduca*, of the class Polyandria Monogynia.—See As. Res. vol. i p. 300.

§ A human skull; in the dialects pronounced *khudpar*: Qu. cup in Saxon.

|| The Kanfurra jogis, or gosen, are in great bodies, often in many thousands, and are sought as allies, especially in defensive warfare. In the grand military festivals at Oodipoor to the god of war, the scymitar, symbolic of Mars, worshipped by the Gehlites, is entrusted to them.

¶ An entire cemetery of these, besides many detached, I have seen, and also the sacred rites to their manes by the disciples occupying those abodes of austerity, when the flowers of the ka and leaves of evergreen were strewed on the grave, and sprinkled with pure element.

** Mallet's Northern Antiquities, chap. xi.

burning with her deceased lord. These manners were carried from *Saca-wipa*, or *Saca Scythia*, "where the *Gete*," says *Herodotus*, "was consumed on the pyre or burned alive with her lord."

With the *Getæ*, the *Siebi* or *Suevi* of Scandinavia, if the deceased had more than one wife, the elder claimed the privilege of burning.* Thus "Nanna was consumed in the same fire with the" body of her husband, *Balder*, one of *Odin's* companions." But the Scandinavians were anxious to forget this mark of their Asiatic origin, and were not always willing to burn, or to make "so cruel and absurd a sacrifice to the manes of their husbands, the idea of "which had been picked up by their *Scythian* ancestors, when they inhabited "the warmer climates of Asia, where they had their first abodes."†

"The *Scythic Gete*," says *Herodotus* "had his horse, sacrificed on his "funeral pyre; and the Scandinavian *Gete* had his horse and arms buried "with him, as they could not approach *Ouin* on foot."‡ The Rajpoot warrior is carried to his final abode armed at all points as when alive, his shield on his back and brand in hand; while his steed, though not sacrificed, is often presented to the diety, and becomes a perquisite of the priest.

The burning of the dead warrior, and female immolation, or *Sati*, are well known rites, though the magnificent cenotaphs raised on the spot of sacrifice are little known or visited by Europeans; than which there are no better memorials of the rise and decline of the states of the Rajpoot heptarchy. It is the son who raises the mausoleum to the memory of his father; which last token of respect, or laudable vanity, is only limited by the means of the treasury. It is commemorative of the splendour of his reign that the dome of his father should eclipse that of his predecessor. In every principality of Rajwarra, the remark is applicable to chieftains as well as princes.

Each sacred spot, termed 'the place of great sacrifice' (*Maha-Sati*), is the haunted ground of legendary lore. Amongst the altars on which have burned the beauteous and the brave, the harpy§ takes up her abode, and stalks forth to devour the hearts of her victims. The Rajpoot never enters these places of silence but to perform stated rites, or anniversary offerings of flowers and water to the manes (*pitrî iswars*) of his ancestors.

Odin¶ guarded his warriors' final abode from rapine by means of "wandering fires which played around the tombs" and the tenth chapter of the *Salic law* is on punishments against "carrying off the boards or carpets of the tombs." Fire and water are interdicted to such sacrilegious spoliators.

The *shahaba*,** or wandering meteoric fires, on fields of battle and in the places of "great sacrifice," produce a pleasing yet melancholy effect; and are

* Mallet, chap. xii. vol. i. p. 289.

† Edda.

‡ Mallet's Northern Antiquities, chap. xii. The Celtic Franks had the same custom. The arms of *Chilperic*, and the bones of the horse on which he was to be presented to *Odin* were found in his tomb.

§ The *Dakhun* (the *Jigger Khor* of *Slade*) is the genuine vampire. Cap. W., after a long chase in the valley of *Oodipoor*, speared a hyena, whose abode was the tomb, and well known as the steed on which the witch of *Ar* sallied forth at night. Evil was predicted; and a dangerous fall, subsequently, in chasing an elk was attributed to his sacrilegious slaughter of the weird sister's steed.

|| *Pitrîes*, 'Father-lords.'

¶ Mallet, chap. xii.

** At *Gwalior*, on the east side of that famed fortress, where myriads of warriors have fattened the soil, these phosphorescent lights often present a singular appearance. I have

the source of superstitious dread and reverence to the Hindu having their origin in the same natural cause as the "wandering fires of Odin;" the phosphorescent salts produced from animal decomposition.

The Scandinavian reared the tumulus over the ashes of the dead; so did the Getae of the Jaxartes, and the officiating priests of Hara, the Hindu god of battle.

The noble picture drawn by Gibbon of the sepulture of the Getic Alaric, in paralleled by that of the great Jungheez Khan. When the lofty mound was raised, extensive forests were planted, to exclude for ever the footsteps of man from his remains.

The tumulus, the cairn, or the pillar, still rise over the Rajpoot who falls in battle; and throughout Rajwarra these sacrificial monuments are found, where are seen carved in relief the warrior on his steed, armed at all points; his faithful wife (*Sati*) beside him, denoting a sacrifice, and the sun and moon on either side, emblematic of never-dying fame.

In Saurashtra, amidst the Catti, Comani, Balla, and others of Scythic descent, the Pallia, or Joojar (Sacrificial pillars), are conspicuous under the walls of every town, in lines, irregular groups, and circles. On each is displayed in rude relief the warrior, with the manners of his death, lance in hand, generally on horseback, though sometimes in his car; and on the coast "the pirates of Boodha"* are depicted boarding from the shrouds.

Amidst the Comani of Tataria the Jesuits found stone circles, similar to those met with wherever the Celtic rites prevailed; and it would require no great ingenuity to prove an analogy, if not a common origin, between Druidic circles and the Indu-Scythic monumental remains.

The trilithon, or seat, in the centre of judicial circle, is formed by a number sacred to Hara, Bal, or the sun, whose priest expounds the law.

WORSHIP OF ARMS. THE SWORD.—The devotion of the Rajpoot is still paid to his arms, as to his horse. He swears 'by the steel,' and prostrates himself before his defensive buckler, his lance, his sword or his dagger.

The worship of the sword (*asi*) may divide with that of the horse (*aswa*) the honour of giving a name to the continent of Asia. It prevailed amongst the Scythic Getae, and is described exactly by Herodotus. To Dacia and Thrace it was carried by Getic colonies from the Jaxarties, and fostered by these lovers of liberty when their hordes overran Europe.

The worship of the sword in the Acropolis of Athens by the Getic Atila, with all the accompaniments of pomp and pageantry, forms an admirable episode in the history of the decline and fall of Rome; and had Gibbon witnessed the worship of the double-edged sword (*khanda*) by the prince of Mewa and all his chivalry, he might even have embellished his animated account of the adoration of the scymitar, the symbol of Mars.

with friends whose eyes this will meet, marked the procession of these lambent night-fires becoming extinguished at one place and rising at another which aided by the unequal locale have been frequently mistaken for the Mahratta prince returning with his numerous torch-bearers from a distant day's sport. I have dared as bold a Rajpoot as ever lived to approach them whose sense of the levity of my desire was strongly depicted, both in speech and misadventure; "then he would en-counter, but not the spirits of those erst slain in battle." It was generally about the conclusion of the rains that these lights were observed, when evaporation took place from those marshy grounds impregnated with salts.

* At Dwarka, the god of thieves is called Boodha Trivikrama, or of triple energy—the Hermes Triflex, or three-headed Mercury of the Egyptians.

INITIATION TO ARMS.—Initiation to military fame was the same with the German as with the Rajpoot, when the youthful candidate was presented with the lance, or buckled with the sword : a ceremony which will be noticed when their feudal manners are described ; many other traits of character will then be depicted. It would be easy to swell the list of analogous customs, which even to the objects of dislike in food † would furnish comparison between the ancient Celt and Rajpoot ; but they shall close with the detail of the most ancient of rites.

ASWAMEDHA, or SACRIFICE OF THE HORSE.—There are some things animate and inanimate, which have been common objects of adoration amongst the nations of the earth : the sun, the moon, and all the host of heaven ; the sword, reptiles, as the serpent ; animals, as the noblest, the horse. This last was not worshipped as an abstract object of devotion, but as a type of that glorious orb which has had reverence from every child of nature. The plains of Tatar, the sands of Libya, the rocks of Persia, the valley of the Ganges and the wilds of Orinoco, have each yielded votaries alike ardent in devotion to his effulgence,

“Of this great world both eye and soul.”

His symbolic worship and offerings varied with clime and habit ; and while the altars of Bal in Asia, of Belenus among the Celts of Gaul and Britain, smoked with human sacrifices, the bull* bled to Mithras in Babylon, and the steed was the victim to Soorya on the Jaxartes and Ganges.

The father of history says, that the great Gete of central Asia deemed it right to offer the swiftest of created to the swiftest of noncreated being. It is fair to infer, that the sun's festival with the Gete and Aswa nations of the Jaxartes, as with those of Scandinavia, was the winter solstice, the Sacrant of the Rajpoot and Hindu in general.

Hi, Hya, Hywor, Aswa, denote the steed in Sanscrit and its dialects. In Gothic, *hyrsa* ; Teutonic, *hors* ; Saxon, *horse*.

The grand festival of the German tribes of the Baltic was the *Hi-ul*, or *Hi-el* (already commented on), the Aswa-Medha† of the children of Soorya, on the Ganges.

The ceremonies of the Aswamedha are too expensive, and attended with

† Cæsar informs us that the Celts of Britain would not eat the hare ; goose, or domestic fowl. The Rajpoot will hunt the first, but neither eats it, nor the goose, sacred to the god of battle (Hara). The Rajpoot of Mewar eats the jungle fowl, but rarely the domestic.

* As he did also to Bal-nath (the god Bal) in the ancient times of India. The *bul-dan*, or gift of the bull to the sun, is well recorded. There are numerous temples in Rajasthan of Baalim ; and Balpoor (Mahadeo) has several in Saurashtra. All represent the sun :

“Poor his other name ; when he enticed

“Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile.”

Paradise Lost, book i.

The temple of Solomon was to Bal, and all the idolaters of that day seem to have held to the grosser tenets of Hinduism.

† In *Aswa* (*me* *tha* signifies ‘to kill’) we have the derivation of the ancient races, sons of Bajaswa, who peopled the countries on both sides of the Indus, and the probable etymon of *Asia*. The *A-sa-seni*, the *Ari-aspi* of Alexander's historians, and *Aspasians*, to whom *Arspæ* fled from Seleucus, and whom Strabo terms a Getic race, have the same ori in ; hence *As-gard*, ‘the fortress of the Asi’ (erroneously termed *Hansi*), and *As-gard* were the first settlements of the Getic Asi in Scandinavia.

Alexander received the homage of all these Getic races at ‘the mother of cities’ Bâlkh, ‘seat of Cathaian Khan’ (the *Jit Cathi-dæc-my* inscription), according to Marco Polo, from whom Mûtân took his geography.

too great risk, to be attempted by modern princes. Of its fatal results we have many historical records, from the first dawn of Indian history to the last of its princes, Prithwiraja. The *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and the poem of Chand all illustrate this imposing rite and its effects.†

The *Ramayana* affords a magnificent picture of the Aswamedha. Dasaratha, monarch of Ayodhya, father of Rama, is represented as commanding the rite: "Let the sacrifice be prepared, and the horse liberated from the north bank of the Sarayu!"‡

A year being ended, and the horses having returned from his wanderings the sacrificial ground was prepared on the spot of liberation.

Invitations were sent to all surrounding monarchs to repair to Ayodhya King Kikaya,* the king of Casi,† Lompada of Angades,‡ Coshula of Magadh-des,§ with the kings of Sindhu,|| Soovira, and Saurashtra.**

When the sacrificial pillars are erected, the rites commence. This portion of the ceremony, termed *Yuparchraya*, is thus minutely detailed: "There were twenty one yupas or pillars, †† of octagonal shape, each twenty one feet in height and four feet in diameter, the capitals bearing the figure of a man, and elephant, or a bull. They were of the various sorts of wood appropriated to holy rites, overlaid with plates of gold and ornamented cloth and adorned with festoons of flowers. While the yupas were erecting, the

† The last was undertaken by the celebrated Sowai Jey Sing, of Amber; but the milk-white steed of the sun, I believe, was not turned out, or assuredly the Raitores would have accepted the challenge.

§ A milk-white steed is selected with peculiar marks. On liberation, properly guarded, he wanders where he listeth. It is a virtual challenge. Arjuna guarded the steed liberated by Yudhisthira; but that sent round by Parikshita, his grandson, "was seized by the Takshak of the north." The same fate occurred to Sagara, father of Dasaratha, which involved the loss of his kingdom.

|| The Sarjoo, or Gunduk, from the Kumaon mountains, passes through Koshal-deea, the dominion of Dasaratha.

¶ The horse's return after a year, evidently indicates an astronomical revolution or the sun's return to the same point in the ecliptic. This return from his southern declination must have been always a day of rejoicing to the Scythic and Scandinavian nations, who could not, says Gibbon, fancy a worse hell than a large abode open to the cold wind of the north. To the south they looked for the deity; and hence, with the Rajpoots, a religious law forbids their doors being to the north.

Kykaya is supposed by the translator, Dr. Carey, to be a king of Persia, the Ky-vanes preceding Darius. The epithet *Ky* not frequently occurs in Hindu traditional couplets. One, which I remember, is connected with the ancient ruins of Abhaner in Jeypoor, recording the marriage of one of its princes with a daughter of *Ky Camb*.

Tu-beti *Ky Camb* ca, nam *Permal* ho, &c. 'Thou art the daughter of *Ky Camb*: thy name Fairy Garland.' *Ky* was the epithet of one of the Persian dynasties. Qu. *Cam-bukah*, the Cambyases of the Greeks?

† Benares.

‡ Thibet or Ava.

§ Behar.

|| Scind valley.

¶ Unknown to me.

** Peninsula of Cattivar.

†† I have seen several of these sacrificial pillars of stone of very ancient date. Many years ago, when all the Rajpoot states were suffering from the traidam of the Mahrattas, a most worthy and wealthy banker of Surat, known by the family name of Tribeda, who felt acutely for the woes inflicted by incessant predatory foes on the sons of Rama and Krishna told me, with tears in his eyes, that the evils which afflicted Jeypoor were to be attributed to the sacrilege of the prince, Jagat Sing, who had dared to abstract the gold plates of the sacrificial pillars and send them to his treasury. Worse than Rehoboam, who, when he took away from the temple the shields of gold Solomon had made, had the grace to substitute others of brass. Whether, when turned into currency, it went as a war contribution to the Mahrattas, or was applied to the less worthy use of his concubine queen, "the essence of camphor," it was of a piece with the rest of this prince's unwise conduct. Jey Sing, who reared the pillars, did honour to his country, of which he was a second founder, and under whom it attained the height from which it has now fallen.

Udhwaryou, receiving his instructions from the Hotri, or sacrificing priest recited aloud the incantations.

"The sacrificial pits were in triple rows, eighteen in number, and arranged in the form of the eagle. Here were placed the victims for immolation; birds, aquatic animals, and the horse.

"Thrice was the steed of king Desaratha led round the sacred fire by Coshula and as the priests pronounced the incantations he was immolated;† amidst shouts of joy.

"The king and queen, placed by the high priest near the horse, sat up all night watching the birds; and the officiating priest, having taken out the hearts, dressed them agreeably to the holy books. The sovereign of men smelled the smoke of the offered hearts, acknowledging his transgressions in the order in which they were committed.

"The sixteen sacrificing priests then placed (as commanded in the ordinances) on the fire the parts of the horse. The oblation of all the animals was made on wood, except that of the horse which was on cane.

"The rite concluded with gifts of land to the sacrificing priests and argurs; but the holy men preferring gold, ten millions, of jambanuda were bestowed on them.

Such is the circumstantial account of the Aswamedha, the most imposing and the earliest heathen rite on record. It were superfluous to point out the analogy between it and similar rites of various nations, from the chosen people the Auresnex of Rome and the confessional rite of the Catholic church.

The Sacran,* or Sivrat (night of Siva), is the winter solstice. On it the horse bled to the sun, or Bal-nath.

The Scandinavians termed the longest night the 'mother night,'† on which they held that the world was born. Hence the Beltane, the fires of Bal or Belenus; the Hi-ul of northern nations, the sacrificial fires on the Aswamedha, or worship of the sun, by the Suryas on the Ganges, and the Surians and Sauromatae on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The altars of the Phœnician Heliopolis, Balbec‡ or Tadmor,§ were sacred to the same divinity as on the banks of Sarayu, or Balpoor, in Saurashtra, where the horses of the sun ascended from his fountain (Surya coond), to carry its princes to conquest.

†† On the Norroza, or festival of the new year, the great Mogul slays a camel with his own hand, which is distributed, and a ten by the court-favourites.

* or §§ This was native gold, of a peculiarly dark and brilliant hue, which was compared to the fruit jamba (not unlike a damson). Every thing forms an allegory with the Hindus; and the production of this metal is appropriated to the period of gestation of Jahnavi, the river goddess (Ganges); worn by Agni, or fire, who produced Ku-mar, the god of war, the commander of the army of the gods. This was when she left the place of her birth, the Himalaya mountain (the great storehouse of metallic substances), whose daughter she is: and doubtless this is in allusion to some very remote period, when, harating her rockbound bed, Ganga exposed from "her side" veins of this precious metal.

* Little bars of bronze, filled with seeds of the sesamum or cakes of the same, are distributed by the chief to friends on this occasion. While the author writes, he has before him two of these, sent to him by the young Mahratta prince, Holkar.

† Siv-rat would be 'father night.' Siva-Isvara is the 'universal father.'

‡ Peridat, the compiler of the Imperial history of India, gives us a Persian or Arabic derivation of this from Bal 'the sun,' and ber, 'an idol.'

§ Derived to Palmyra, the etymon of which, I believe, has never been given, which is a variety of Tadmor. In Sanscrit, tal, or tar, is the 'date-tree,' nor signifies chief. We have more than one 'city of palms' (Talpur) in India; and the tribe ruling in Hyderabad, on the Indus is called Telpurie from the place whence they originated.

From Syria came the instructors of the Celtic Druids, who made human sacrifices, and set up the pillar of Belenus on the hills of Cambria and Caledonia.

When "Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord, and built them high places "and images, and groves, on every high hill and under every tree," the object was Bal, and the pillar (the lingam) was his symbol. It was on his altar they burned incense, and "sacrificed unto the calf on the fifteenth day of the month" (the sacred Amavasya of the Hindus). The calf of Israel is the bull (*nandi*) of Balcesar or Iswara; the Apis of the Egyptian Osiris.

The ash was sacred to the sun-god in the west. The aswatatha (or peepul) is the 'chief of trees,' say the books sacred to Bal in the East; and death, or loss of limb, is incurred by the sacrilegious mutilator of his consecrated groves,** where a pillar is raised bearing the inhibitory edict,

We shall here conclude the analogy between the Indo Scythic Rajpoot races and those of early Europe. Much more might be adduced; the old

|| Kings, chap. xxiii.

† *Ficus religiosa*. It presents a perfect resemblance to the poplar (*poplar*) of Germany and Italy, a species of which is the aspen. So similar is it, that the specimen of the peepul from Carolina is called, in the *Isola Bella* of the Lago Maggiore, *populus angulata*; and another in the *Jardin des Plantes* at Toulon, is termed the *Acus Populifolia*, ou *figuier a feuilles de populier*. The aspen, or ash, held sacred by the Celtic priests, is said to be the mountain-ash.

The calf of Bal is generally placed under the peepul; and Hindu tradition sanctifies a never-dying stem, which marks the spot where the Hindu Apollo, Hari (the sun), was slain by the savage Bhil on the shores of Saorashtre.

** The religious feelings of the Rajpoot though outraged for centuries by Moguls and mercenary Pathans, will not permit him to see the axe applied to the noble peepul or umbrageous burr (*Acus indica*), without execrating the destroyer. Unhappy the constitution of mind which knowingly wounds religious prejudices of such ancient date! Yet is it thus with our countrymen in the East, who treat all foreign prejudices with contempt, shoot the bird sacred to the Indian Mars, slay the calves of Bal, and sell the noble peepul before the eyes of the native without remorse.

He is unphilosophic and unwise who treat such prejudices with contempt; prejudice beyond the reach of reason. He is uncharitable who does not respect them; impolitic, who does not use every means to prevent such offence by ignorance or levity. It is an abuse of our strength, and an uncensorious advantage over their weakness. Let us recollect who are the guardians of these fanes of Bal, his peepul, and sacred bird (the peacock); the children of Surya and Chandra, and the descendants of the sages of yore, they who fill the ranks of army, and are a tentative, though silent observers of all our actions: the most attached, the most faithful and the most obedient of mankind! Let us maintain them in duty, obedience, and attachment, by respecting their prejudices and conciliating their pride. On the fulfilment of this depends the maintenance of our sovereignty in India: but the last fifteen years have assuredly not increased their devotion to us. Let the question be put to the unjustified, whether their welfare has advanced in proportion to the dominion they have conquered for us, or if it has not been in the inverse ratio of this prosperity? Have not their allowances and comforts decreased? Does the same relative standard between the currency and conveniences of life exist as twenty years ago? Has not the first depreciated twenty-five per cent., as half-batta stations and duties have increased? For the good of ruler and servant, let these be rectified. With the utmost solemnity I aver, I have but the welfare of all at heart in these observations. I loved the service, I loved the native soldier. I have proved what he will do, where devoted, when in 1817, thirty-two firelocks of my guard attacked, defeated, and dispersed, a camp of fifteen hundred men, slaying thrice their numbers. (1) Having quitted the scene for ever, I submit my opinion dispassionately for the welfare of the one, and with it the stability or reverse of the other.

(1) What say the Thermopylae of India, Corygaum? Five hundred firelocks against twenty thousand men? Do the annals of Napoleon record a more brilliant exploit? Has a column been reared to the names of the brave European and native, of this memorable day, to excite to future achievement? What order decks the breast of the gallant Fitzgerald, for the exploit on the field of Nagpore? At another time and place his words, "At my peril be it! Charge!" would have crowned his crest! These things call for remedy!

LIST OF THE TRIKHY-SIX KUYAL RACES OF RAJASTHAN. OM ! SACAMBAR! MATA.

ANCIENT MSS *	UNBUD BARDAI †	Sanskrit Editions— MSS.	Komar Pal Chaitanya, ‡	Guzuratti Dialect— MSS.	KHERCHIE BARD. §	CORRECTED LIST BY THE AUTHOR
Ichwaqa, Soorya, Soma or Chandra, Yadu.	Revva or Soorya, Sahas or Soma, Yadu.	Ichwaqa, Soorya, Yadu.	Macwahana, Dhupala, Rajpalica, Dahya, Nicoompa, Hoon, Balla, Gor.	Guzuratti Dialect— MSS. Gobhar' Gobhil, Uni G' hil, Catti or Cathi, Kissar, 6. Nicoompa, Burbeta, Bawura, Maroo, Macwahana, 10. Dahima, Dolia, Balla, Bungel, Yadu, 15. Jaitwa, Jareja, ditto, Solanhi, Pramara, 20. Kaba, Chawura, Chaurasima, Khanu, Khvera, 25. Rawuli, Musanis, Palani, Halla, Jhala, 30. Dahira, Baharia, Sarweya "Chaitryap. Sar," Puriara, Chobas.	Gehlote, Pramara, Choban, Sobaki, 5. Raktora, Tuni, Bircorjur, Puriara, Jhala, 10 Yadu, Cutchwaha, Gor. These subdivide : the following do not, and are called aka, or Single' Sengar. Balla, 16. Khurwar, Chawura, Dahima, Dahya, Byce, 20. Gherwal, Nicoompa, Dewut, Johya, Sikermal, 25. Davia, Doba, Mori, Morarra, Abhira, 30. Kalchoruk (Hya Race), Agnipala, Awaris or Sarja, Hool, Manutwal, Mallia, 36. Chahil.	Ichwaqa, Cacoosha, or Surva Unweye, Indu, Som, or Chandra Grabilote or Gehlote... 24 Sachin, Yadu..... 4 6. Tuni..... 17 Raktora..... 13 Bircorjur..... 13 Cutchwaha or Cutchwaha, Pramara..... 35 Chahuman or Choban, 24 Chalook or Solanki... 16 Puriara..... 19 Chawura..... Single. Tuk, Tank, or Takahac, Jit or Geta, 15. Hun or Hoon, Catti, Balla, Jhala..... 3 Jaitwa or Camari, 30. Gobhil, Sarweya, Silar, Dabi, Gor..... 5, 25. Doba or Dor, Gherwal, Bircorjur..... 3 Sengar..... Single, Sikermal..... ditto, 30. Byce..... ditto, Dolia, Johya, Morarra, Abhira, Mehil, Nicoompa, Rajpali, 36. Dahima..... ditto, Hool Extra, Dahira, Dahira.

* The author, after the invocation to "the mother protectress," says, "I write the names of the thirty-six royal tribes."

† The bard, Chaud says, "of the thirty-six races, the four Arupalas are the greatest—the rest are born of woman, but these from fire."

‡ As the work is chiefly followed with the exploits of Komarpal who was of Chohan tribe, the author reserves it for a peroration to the last "all the mightiest is the Chohan."

Runic characters of Scandinavia, the Celtic, and the Osci or Etruscan, might, by comparison with those found in the cave temple and rocks in Rajasthan and Saurashtra, yield yet more important evidence of original similarity; and the very name of German (from *wer*, *bellum*)* might be found to be derived from the *feud* (*weer* and *joe-man* (*weeri*) of the Rajpoot.

If these coincidences are merely accidental, then has too much been already said; if not, authorities are here recorded, and hypotheses founded for the assistance of others.

CHAPTER VII.

Catalogue of the Thirty six Royal Races.

HAVING discussed the ancient genealogies of the martial races of Rajasthan, as well as the chief point in their character and religion analogous to those of early Europe, we proceed to the catalogue of the *Chatees Raj Cula* or "thirty-six royal races".

The table before the reader presents, at one view, the authorities on which this list is given: they are as abundant. The first is from a detached leaf of an ancient work, obtained from a Yati, of a Jain temple at the old city of Nadole in Marwar. The second is from the poems of Chand,† the bard of the last Hindu king of Delhi. The third is from an estimable work cotemporary with Chand's, the *Komarpal Charitra*,‡ or 'History of the Monarchy of Anhilwarra Puttuna.' The fourth list is from the Kheechee bard.* The fifth, from a bard of Saurashtra.

From every one of the bardic profession, from all the collectors and collections of Rajasthan, lists have been received, from which the catalogue No. 6 has been formed, admitted by the genealogists to be more perfect than any existing document. From it, therefore, in succession, each race shall have its history rapidly sketched; though, as a text, single name is sufficient to fill many pages.

The first list is headed by an invocation to 'Mata Sacambhari Devi,' or mother-goddess, protectress of the races (*sachæ*).

Each race (*sacha*) has its 'Gotra Acharya,'† a genealogical creed, describing the essential peculiarities, religious tenets, and pristine locale of the clan. Every Rajpoot should be able to repeat this; though it is now confined to the family priest or the genealogist. Many chiefs, in these degenerate days, would be astonished if asked to repeat their 'gotra acharya,' and would refer to the bard. It is a touchstone of affinities, and gaurdian of

* D'Anville's derivation of German, from *wer* (*bellum*) and *manus*.

† Of his works I possess the most complete copy existing.

‡ Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

§ *Wagjee*, one of the most intelligent bards of the present day; but, heart-broken, he has now but the woe of his race to sing. Yet has he forgot them for a moment to rehearse the deeds of Purdunga, who sealed his fidelity by his death on the Causar. Then the invisible music of Bhavani was wrapt around him; and with the byrd (furor poeticus), flowing freely of their deeds of yore, their present degradation, time, and place, were all forgot. But the time is fast approaching when he may sing with the Cambrian bard.

"Ye lost companions! my tuneful art,

"Where are ye fled.

† One or two specimens shall be given in the proper place.

the laws of intermarriage. When the inhibited degrees of propinquity have been broken, it has been known to rectify the mistake, where, however, "ignorance was bliss.†"

Most of the *Oula* (races) are divided into numerous branches‡ (*sacha*), and these *sacha* sub-divided into innumerable clans (*gotra*),|| the most important of which shall be given.

A few of the *cula* never ramified: these are termed *eka*, or 'single: and nearly one-third are *eka*.

A table of the 'eighty-four' mercantile tribes, chiefly of Rajpoot origin shall also be furnished, in which the remembrance of some races are preserved which would have perished. Lists of the aboriginal, the agricultural and the pastoral tribes are also given to complete the subject.

In the earlier ages there were but two races, Soorya and Chandra, to which were added the four *Agniculas*,* in all six. The others are subdivisions of Soorya and Chandra, or the *sacha* of Indo Scythic origin, who found no difficulty in obtaining a place (though a low one), before the Mahomedan era, amongst the thirty-six regal races of Rajasthan. The former we may not unaptly consider as to the time, as the Celtic, the latter as the Gothic, races of India. On the generic terms *Surya* and *Chandra*, I need add nothing.

GRAHILOTE or GEHILOTE.—*Pedigree† of the Sooryavansi Rana, of royal race, Lord of Cheetore, the ornament of the thirty-six royal races.*"

By universal consent, as well as by the *gotra* of this race, its princes are admitted to be the direct descendants of *Rama*, of the Solar line. The pedigree is deduced from him, and connected with *Soomitra*, the last prince mentioned in the genealogy of the *Puranas*.

As the origin and progressive history of this family will be fully discussed in the "Annals of Mewar," we shall here only notice the changes which have marked the patronymic, as well as the regions which have been under their sway, from *Kanaksen*, who, in the second century, abandoned his native kingdom, *Koshala*, an established the race of Soorya, in *Saurashtra*.

On the site of *Virat*, the celebrated abode of the *Pandus* during exile, the descendant of *Ichwacu* established his line, and his descendant *Vijya*, in a few generations, built *Vijyapoor*.‡

† A prince of *Boondi* had married a Rajpootni of the *Malani* tribe, a name now unknown but a bard repeating the '*gotra acharya*.' It was discovered to have been about eight centuries before a ramification (*sacha*) of the *Chohan*, to which the *Rana* of *Boondi* belonged—divorce and expiatory rites, with great unhappiness, were the consequences. What contrast to the unhallowed doctrines of *Polyandrisim*, as mentioned amongst the *Pandus*, the Scythic nations, the inhabitants of *Sirmor* of the present day, and pertaining even to Britain in the days of *Cesar*!—" *Uxor habent dens duodenique inter se communes*" says that accurate writer, speaking of the natives of this island: "et maxime fratres cum fratribus, parentesque cum liberis sed si qui sent ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primus virgo quoque deducta est." A strange medley of polyandry and polygamy.

§ *Aparim sacam*, 'of innumerable branches,' is inscribed on an ancient tablet of the *Grabilote* race.

|| *Gote*, *kamp* denote a clan; its subdivisions have the patronymic terminating with the syllable '*ote*,' '*awut*,' '*sote*,' in the use of which euphony alone is their guide: thus, *Suktamat*, 'sons of *Sukta*;' *Kurnasote*, of *Kurma*;; *Moir-awut*, or *mairate*, *mow-tainers*, 'sons of the mountains.' Such is the Greek *Mainote*, from *maina* a mountain, in the ancient *Albanian* dialect, of eastern origin.

* From *agni* (q. *ignis*?) 'fire, the sons *Vulcan*, as the others of *Sol* and *Luna*, or *Lunus* to change the sex of the *Indu* (moon) race.

† *Vansavdi Suryavansi Rajwadi Rana Cheetore* ca *Dhunni*, *Chatees Guli Bengar*.—MSS, from the *Rana's* library, entitled '*Kaoman Rasa*.'

‡ Always conjoined with *Virat*—"Vijyapoor Viratgurh."

They became sovereigns, if not founders, of Ballabhi, which had a separate era of its own, called the *Balabhi Samvat*, according with S. Vicramā 375.‡ Hence they became the Balaca-raes, or kings of Balabhi; a title maintained by successive dynasties of Saurashtra for a thousand years after this period, as can be satisfactorily proved by genuine history and inscriptions.

Gajni, or Gayni, was another capital, whence the last prince, Siladitya (who was slain), and his family, were expelled by Parthian invaders in the sixth century.

A posthumous son, called Grahaditya, obtained a petty sovereignty at Edur. The change was marked by his name becoming the patronymic, and Grahilote, *vulgo* 'Gehlote,' designated the Suryavansa of Rama.

With reverses and migration from the wilds of Edur to Ahar||, the Gehlote was changed to Aharya, by which title the race continued to be designated till the twelfth century, when the elder brother, Rahup, abandoned his claim to 'the throne of Cheetore,' obtained¶ by force of arms from the Mori,** and settled at Dongurpoor, which he yet holds, as well as the title 'Aharya: while the younger, Mahup, established the seat of power at Seesodia, whence Seesodia set aside both Aharya and Gehlote.

Seesodia is now the common title of the race; but being only a subdivision, the Gohlote holds its rank in the cula.

The Gohlote cula is subdivided into twenty four sacha, or ramifications, few of which exist:—

1. Aharya	At Dongurpoor.
2. Mangulia	In the Deserts.
3. Seesodia	Mewar.
4. Peeparra	In Marwar.
5. Kalum	}
6. Gehor ...	...	...	...
7. Dhornia ...	...	...	...
8. Godah. ...	...	...	...
9. Mugrasah...	...	...	...
10. Bhimla	}
11. Kamkotuc...	...	...	...
12. Kotecha ...	...	...	...
13. Sorah ...	...	...	...
14. Oohur ...	...	...	...
15. Ooseba	}
16. Nir-roop ...	...	...	...
17. Nadoria ...	...	...	...
18. Nadhota ...	...	...	...
19. Ojakra ...	...	...	...
20. Kootchra	Almost extinct.

‡ A. . 319. The inscription recording this, as well as others relating to Ballabhi and this era, I discovered in Saurashtra, as well as the site of this ancient capital, occupying the position of "Byzantium" in Ptolemy's geography of India. They will be given in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

|| Anundpoor Ahar, or 'Ahar the city of repose.' By the tide of events, the family was destined to fix their last capital, Oodipoor, near Ahar.

¶ The middle of the eighth century.

** A pramara prince.

21. Dosaud	} Almost extinct.
22. Batewara	...	...	...	...
23. Paha	...	...	...	...
24. Poorote	...	...	...	...

YADU.—The Yadu was the most illustrious of all the tribes of Ind, and became the patronymic of the descendants of Boodha, progenitor of the Lunar (Indu) race.

Yudhisthira and Baladeva, on the death of Crishna and their expulsion from Delhi and Dwarica, the last strong hold of their power, retired by Mooltan across the Indus. The two first are abandoned by tradition; but the sons of Crishna, who accompanied them after an intermediate halt in the further Do-ab* of the five rivers, eventually left the Indus behind, and passed into Zabulisthan, founded Gajni and peopled these countries even to Same arkhand.

The annals of Jessulmeer, which give this early history of their founder, mix up in a confused manner† the cause of their being again driven back into India; so that it is impossible to say whether it was owing to the Greek princes who ruled all these countries for century after Alexander, or to the rise of Islamism.

Driven back on the Indus, they obtained possession of the Punjab and founded Salbhanpur. Thence expelled, they retired across the Sutledge and Garah into the Indian deserts; whence expelling the Langahas, the Johyas. Mohilas, &c., they founded successively Tannote, Derawal, and Jessulmeer,‡ in S. 1212§ the present capital of the Bhattis, the lineal successors of Crishna.

BHATTI was the exile from Zabulishtan, and as usual with the Rajpoot races on any such event in their annals, his name set aside the more ancient patronymic, *Yadu*. The Bhattis subdued all the tracts south of the Garah but their power has been greatly circumscribed since the arrival of the Rakh-tora. The Map defines their existing limits, and their annals will detail their past history.

JAREJA is the most important tribe of Yadu race next to the Bhatti. Its history is similar. Descended from Crishna, and migrating simultaneously with the remains of the Hericulas, there is the strongest ground for believing that their range was not so wide as that of the elder branch, but that they settled themselves in the valley of the Indus, more especially on the west shore in Sewisthan; and in nominal and armorial distinctions, even in Alexander's time they retained the marks of their ancestry.

Sambus, who brought on him the arms of the Grecians, was in all likelihood a Hericula; and the Minagara of Greek historians, Samanagara ('city of Sama'), his capital.

The most common epithet of Crishna, or Hari, was Shama or Sama, from his dark complexion. Hence the Jareja bore it as a patronymic, and the

* The place where they found refuge was in the cluster of hills still called *Yadu ca dang* 'the Yadu hills';—the *Jowder* of Rennell's geography.

† The date assigned long prior to the Christian era, agrees with the Grecian, but the names and manners are Mahomedan.

‡ Lodurwa Pattan, whence they expelled an ancient race, was their capital before Jessulmeer. There is much to learn of these regions.

§ A. D. 1157.

whole race were *Sama-putras* (children of *Sama*), whence the titular name *Sambus* of its princes.

The modern *Jareja*, who from circumstances has so mixed with the *Mahomedans* of *Sinde* as to have forfeited all pretensions to purity of blood, partly in ignorance and partly to cover disgrace, says that his origin is from *Sham*, or *Syria*, and of the stock of the *Persian Jamsheed*; consequently, *Sam* has been converted into *Jam*;* which epithet designates one of the *Jareja* petty governments, the *Jam Raj*.

These are the most conspicuous of the *Yadu* race; but there are others who still bear the original title, of which the head is the prince of the petty state of *Kerowli* on the *Chumbul*.

This portion of the *Yadu* stock would appear never to have strayed far beyond the ancient limits of the *Suraseni*,† their ancestral abodes. They held the celebrated *Biana*; whence expelled, they established *Kerowli* west and *Subbulgurh* east, of the *Chumbul*. The tract under the latter, called *Yaduvati*, has been wrested from the family by *Sindia*. *Sir Mathoorat* is an independent fief of *Kerowli*, held by a junior branch.

The *Yadus*, or as pronounced in the dialects *Jadoon*, are scattered over *India*, and many chiefs of consequence amongst the *Mahrattas* are of this tribe.

There are eight sachæ of the *Yadu* race.

1. <i>Yadu</i> ...	...	...	... Chief <i>Kerowli</i> .
2. <i>Bhatti</i> ...	...	...	... Chief <i>Jessulmeer</i> .
3. <i>Jareja</i> ...	...	...	... Chief <i>Cutch Bhooj</i> .
4. <i>Sumaitcha</i> ...	...	...	... <i>Mahomedans</i> in <i>Scind</i> .
5. <i>Mudaicha</i> ...	...	...	} Unknown.
6. <i>Bidmun</i> ...	...	...
7. <i>Budda</i> ...	...	...
8. <i>Soha</i> ...	...	...

TUAR.—The *Tuar*, though acknowledged as a subdivision of the *Yadu*, is placed by the best genealogists as one of the 'thirty six,' a rank to which its celebrity justly entitles it.

We have in almost every case the etymon of each celebrated race. For the *Tuar* we have none; and we must rest satisfied in delivering the dictum of the *Bardai*, who declares it of *Pandu* origin.

If it had to boast only of *Vicramaditya*, the paramount lord of *India*, whose era, established fifty-six years before the *Christian*, still serves as the grand beacon of *Hindu* chronology, this alone would entitle the *Tuar* to the highest rank. But it has other claims to respect. *Delhi*, the ancient *Indraprastha*, founded by *Yudhisthira*, and which tradition says lay desolate for eight centuries, was rebuilt and peopled by *Anungpal Tuar*, in *S. 848* (A.D. 792), who was followed by a dynasty of twenty princes, which concluded with the name of the founder, *Anungpal*, in *S. 1220* (A.D. 1164), when, contrary

* They have an infinitely better etymology for this, in being descendants of *Jambuvati*, one of *Heri's* eight wives.

† The *Suraseni* of *Vrij*, the tract so named, thirty miles around *Mathura*.

‡ Its chief, *Rao Munohur Sing*, was well known to me, and was, I may say, my friend. For years letters passed between us, and he had made for me a transcript of a valuable copy of the *Mahabharat*.

to the Salic law of the Rajpoots, he abdicated (having no issue) in favour of his grandchild, the Chohan Prithwiraja.

The Tuar must now rest on his ancient fame; for not an independent possession remains to the race,* which traces its lineage to the Pandus, boasts of Vicrama, and which furnished the last dynasty, emperors of Hindusthan.

It would be a fact unparalleled in the history of the world, could we establish to conviction that the last Aungpal Tuar was the lineal descendant of the founder of Iudraprestha: that the issue of Yudhisthira sat on the throne which he erected, after a lapse of 2,250 years. Universal consent admits it, and the fact is as well established as most others of historic nature of such a distant period: nor can any dynasty or family of Europe produce evidence so strong as the Tuar, even to a much less remote antiquity.

The chief possessions left to the Tuars are the district of Tuargar, on the right bank of the Chumbul towards its junction with the Jumna, and the small chieftainship of Patun Tuarvati in the Jeypoor state, and whose head claims affinity with the ancient kings of Iudraprestha.

RAHTORE.—A doubt hangs on the origin of this justly celebrated race. The Rahtore genealogies trace their pedigree to Cush, the second son of Rama; consequently they would be Suryavansa. But by the bards of this race they are denied this honour; and although Cushite, they are held to be the descendants of Casyapa, of the Solar race, by the daughter of a Daitya (Titan). The progeny of Hirna Casyapa is accordingly stigmatized as being of demoniac origin.

It is rather singular that they should have succeeded to the Lunar race of Cushnaba, descendants of Ujamida, the founders of Canouj. Indeed, some genealogists maintain the Rahtores to be of Cusika race.

The pristine locale of the Rahtores is Gadhipoora, or Canouj, where they are found enthroned in the fifth century; and though beyond that period they connect their line with the princes of Kosala or Ayodhya, the fact rests on assertion only.

From the fifth century their history is cleared from the mist of ages, which envelopes them all prior to this time: and in the period approaching the Tatar conquest of India, we find them contesting with the last Tuar and Chohan kings of Delhi and the Balica-rae of Anbulwarra, the right to paramount importance amidst the princes of Ind.

The combats for this phantom, supremacy, destroyed them all. Weakened by internal strife, the Chohan of Delhi fell, and his death exposed the north-west frontier. Canouj followed; and while its last prince, Jeychand, found a grave in the Ganges, his son sought an asylum in Marathuli, "the regions of death."

Seoji was this son; the founder of the Rahtore dynasty in Marwar, on the ruins of the Puriharas of Mundore. Here they brought their ancient martial spirit, and a more valiant being exists not than can be found amongst the sons of Seoji. The Mogul emperors were indebted for half their conquests to the *Lakh Turwar Rahtoran*, the 10,000 swords of the Rahtores: for it is beyond a doubt that 50,000 of the blood of Seoji have been embodied at once. But enough of the noble Rahtores for the present.

The Rahtore has twenty-four sachæ:—Dhandul, Bhadail, Chackit,

* Several Mahattic chieftains deduce their origin from the Tuarrace, as Ram Rao Falkia, a very gallant leader of hors. in Scindhia's state.

Doohuria, Khokra, Baddura Chajira, Ramdeva, Kabria, Hatoondia, Malavat, Soendu, Kataicha, Muholi, Gogadeva, Mahaicha, Jeysinga, Moorsia, Jotsia, Jora, &c., &c.,

Rahtore Gotra Acharya—Gotama* Gotra (race),—Mardwunduni Sacha (branch),—Sookra-acharya Gooru (Regent of the Planet Venus, Preceptor),—Garroopata Agni,†—Pankhani Devi (tutelary goddess, winged).

CUSHWAHA.—The Cushwaha race‡ is descended from Cush, the second son of Rama. They are the Cushites,§ as the Rajpoots of Mewar are the Lavites, of India.

Two branches migrated from Koshula: one founded Rotas on the Sone, the other established a colony amidst the ravines of the Cohari, at Lahar.¶

In the course of time they erected the celebrated fortrees of Nirwur, or Nirwar, the abode of the celebrated Raja Nala, whose descendants continued to hold possession throughout all the vicissitudes of the Tatar and Mogul domination, when they were deprived of it by the Maharattas, and the abode of Nala is now a dependency of Sindhia.

In the tenth century a branch emigrated and founded Amber, dispossessing the aborigines, the Meenas, and adding from the Rajpoot tribe Birgoojur, who held Rajore and large possessions around. But even in the twelfth century the Cushwahas were but principal vassals to the Chohan king of Delhi; and have to date their greatness, as the other families (especially the Ranas of Mewar) of Rajasthan their decline, from the ascent of the house of Timoor to the throne of Delhi.

The map-shews the limits of the sway of the Cushwahas, including their branches, the independent Niroomkas of Macherri, and tributary confederated Shekhayats.

The Cushwaha subdivisions have been mislaid; but the present partition into Kotrees (chambers), of which there are twelve, shall be given in their annals.

AGNICULAS.—1st. *Pramara*. There are four races to whom the Hindu genealogists have given Agni, or the element of fire, as progenitor. The Agniculas are therefore the sons of Vulcan, as the other are of Sol,‡ Mercurius, and Terra.

The Agniculas are the Pramara, the Purihara, the Chalook or Solanki, and the Chohan.

* From this I should be inclined to pronounce the Rahtores descendants of a race (probably Scythic) professing the Boeddhist faith, of which Gotama was the last great teacher, and disciple of the last Boeddha Mahavira, in S. 477 (A.D. 533.)

† Enigmatical—'Clay formation by fire (agni).'

‡ Erroneously written and pronounced Cutchwaha.

§ The resemblance between the Cushite Rameses of Arothya and the Rameses of Egypt is strong. Each was attended by his army of satyrs, Anubis and Cynocephalus, which last is a Greek misnomer, for the animal bearing this title is of the Simian family, as his images (in the Turin mu-eun) disclose, and the brother of the faithful Hanuman. The comparison—between the deities within the Indus (called Nil-al, 'blue waters') and those of the Nile in Egypt, is a point well worth discussion.

|| A name in compliment, probably, to the elder branch of their race, Lava.

¶ There is a captivating elegance thrown around the theogonies of Greece and Rome, which we fail to impart to the Hindu; through that elegant scholar, Sir William Jones, could make even Sanscrit literature fascinating; and that it merits the attempt intrinsically, we may infer from the charm it possesses to the learned chieftain of Rajasthan. That it is perfectly analogous to the Greek and Roman, we have but to translate the names to shew. For instance:—

That these races, the sons of Agni were but regenerated, and converted by the Brahmins to fight their battles, the clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will disclose; and, as the most ancient of their inscriptions are in the Pali character, discovered wherever the Boodhist religion prevailed, their being declared of the race of Tusta or Takshac,† warrants our asserting the Agniculas to be of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries before Christ. It was about this period that Parswa, the twenty-third Booddha,‡ appeared in India; his symbol, the serpent.

The legend of the snake (Takshac) escaping with the celebrated work *Pingal*, which was recovered by Garoora, the eagle of Crishna, is purely allegorical; and descriptive of the contentions between the followers of Parswa, figured under his emblem, the snake and those of Crishna, depicted under his sign, the eagle.

The worshippers of Soorya probably recovered their power on the exterminating civil wars of the Lunar races, but the creation of the Agniculas is expressly stated to be for the preservation of the altars of Bal, or Iswara, against the Daityas, or Atheists.

The celebrated Aboo, or Ar-boodha, the Olympus of Rajasthan, was the scene of contention between the ministers of Soorya and these Titans, and their relation might with the aid of imagination, be equally amusing with the Titanic war of the ancient poets of the west.

The Boodhists claim it for Adi-nath, their first Boodha; the Brahmins for Iswara or, as the local divinity, styled Achil-es.§

The Agnicooda is still shewn on the summit of Aboo where the four races were created by the Bramins to fight the battles of Achal-es and polytheism, against the monotheistic Boodhists, represented as the serpents or Takshacs.

The probable period of this conversion has been hinted at; but of the dynasties issuing from the Agniculas, many of the princes professed the Boodhist or Jain faith, to periods so late as the Mahomedan invasion.

The Pramara though not, as his name implies the 'chief warrior,' was the most potent of the Agniculas. He sent forth thirty-five sachæ, or branches, several of whom enjoyed extensive sovereignties. 'The world is the Pramara's, is an ancient saying, denoting their extensive sway; and the

Solar.	Lunar.
Mireecha..... (Lux).....	Atri.
Kesayapa..... (Uranus).....	Samudra (Oceanus).
Vivaswama or Surya . (Sol).....	Soma, or Iad (Luna; q. Lunus †).
Vivaswamasoot Manu... (Fillus Soils).....	Vrihaspati (Jupiter).
Ella..... (Terra).....	Boodha (Mercurius).

† Figuratively, 'the serpent.'

‡ To me it appears that there were four distinguished Booddhas or wise men, teachers of monotheism in India which they brought from Central Asia, with their science and its written character, the arrow or nail-headed, which I have discovered wherever they have been,—in the deserts of Jessulmeer, in the heart of Rajasthan, and the shores of Saurashtra; which were their nurseries.

The first Booddha is the parent of the Lunar race, A. C. 2550.

The second (twenty-second of the Jains), Naminath, A. C. 1120.

The third (twenty-third do.). Parawanath, A. C. 650.

The fourth (twenty-fourth do.). Mahivira, A. C. 533.

§ *Achil*, 'immoveable,' *Es*, contracted from *eswars*, 'lord.'

*No-kote** *Marvesthali* signified the nine divisions into which the country from the Sutledge to the ocean, was partitioned amongst them.

Maheswar, Dhar, Mandoo, Oojein, Chandrabhaga, Cheetore, Aboo, Chandravati, Mhow, Maidana, Parmavati, Omrakote, Bekher, Lodurva, and Puttun, are the most conspicuous of the capitals they conquered or founded.

Though the Pramara family never equalled in wealth the famed Solanki princes of Anbulwarra, or shone with such lustre as the Chohan, it attained a wider range and an earlier consolidation of dominion than either, and far excelled in all, the Purihara, the last and least of the Agniculas, which it long held tributary.

Maheswar, the ancient seat of the Hya kings appears to have been the first seat of government of the Pramaras. They subsequently founded Dharanagar, and Mandoo on the crest of the Vindhya hills; and to them is even attributed the city of Oojein, the first meridian of the Hindus, and the seat, of Vicrama.

There are numerous records of the family, fixing eras in their history of more modern times; and it is to be hoped that the interpretation of yet undeciphered inscriptions, may carry us back beyond the seventh century.

The era† of Bhoj, the son of Moonj, has been satisfactorily settled; and an inscription‡ in the nail-headed character, carries it back a step farther* and elicits an historical fact of infinite value giving the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Cheetore, and the consequent accession of the Gehlotes.

The Nerbudda was no limit to the power of the Pramaras. About the very period of the foregoing inscription, Ram Pramara held his court in Telungana, and is invested by the Ghohan Bard, Chund, with the dignity of paramount sovereign of India, and head of a splendid feudal association whose members became independent on his death. The Bard makes this, voluntary act of the Pramaras; but coupled with the Gehlote's violent acquisition of Cheetore, we may suppose the successor of Rama was unable to maintain such supremacy.

While Hindu literature survives, the name of Bhoj Pramara and "the nine gems" of his court cannot perish; though it is difficult to say which of the three* princes of this name is particularly alluded to, as they all appear to have been patrons of science.

Chandragoopta, the supposed opponent of Alexander, was a Mori, and

* It extended from the Indus almost to the Jumna, occupying all the sandy regions, Nokote, Arboodha or Aboo, Dhat, Mundodri, Khyraloo, Pakur, Lodurva, and Poogul.

† See transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 227.

‡ Which will be given in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

§ S. 770, or A. D. 714.

|| "When the Pramara of Telung took sanctuary with Hara, to the thirty-six tribes he "made gifts of land. To Kehur he gave Kuttair, to Rae Fuhar the coast of Scind, to the "heroes of the shell the forest lands. Ram Pramara of Telung, the Chukwa lord of Oojein, "made the gift. He bestowed Delhi on the Tuar, and Puttun on the Chawuras; Sambhur on "the Chohans, and Canouj on the Kamdhuj; Mar-des on the Purihar, Sorat on the Jadu, "Dekhan on Jawula, and Cutch on the Charun." (*Poems of Chund.*)

* The inscription gives S. 1100 (A. D. 1044) for the third Bhoj: and this date agrees with the period assigned to this prince in an ancient Chronogrammatic Catalogue of reigns embracing all the princes of the name of Bhoj which may therefore be considered authentic. This authority assigns S. 631 and 721 (or A. D. 575 and 665) to the first and second Bhoj

in the sacred genealogies is declared of the race of Takshac. The ancient inscriptions of the Pramaras, of which the Mori is a principal branch declare it of the race of Tusta and Takshac, as does that now given from the seat of their power Cheetore.†

Salivahana, the conqueror of Vicramaditya, was a Takshac, and his era set aside that of the Tuar in the Dekhan.

Not one remnant of independence exists to mark the greatness of the Pramaras: ruins are the sole records of their power. The prince of Dhat,‡ in the Indian desert, is the last phantom of royalty of the race; and the descendant of the prince who protected, Hamayoon, driven from the throne of Timoor, in whose capital, Omrakote, the great Akber was born, is at the foot of fortune's ladder; his throne in the desert, footstool of the Buloteh, on whose bounty he is dependent for support.

Among the thirty-five sachæ of the Pramaras the Vihil was eminent, the princes of which line appear to have been lords of Chandravati, at the foot of the Aravali.

The Rao of Bijolli, one of the sixteen superior nobles of the Rana's court, is a Pramara of the ancient stock of Dhar, and perhaps its most respectable representative.

Thirty-five Sachæ of the Pramaras.

Mori.—Of which was Chandragoota, and the princes of Cheetore prior to the Gehlotes.

Soda.—Sogdi of Alexander, the princes of Dhat in the Indian desert.

Sankla.—Chiefs of Poogul, and in Marwar.

Khyr.—Capital Khyraloo.

Oomra and Soomra.—Anciently in the desert, now Mahomedans.

Vehil, or Bihil.—Princes of Chandravati.

ai-paut.—Present chief of Bijolli in Mewar.

Bulhar.—Northern desert.

Kaba.—Celebrated in Saurashtra in ancient times, a few yet in Sirowi.

Omuta.—The princes of Omutwarra in Malwa, there established for twelve generations. Omutwarra is the largest tract left to the Pramaras. Since the war in 1817, being under the British interference they cannot be called independent.

<i>Rehar,</i>	} Grasia petty chiefs in Malwa.
<i>Dhoonda,</i>	...	...
<i>Soruteah,</i>	...	...
<i>Hurair,</i>	...	...

Besides others unknown; as Chaonda, Khejur, Sugra, Burkots, Pooni, Sampal Bheeba, Kalpoosur, Kulmoh, Kohila, Pupi, Kahoria, Dhund,

† Herbert has a curious story of Chetore being called Taxila; thence the story of the Ranas being sons of Poros. I have an inscription from a temple on the Chumble within the ancient limits of Mewar, which mentions Taksilanagara, 'the stone fort of the Tak,' but I cannot apply it. The city of Thoda (Tonk, or properly Tanks) is called in the Chohan chronicles, Takatpoor.

‡ Of the soda tribe, a grand division of the Pramaras, and who held all the desert regions in remote times. Their subdivisions Oomra and Soomra, gave the names to Omrakote and Oomrasomra, in which was the insular Bekher on the Indus: so that we do not misapply etymology, when we say in Soda we have the Sogdi of Alexander.

Debs, Burhur, Jeepra, Posra, Dhoonta, Rikumva, and Tyka. Many of these are proselytes to Islamism, and several beyond the Indus.

CHAHUMAN OR CHOHAN.—On this race so much has been said elsewhere,* that it would be superfluous to give more than a rapid sketch of them here.

This is the most valiant of the Agniculas, and it may be asserted not of them only, but of the whole Rajpoot race. Actions may be recorded of the greater part of each of the Chatees-cula, which would yield to none in the ample and varied pages of history; and though the 'Tulwar Rhatoran,' would be ready to contest the point, impartial decision, with a knowledge of their respective merits, must assign to the Chohan the van in the long career of arms.

Its branches (sachæ) have maintained all the vigour of the original stem; and the Haras, the Kheechees, the Deoras, the Sonigurras, and others of the twenty-four, have their names immortalized in the song of the bard.

The derivation of Chohan is coeval with his fabulous birth: 'the four-handed warrior.' (*Chatoor bhooja Chatoor baha Vira*.) All failed when sent against the demons, but the Chohan, the last creation of the Brahmins to fight their battles against infidelity.

A short extract may be acceptable from the original respecting the birth of the Chohan, to guard the rites of our Indian Jove on this Olympus, the Sacred Aboo: "the Gooru of mountains, like Soomar or Kylas, which Achilles "made his abode. Fast but one day on its summit, and your sins will be "forgiven; reside there for a year, and you may become the preceptor of mankind."

Notwithstanding the sanctity of Aboo, and the little temptation to disturb the anchorites of Bal, "the Munis, who passed their time in devotion "whom desire never approached, who drew support from the cow, from roots, "fruits, and flowers," yet did the Dytes, envying their felicity, render the sacrifice impure, and stop in transit the share of the gods.

"The Brahmins dug the pit for burnt-sacrifice to the south-west (nyrut); but the demons† raised storms which darkened the air and filled it with clouds of sand, showering ordure, blood, bones and flesh with every 'impurity, on their rites. Their penance was of no avail."

Again they kindled the sacred fire; and the priests, assembling round the *Agnicoonda*,‡ prayed for aid to Mahadeva.

"From the fire fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's "mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his "name, Prithi-ha-dwara*. A second issued forth, and being formed in the "palm (*chaloo*) of the hand named Chalookā. A third appeared and was "named Pramara.† He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others "went against the demons, but they did not prevail:

"Again Vasishtha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he

* See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i, p. 133 Comments on a Sanscrit inscription.

† Asura-Daity, which Titans were either the aboriginal Bhils or the Scythic hordes.

‡ I have visited this classic spot in Hindu mythology. An image of adi-pal (the 'first created') in marble, still adorns its embankment, and is a piece of very fine sculpture. It was so sacred a relic to remove.

'Portal or door (dwar) of the earth,' contracted to Prithihara and Purihara.

"called the gods to aid : and, as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, "lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, yes rolling, breast expanded, "fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a, "brand in the other, quadriform (*Chattooranga*),† whence his name, *Chohan*.

"Vasishta prayed that his hope§ might be at length fulfilled, as the "Chohan was despatched against the demons. Sacti-devi on her lion, armed "with the trident, descended, and bestowed her blessing on the Chohan and "as Asapurna, or Kalika, promised always to hear his prayer. He went "against the demons ; their leaders he slew. The rest fled, nor halted till "they reached the depths of hell. Anhul slew the demons. The Brahmins "were made happy ; and of his race was Prithwiraja."

The genealogical tree of the Chohans exhibits thirty-nine princes, from Anhul, the first created Chohan, to Prithwiraja, last of the Hindu emperors of India.¶ But whether the chain is entire we cannot say. The inference is decidedly against its being so, for this creation or regeneration is assigned to an age centuries anterior to Vicramaditya ; and we may safely state these converts to be of the Takshac race, invaders of India at a very early period.

Ajipal is a name celebrated in the Chohan chronicles, as the founder of the fortress of Ajmeer, one of the earliest establishments of Chohan power.

Sambhur,** on the banks of the extensive salt lake of the same name, was probably anterior to Ajmeer, and yielded an epithet to the princes of this race, who were styled Sambri Rao. These continued to be the most important places of Chohan power, until the translation of Prithwiraja to the imperial throne of Delhi threw a parting halo of splendour over the last of its independent kings. There were several princes whose actions emblazon the history of the Chohans. Of these was Manika Rao, who first opposed the progress of the Mahamedan arms. Even the history of the conquerors records that the most obstinate opposition which the arms of Mahmoud of Ghizni encountered was from the prince of Ajmeer,‡ who forced him to retreat, foiled and disgraced, from this celebrated strong hold, in his destructive route to Saurashtra.

The attack on Manika Rao appears to have been by Kasim, the general of Walid, on the close of the first century of the Hegira. The second attack was at the end of the fourth century. A third was during the reign of Beesaldeva, who headed a grand confederacy of the Rajpoot princes against the foes of their religion. The celebrated Udya Dit Prammar is enumerated amongst the chiefs acting in subserviency to the Chohan prince on this occasion, and as his death has been fixed by unerring records in A. D. 1096, this combination must have been against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmoud ; and to this victory is the allusion in the inscriptions on

* 'The first striker.'

† *Chatoor* or *Chā*, 'four ;' *Anga*, 'body.'

‡ *Asa*, 'hope,' *Purna* to fulfil ; whence the tutelary goddess of the Chohan race, *Asapurna*.

§ The goddess of energy (*Sacti*).

¶ Born in S. 1215, or A. D. 1159.

* A name derived from the goddess *Sacambhari*, the tutelary divinity of the tribes, whose statue is in the middle of the lake.

** *Dharma Dharaj*, father of *Beesaldeva* must have been the defender on this occasion

the ancient pillar of Delhi. But these irruptions continued to the captivity and death of the last of the Chohans, whose reign exhibits a splendid picture of feudal manners.

The Chohans sent forth twenty-four branches, of whom the most celebrated are the existing families of Boondi and Kotah, in the division termed Haravati. They have well maintained the Chohan reputation for valour. Six princely brothers shed their blood in one field, in the support of the aged Shah Jehan against his rebellious son Aurungzebe, and of the six but one survived his wounds.

The Kheeches of Gagrown and Ragoogurh, the Deoras of Sirohi, the Sonagurras of Jhalore, the Chohans of Sooe Bah and Sanchore, and the Pawaitchas of Pawagurh, have all immortalized themselves by the more heroic and devoted deeds. Most of these families yet exist, brave as in the days of Prithwiraja.

Many chiefs of the Chohan race abandoned their faith to preserve their lands, the Kaim-Khani,* the Surwanis, the Lowanis, the Kururwanis, and the Baidwanas, chiefly residing in Shikavati, are the most conspicuous. No less, than twelve petty princes thus deserted their faith: which however, is not contrary to the Rajpoot creed; for even Manu says they may part with wife to preserve their land. Eesurdas, nephew of Prithwiraja, was the first who set this example.

TWENTY-FOUR SACHA OF THE CHOHAHS—Chohan, Hara, Kheechee, Sonigurra, Deora, Pabia, Sanchora, Goelwal, Bhadoria, Nurbhan, Malani, Poorbia, Soora, Madraetcha, Sankraetcha, Bhooraetcha, Balaetcha, Tussairah, Chachairah, Rosiah, Chundu, Nacoompa Bhawur, and Bankut.

CHALOOK OR SOLANKI.—Though we cannot trace the history of this branch of the Agniculas to such periods of antiquity as the Pramara or Chohan, it is from the deficiency of materials, rather than any want of celebrity that we are unable to place it, in this respect, on a level with them. The tradition of the Bard makes the Solankis important as princes of Sooru on the Ganges, ere the Rahtores obtained Canouj. The genealogical test† claims Lokote, said to be the ancient Lahore, as a residence, which makes them of the same Sacha (Madwuni) as the Chohans. Certain it is, that in the eight century we find the Langahast and Tograst inhabiting Mooltan and the surrounding country, the chief opponents of the Bhattis on their establishment in the desert. They were princes of Calian, on the Malabar coast,‡ which city still exhibits vestiges of ancient grandeur. It was from Calian that a scion of the Solanki tree was taken, and engrafted on the royal stem of the Chawuras of Anhulwarra Putun.

It was in S. 987 (A.D. 931) that Bhojraj, the last of the Chawuras, and the Saie law of India were both set aside, to make way for the young Solanki, Moolraj,* who ruled Anhulwarra for the space of fifty-eight years.

* About Futtepoor Jhoon-joonee.

† Solanki Gotra Acharya is thus:—Madwuni Sacha—Bhardwaj Gotra—Gurh Lokote "nekas—Sarasvati Nadi (river)—Sham Veda—Kapileswar Deva—Carduman Rikeshwar—"Teen Purwur Zenar (zone of three threads)—Keonj Devi—Maipal Putra (one of the Penates)."

‡ Called Malkhani, being the sons of Mal Khan, the first apostate from his faith to Islamism. Whether these branches of the Solankis were compelled to quit their religion, or did it voluntarily, we know not.

§ Near Bombay.

|| Son of Jey Sing Solanki, the emigrant prince of Calian, who married the daughter of

During the reign of his son and successor, Chaond Rae,† Mahmood of Ghizni carried his desolating arms into the kingdom of Anbulwarra. With its wealth he raised those magnificent trophies of his conquest, among which the "*Celestial Bride*" might have vied with any thing ever erected by man as a monument of folly. The wealth abstracted, as reported in the history of the conquerors, by this scourge of India, though deemed incredible, would obtain belief, if the commercial riches of Anbulwarra could be appreciated. It was to India what Venice was to Europe, the entrepot of the products of both the eastern and western hemispheres. It fully recovered the shock given by Mahmood and the desultory wars of his successors; and we find Sid Rae Jay Sing,‡ the seventh from the founder, at the head of the richest, if not the most warlike, kingdom of India. Two and twenty principalities at one time owned his power, from the Carnatic to the base of the Himalaya mountains; but his unwise successor drew upon himself the vengeance of the Chohan, Prithwiraja, a slip of which race was engrafted in the person of Komarpal, on the genealogical tree of the Solankis; and a curious fact, that this dynasty of the Balica-raes alone gives us two examples of the Salic law of India being violated. Komarpal, installed on the throne of Anbulwarra, "tied round his head the turban of the Solanki." He became of the tribe into which he was adopted. Komarpal, as well as Sid Rae, was the patron of Boddhism; and the monuments erected under them and their successors claim our admiration, from their magnificence and the perfection of the arts; for, at no period, were they more cultivated than at the courts of Anbulwarra.

The Lieutenants of Shabudin disturbed the close of Komarpal's reign; and his successor, Ballo Mooldeo, closed this dynasty in S. 1284 (A. D. 1228) when a new dynasty, called the Baghela (descendants of Sid Rae) under Beesaldeva, succeeded. The dilapidations from religious persecution were repaired; Somnath, renowned as Delphos of old, rose from its ruins, and the kingdom of the Balica-Raes was attaining its pristine magnificence, when under the fourth prince, Gehla Kurrin, the angel of destruction appeared in the shape of Alla-udin, and the kingdom of Anbulwarra was annihilated. The Lieutenants of the Tatar despot of Delhi let loose the spirit of intolerance and avarice on the rich cities and fertile plains of Guzerat and Saurashtra. In contempt of their faith, the altar of an Islamite Derveish was placed in contact with the shrine of Adinath, on the most accessible of their sacred mounts;§ the statues of Boddha were thrown down, and the books containing the mysteries of their faith suffered the same fate as the Alexandrian library. The walls of Anbulwarra were demolished; its foundations excavated and again filled up with the fragments of their ancient temples.

Bhojraj. These particulars are taken from a valuable little geographical and historical treatise, incomplete and without title.

* Called Jamund by Mahomedan historians.

† He ruled from S. 1150 to 1201. It was his court that was visited by El. Edrisi, commonly called the Nubian geographer, who particularly describes this prince as following the tenets of Boodha.

‡ a. m. n. j. y. a.

§ In 1822 I made a journey to explore the remains of antiquity in Saurashtra. I discovered a ruined suburb of the ancient Pattun still bearing the name of *Anuricara*, the *Nahrwara* which D'Anville had "for a cœur de retrouver." I meditate a separate account of this kingdom, and the dynasty which governed it.

The remnants of the Solanki dynasty were scattered over the land, and this portion of India remained for upwards of a century without any paramount head, until, by a singular dispensation of Providence, its splendor was renovated, and its foundations rebuilt, by an adventurer of the same race from which the Agniculas were originally converts, though Seharun the Tak hid his name and his tribe under his new epithet of Zuffir Khan and as Mozuffir. ascended the throne of Guzerat, which he left to his son. This son was Ahmed, who founded Ahmedabad, whose most splendid edifices were built from the ancient cities around it.

Though the stem of the Solankis was thus uprooted, yet was it not before many of its branches (Sachae), like their own indigenous burr-tree, had fixed themselves in other soils. The most conspicuous of these is the Bhagela* family, which gave its name to an entire division of Hindusthan; and Bhagel-khund has now been ruled for many centuries by the descendants of Sid Rae.

Besides Bandoogurh, there are minor chieftainships still in Guzerat of the Bhagela tribe. Of these, Peetapoor and Theraud are the most conspicuous. One of the chieftains of the second class in Mewar is a Solanki, and traces his line immediately from Sid Rae: this is the chief of Roopnagurh,† whose stronghold commands one of the passes leading to Marwar, and whose family annals would furnish a fine picture of the state of border-feuds. Few of them, till of late years have died natural deaths.

The Solanki is divided into sixteen branches.

1. Bhagela—Raja of Bhagel-khund (capital Bandoogurh), Raos of Peetapoor, Theraud, and Adaluj, &c.

2. Beerpoora—Rao of Lunawarra.

3. Behila—Kulianpoor in Mewar, styled Rao, but serving the chief of Saloombra.

4. Bhoorta‡ } In Baroo, Tekra, and Chahir, in Jessulmeer.

5. Kalacha‡ }

6. Langaha—Mooslims about Mooltan.

7. Togru—Mooslims in the Punjnud.

8. Birku Do. do.

9. Soorki—In Dekhan.

10. Sirwureah §—Girnar in Saurashtra.

11. Raoka—Thoda in Jeypoor.

12. Ranikia—Daisoori in Mewar.

14. Tantia—Chandbhur Sakunbari.¶

15. Almetcha—No land.

16. Kulamoor—Guzerat.

PRITHARA OR PURIHARA.—Of this, the last and least of the Agniculas, we have much to say. The Puriharas never acted a conspicuous part in the history of Rajasthan. They are always discovered in a subordinate

* The name of this subdivision is from Bhag Rae, the son of Sid Rae; though the bards have another tradition for its origin.

† I knew this chieftain well, and a very good specimen he is of the race. He is in possession of the famous war-shell of Jey Sing, which is an heir-loom.

‡ Famous robbers in the deserts, known as the Maldoots.

§ Celebrated in traditional history.

¶ Desperate robbers. I saw this place fired and levelled in 1807, when the noted Kureem Bundarree was made prisoner by Sindhia. It afterwards cost some British blood in 1817.

capacity, acting, in feudal subjection to the Tuars of Delhi or the Chohans of Ajmeer; and the brightest page of their history is the records of an abortive attempt of Nahur Rao to maintain his independence against Prithwiraja. Though a failure, it has immortalized his name, and given to the scene of action, one of the passes of the Aravali, a merited celebrity.

Mundawur* (classically Mundodri) was the capital of the Purihars, and was the chief city of Marwar which owned the sway of this tribe prior to the invasion and settlement of the Rahtores. It is placed five miles northward of the modern Jodhpoor, and preserves some specimens of the ancient Pali character, fragments of sculpture and Jain temples.

The Rahtore emigrant princes of Canouj found an asylum with the Purihars. They repaid it by treachery, and Chonda a name celebrated in the Rahtore annals, dispossessed the last of the Purihars, and pitched the flag of the Rahtores on the battlement of Mundawur.

The power of the Purihars had, however, been much reduced previously by the princes of Mewar, who not only abstracted much territory from them but assumed the title of its princes—Rana.†

The Purihars are scattered over Rajasthan, but I am unaware of the existence of any independent chieftainship there. At the confluence of the Cohari, the Scind, and the Chumbul, there is a colony of this race, which has given its name to a commune of twenty-four villages, besides hamlets, situated amidst the ravines of these streams. They were nominally subjects of Sindhia; but it was deemed requisite for the line of defence along the Chumbul that it should be included within the British demarcation, by which we incorporated with our rule the most notorious body of thieves in the annals of Thug history.

The Purihars had twelve subdivisions, of which the chief were the Indoh and Sindhil: a few of both are still to be found about the banks of the Loony.

CHAWURA or CHAURA.—This tribes was once renowned in the history of India, though its name is now scarcely known, or only in the chronicles of the bard. Of its origin we are in ignorance. It belongs neither to the Solar nor Lunar race, and consequently we may presume it to be of Scythic origin. The name is unknown in Hindusthan, and is confined, with many others originating from beyond the Indus, to the Peninsula of Saurashtra. If foreign to India proper, its establishment must have been at a remote period, as we find individuals of its intermarrying with the Suryavansa ancestry of the present princes of Mewar, when this family were the lords of Balladhi.

The capital of the Chawuras was the insular Deobunder, on the coast of Saurashtra, and the celebrated temple of Somnath, with many others on this coast, dedicated to Balnath, or the sun, is attributed to this tribe of the Sauras,‡ or worshippers of the sun; most probably the generic name of

* Though now desolate, the walls of this fortress attest its antiquity, and it is a work that could not be undertaken in this degenerate age. The remains of it bring to mind those of Volterra or Cortona, and other ancient cities of Tuscany: enormous squared masses of stone without any cement.

† This was in the thirteenth century, when Mundawur was captured, and its Prince slain, by the Rana of Cheetore.

‡ The *Sura* of the Greek writers on the Bactria the boundary of the Bactrian kingdom under Acollodorus. On this see the paper on Grecian medals in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. I.

the tribe as well as of the peninsula.*

By a natural catastrophe, or as the Hindu superstitious chroniclers well have it, as a punishment for the piracies of the prince of Deo, the element whose privilege he abused rose and overwhelmed his capital. As all this coast is very low, such an occurrence is not improbable; though the abandonment of Deo might have been compelled by the irruptions of the Arabians, who at this period carried on a trade with these parts, and the plunder of some of their vessels may have brought this punishment on the Chawuras. That it was owing to some such political catastrophe, we have additional grounds for belief from the annals of Mewar, which state that its princes inducted the Chawuras into the seats of the power they abandoned on the continent and peninsula of Saurashtra.

At all events, the prince of Deo laid the foundation of Anhilwarra Puttun in S. 802 (A. D. 746), which henceforth became the capital city of this portion of India, in lieu of Ballabhipura, which gave the title of Balicarraes to its princes, the Balhara of the earlier Arabian travellers, and following them, the geographers of Europe.

Vena Raja (or, in the dialects, Bunraj), was this founder, and his dynasty ruled for one hundred and eighty-four years, when, as related in the sketch of the Solanki tribe, Bhoj Raj, the seventh from the founder, was deposed by his nephew. It was during this dynasty that the Arabian travellers† visited this court, of which they have left but a confused picture. We are not, however, altogether in darkness regarding the Chawura race, as in the Khoman Rassa, one of the chronicles of Mewar, mention is made of the auxiliaries under a leader named Chatunsi, in the defence of Cheetore against the first attack on record of the Mahomedans.

When Mahmood of Ghizni invaded Saurashtra and captured its capital, Anhilwarra, he deposed its prince, and placed upon the throne, according to Ferishta, a prince of the former dynasty, renowned for his ancient line and purity of blood, and who is styled Dabichalima; a name which has puzzled all European commentators. Now the Dabi was a celebrated tribe, said by some to be a branch of the Chawura, and this therefore may be a compound of Dabi Chawura, or the Chourasima, by some called a branch of the ancient Yadus.

This ancient connection between the Suryavansi chiefs and the Chawuras, or Sauras, of Saurashtra, is still maintained after a lapse of more than one thousand years; for although an alliance with the Rana's family is deemed the highest honour that a Hindu prince can obtain, as being the first in rank in Rajasthan, yet is the humble Chawura sought out, even at the foot of fortune's ladder, whence to carry on the blood of Rama. The present heir-apparent of a line of 'one hundred kings,' the prince Jovana Sing, is the offspring of a Chawura mother, the daughter of a petty chieftain of Guzerat.

It were vain to give any account of the present state of the families

* Many of the inhabitants of the south and west of India cannot pronounce the *cā* and invariably substitute the *e*. Thus the noted Pindarrie leader Cheeloo was always called Seetoo by the Dekhans. Again, with many of the tribes of the desert, the *s* is alike a stumbling-block, which causes many singular mistakes, when Jessulmeer, the 'hill of Jessul' becomes Jehulmeer, 'the hill of fools.'

† 'Relations anciennes des Voyageurs' par Renaudot.'

bearing this name. They must depend upon the fame of past days : to this we leave them.

TAK or TAKSHAC.—Taksac appears to be the generic term of the race from which the various Scythic tribes, the early invaders of India, branched off. It appears of more ancient application than Geta, which was the parent of innumerable sachæ. It might not be judicious to separate them, though it would be speculative to say which was the primitive title of the races called Scythic, after their country, Sakatia or Saca-dwipa, the land of the great Geta.

Abulgazi makes Taunak,* the son of Turc or Targetai, who appears to be the Turishka of the *Paranas*; the Tukeyuka of the Chinese historians, the nomadic Tochari of Strabo, who aided to overturn the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and gave their name to the grand division of Asia, Tocharistan† or Turkistan: and there is every appearance of that singular race, the Tajuk,‡ still scattered over these regions, and whose history appears a mystery, being the descendants of the Takshac.

It has been already observed, that ancient inscriptions in the Pali or Booddhist character have been discovered in various parts of Rajasthan, of the race called, Tusta, Takshac, and Tak, relating to the tribes, the Mori, Pramara, their descendants. *Naga* and *Takshac* are synonymous appellations in Sanscrit for the *Snak*, and the Takshac is the celebrated Nagvansa of the early heroic history of India. The *Mahabharat* describes, in its usual allegorical style, the wars between the Pandus of Indraprastha and the Takshaes of the north. The assassination of Parikshita by the Takshac, and the exterminating warfare carried on against them by his son and successor, Janmejaya, who at last compelled them to sign tributary engagements, divested of its allegory,§ is plain historical fact.

* Abulgazi says, when Noah left the ark he divided the earth among his three sons† Shem had Iran; Japhet, the country of "Kuttup Shamach," the name of the regions between the Caspian sea and India. There he lived two hundred and fifty years. He left eight sons of whom Turc was the elder and the seventh Camari, supposed the Gomer of Scripture.

Turc had four sons; the eldest of whom was Tanuk, the fourth from whom was Mogul, a corruption of Mungul, signifying *sad*, whose successors made the Jaxartes their winter abode. Under his reign no trace of the true religion remained: idolatry reigned every where. Oguz Khan succeeded.

The ancient Cimbrî, who went west with Odin's horde of Jits, Cattis, and Su, were probably the tribes descended from Camari, the son of Turc.

† Tacosh continued to be a proper name with the great Khans of Carasm (Chorasnia) until they adopted the faith of Mahomed. The father of Jella, the foe of Jungbeez Khan, was named Tacash. Tachkhund on the Jaxartes, the capital of Turkistan, may be derived from the name of the race.

‡ Beyer says, "Tocharistan was the regin of the Tochari, who were the ancient *Tockaori* or *Tackaori*, Ammianus Marcellinus says, "many nations obey the Bactrians, whom the Tochari surpass."—*Hist. Reg. Bact.*, p. 7.

§ This singular race, the T-juks, are repeatedly mentioned by Mr. Elphinstone, in his admirable account of the kingdom of Cabul. They are also particularly noticed as monopolizing the commercial transactions of kingdom of Bekhara, in that interesting work "Voyage" d'Orenbourg a Bokhara," the map accompanying which, for the first time, lays down authentically the sources and course of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

¶ The *Mahabharat* describes this warfare against the snakes literally; of which, in one attack, he seized and made a burnt-offering (hom) of twenty thousand. It is surprising that the Hindu will accept these things literally. It might be said he had but a choice of difficulties, and that it would be as impossible for any human being to make the barbarous sacrifice of twenty thousand of his species, as it would be difficult to find twenty thousand snakes for the purpose. The author's knowledge of what barbarity will inflict, leaves the fact of the human sacrifice, though not perhaps to this extent, not even improbable. In 1811

When Alexander invaded India, he found the Paratakæ, the mountain (*pahar*) Tak, inhabiting the Paropamisian range; nor is it by any means unlikely that Taxiles,* the ally of the Macedonian king, was the chief (as) of the Taks; and in the early history of the Bhatti princes of Jessulmeer, when driven from Zibulistan, they dispossessed the Taks on the Indus, and established themselves in their land, the capital of which was called Salbhanpura; and as the date of this event is given as 3008 of the Yudhi-thira era, it is by no means unlikely that Salivahana, or Salbhan (who was a Takshac), the conqueror of the Tuar Vierama, was of the very family dispossessed by the Bhattis, who compelled them to migrate to the south.

The calculated period of the invasion of the Takshacs, or Nag-vansa, under Sesnag, is about six or seven centuries before the Christian era, at which very period the Scythic invasion of Egypt and Syria, "by the sons of Togarmah riding on horses" (the Aswas, or Asi), is alike recorded by the prophet Ezekiel and Diodorus. The Abou Mahatma calls the Takshacs "the sons of Himachil," all evincing Scythic descent; and it was only eight reigns anterior to this change in the Lunar dynasties of India, that Perswanath, the twenty third Buddha, introduced his tenets into India, and fixed his abode in the holy mount Sarnet.†

Enough of the ancient history of the Tak: we will now descend to more modern times, on which we shall be brief. We shall already mentioned the Takshac Mori as being lords of Cheetore from a very early period: and but a few generations after the Gephotes supplanted the Moris, this palladium of Hindu liberty was assailed by the arms of Islam. We find amongst the numerous defenders who appear to have considered the cause of Cheetore their own, "the Tak from Asergurb."‡ This race appears to have retained possession of Aser for at least two centuries after this event, as its chieftain was one of the most conspicuous leaders in the array of Prithwiraja. In the poems of Chund he is called the "standard-bearer, Tak of Aser."§

This ancient race, the foe of Janmejaya and the friend of Alexander, closed its career in a blaze of splendour. The celebrity of the kings of Guzerat will make amends for the obscurity of the Taks of modern times, of whom a dynasty of fourteen kings followed each other in succession, commencing and ending with the proud title of Mozuffir. It was in the reign of Mohammed, a son of the first Toglug, that an accident to his nephew Feroz proved the dawn of the fortunes of the Tak: purchased, however, with the change of name and religion. Seharun the Tak was the first

his duties called him to a survey amidst the ravines of the Chambul, the tract called Gajurgar, a district inhabited by the Goojar tribes. Turbulent and independent, like the sons of Esau, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them, their nominal prince, Surajmul, the Jit chief of Bhurtore pursued exactly the same plan towards the population of these villages, whom they captured in a night attack, that Janmejaya did to the Takshacs: he threw them into pits with combustibles, and actually thus consumed them! This occurred not three quarters of a century ago.

* Arrian says that his name was Om, his, and that his father dying at this time, he did homage to Alexander, who invested him with the title and estates of his father Taxiles. Hence, perhaps (from Tak), the name of the Indus, *Atac*: not *Uttar*, or 'forbidden,' according to modern signification, and which has only been given since the Mahomedan religion for a time made it the boundary between the two faiths.

† In Behar, during the reign of Pradyota, the successor of Rajponjya. Parswa's symbol is the serpent or Takshac. His doctrines spread to the remotest parts of India, and the princes of Ballabhipura of Mundodri and Anbulwarra all held to the tenets of Buddha.

‡ This is the celebrated fortress in the Candish, now in the possession of the British.

§ In the list of the wounded at the battle of Canouj he is mentioned by name, as "Catto the Tak."

|| He reigned from A.D. 1325 to 1351.

apostate of his line, who, under the name of Wujeh-ool-Toolk concealed both his origin and tribe. His son Zuffir Khan was raised by his patron Feroz to the government of Guzerat, about the period when Timoor invaded India, Zuffir availed himself of the weakness of his master and the distraction of the times, and mounted the throne of Guzerat under the name of Mozuffir.* He was assassinated by the hand of his grandson, Ahmed, who changed the ancient capital, Anbulwarra, for the city founded by himself, and called Ahmedabad one of the most splendid in the east.

With the apostacy of the Tak,† the name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rajasthan; nor has my search ever discovered one of this name now existing.

JIT.—In all the ancient catalogues of the thirty six royal races of India the Jit has a place, though by none is he ever styled 'Rajpoot;' nor am I aware of any instance of a Rajpoot's intermarriage with a Jit. It is a name widely disseminated over India, though it does not now occupy a very elevated place amongst the inhabitants, belonging chiefly to the agricultural classes.

In the Punjab they still retain their ancient name of *Jit*. On the Jumna and Ganges they are styled *Jats* of whom the chief of Bhurtpur is the most conspicuous. On the Indus and in Saurashtra they are termed *Juts*. The greater portion of the husbandmen in Rajasthan are Jits; and there are numerous tribes beyond the Indus, now proselytes to the Mahomedan religion, who derive their origin from this class.

Of its ancient history sufficient has been already said. We will merely add, that the kingdom of the great Getae, whose capital was on the Jaxartes preserved its integrity and name from the period of Cyrus to the fourteenth century, when it was converted from idolatry to the faith of Islam. Herodotus informs us that the Getae were theists and held the tenet of the soul's immortality; and De Guignes,‡ from Chinese authorities, asserts that at a very early period they had embraced the religion of Fo or Booddha.

The traditions of the Jits claim the regions west of the Indus as the cradle of the race, and make them of Yadu extraction; thus corroborating the annals of the Yadus, which state their migration from Zabulistan, and almost inducing us to dispense with the descent of this tribe from Crishna, and to pronounce it an important colony of the Yuchi, Yuti, or Jits. Of the first migration from central Asia of this race within the Indus, we have no record: it might have been simultaneous with the Takshac, from the wars of Cyrus or his ancestors.

It has been already remarked, that the Jit divided with the Takshac the claim of being the parent name of the various tribes called Scythic invaders of India; and there is now before the author an inscription of the fifth century applying both epithets to the same prince,§ who is inve-

* The victorious. † The *Mirat Seoundri* gives the ancestry of the apostate for twenty-three generations; the last of whom was Ses, the name which introduced the Nagvansha, seven centuries before the Christian era, into India. The author of the work gives the origin of the name of Tak, or Tauuk, from *Tauka* 'expulsion,' from his caste, which he styles Khotri, evincing his ignorance of this ancient race.

‡ The superiority of the Chinese over the Turks caused the great Khan to turn his arms against the Nomadic Gotes of 'Mawer-ool-Neher (Transoxiana), descended from the "Yuchi, and bred on the Jih-on or Oxus, whence they had extended themselves along the Indus "and even Ganges, and are there yet found. The Gotes had embraced the religion of Fo."—*Hist. Gen. des Huns*, tom i. p. 375.

§ "To my foe, salutation! This foe shall I describe! Of the race of *Jit Cattida*, "whose ancestor; the Warrior Takshac," formed the garland on the neck of Mahadeva."

more over with the Scythic quality of worshipping the sun. It states, likewise, that the mother of this Jit prince was of Yadu race: strengthening their claim to a niche amongst the thirty six Rajoulas, as well as their Yadu descent.

The fifth century of the Christian era, to which this inscription belongs, is a period of interest in Jit history. De Guignes, from original authorities, states the Yuchi, or Jits, to have established themselves in the Punjab in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the inscription now quoted applies to a prince whose capital is styled *Salindrapura* in these regions; and doubtless the *Salivahanapura*† where the Yadu Bhattis established themselves on the expulsion of the Tak.

How much earlier than this the Jit penetrated into Rajasthan must be left to more ancient inscriptions to determine: suffice it, that in A.D. 440 we find him in power.‡

When the Yadu was expelled from *Salivahanapura*, and forced to seek refuge across the Sutledge among the Dabia and Johya Rajpoots of the Indian desert, where they founded their first capital, *Derrawul*, many from compulsion embraced the Mahomedan faith; on which occasion they assumed the name of *Jat*§ of which at least twenty different offsets are enumerated in the Yadu chronicles.

That the Jits continued as a powerful community on the east bank of the Indus and in the Punjab, fully five centuries after the period our inscription and their annals illustrate, we have the most interesting records in the history of Mahmoud, the conqueror of India, whose progress they checked in a manner unprecedented in the annals of continental warfare. It was in 416 of the Hegira (A.D. 1026) that Mahmoud marched an army against the Jits, who had harassed and insulted him on the return from his last expedition against Saurashtra. The interest of the account authorises its being given from the original.

"The Jits inhabit the country on the borders of Mooltan, along the river that runs by the mountains of Joud.¶ When Mohmond reached Mooltan, finding the "Jit country defended by great rivers, he built fifteen hundred boats, each armed

Though this is a figurative allusion to the snake-necklace of the father of creation, yet it evidently pointed to the Jit's descent from the Takshac. But enough has been said elsewhere of the snake race, the parent of the Scythic tribes, which the divine Milton seems to have taken from Diodorus's account of the mother of the Scythians:

"Woman to the waist and fair;

"But ended foul in many a scaly fold"

Par. Lost, book ii.

Whether the *Jit Catrinda* is the Jit or Gato of Cathay (da being the mark of the genitive case) we will leave to conjecture.

† This place existed in the twelfth century as a capital; see an inscription of Komarpal, prince of Anbulwarra, declares that this monarch carried his conquests 'even to Salpur.' There is a *Syal-kote* in Rennell's geography, and Wilford mentions 'Sangala, a famous "city in ruins," sixty miles west by north of Lahore, situated in a forest, and said to be built by Pooru."

‡ At this time (A.D. 449) the Jute brothers, Hengist and Horsa, led a colony from Jutland and founded the kingdom of Kent (*q. Conthi*, 'a coast,' in Sanscrit, as in Gothic *Konta*). The laws they there introduced, more especially the still prevailing one of gavelkind, where all the sons share equally, except the youngest who has a double portion, are purely Scythic, and brought by the original Goths from the Javartes. [Arie had finished his career, (and Theodorice and Genueric (*ric*, king, in Sanscrit) were carrying their arms into Spain and Africa.]

§ Why should these proselytes, if originally Yadu, assume the name of *Jat*? It must be either; that the Yadus were themselves the Scythic Yati, or Yuchi, or that the branches intermarried with the Jits, and consequently became degraded as Yadus, and the mixed issue bore the name of the mother.

¶ The *Jiddooa Darg*, or 'hills of Yadu,' mentioned in the sketch of this race as one of the intermediate points of halt when they were driven from India after the Mahabharat.

¶ Near the spot where Alexander built his fleet, which navigated to Babylon thirteen hundred years before.

• with six iron spikes projecting from their prows, prevent their being boarded by the enemy, expert in this kind of warfare. In each boat he placed twenty arches, and some with fire-balls of naphtha to burn the Jit fleet. The monarch having determined on their extermination, awaited the result at Mooltan. The Jits sent their wives, children, and effects to Scind Sagur,* and launched four thousand, or, as others say, eight thousand boats well armed to meet the Guzmians. A terrible conflict ensued, but the projecting spikes sunk the Jit boats while others were set on fire. Few escaped from this scene of terror; and those who did, met with the more severe fate of captivity."†

Many doubtless did escape; and it is most probable that the Jit communities, on whose overthrow the state of Bikaner was founded were remnants of this very warfare.

Not long after this event the original empire of the Geta was overturned, when many fugitives found a refuge in India. 1360, Togultash Timoor was the great Khan of the Geta nation; idolaters even to this period. He had conquered Khorasa, invaded Transoxiana (whose prince fled, but whose nephew, Ameer Timoor, averted its subjugation), gained the friendship of Togultash, and commanded a hundred thousand Geta warriors. In 1369, when the Geta Khan died, such was the ascendancy obtained by Timoor over his subjects, that the Ouraltai, or general assembly, transferred the title of Grand Khan from the Geta to the Chagitai Timoor. In 1370 he married a Geta princess, and added Kokeed and Samarkand to his patrimony, Transoxiana. Rebellions and massacres almost depopulated this nursery of mankind, ere the Getae abandoned their independence; nor was it till 1388, after six invasions, in which he burnt their towns, brought away their wealth, and almost annihilated the nation, that he felt himself secure.

In his expedition into India, having over-run great part of Europe, taken Moscow, and slain the soldiers of the barbarous Ooross," he encountered his old foes the Getae, who inhabited the plains of Tothem, where he put two thousand to the sword, pursuing them into the desert and slaughtering many more near "the Caggar."‡

Still the Jit maintained himself in the Panjab, and the most powerful and independent prince of India at this day is the Jit prince of Lahore, holding dominion over the identical regions where the Yuchi colonized in the fifth century, and where the Yadus, driven from Guzni, established themselves on the ruins of the Taks. The Jit cavalier retains a portion of his Scythic manners, and preserves the use of the chakra or discus, the weapon of the Yadu Crishna in the remote age of the Bharat.

HUN or HOOS.—Amongst the Scythic tribes who have secured for themselves a niche with the thirty six races of India, is the Hun. At what period this race, so well known by its ravages and settlement in Europe, invaded India, we know not. Doubtless it was in the society of many others yet found in the peninsula of Saurashtra, as the Cattj, the Balla, the Macwahana, &c. It is, however, confined to the genealogies of that peninsula; for although we have mentioned of the Hun in the chronicles and inscriptions of India at a very early period, he failed to obtain a place in the catalogue of the northern bards.

The earliest notice of the tribe is in an inscription recording the power of prince of Behar, who, amidst his other conquests, "dumbed the pride of the

* Translated by Dow, 'an island.' Scind Sagur is one of the Dubs of the Panjab. I have compared Dow's translation of the earlier portion of the history of Ferishta with the original and it is infinitely more faithful than the world gives him credit for. His errors are most considerable in numbers and in weights and measures; and it is owing to this he has made the captured wealth of India appear so incredible. † Ferishta, vol. i.

‡ Abulgarzi, vol. ii. chap. 16. After his battle with Sultan Mahmood of Delhi, Timoor gave orders, to use the word of his historian, "for the slaughter of a hundred thousand infidel slaves. The great mosque was fired, and the skulls of the infidels were sent to the abyss of hell. Towers were erected of their skulls, and their bodies were thrown as food to the birds and birds of prey. At Mira the infidel Guebres were flayed alive." This was by order of Tamerlane, to whom the dramatic historians of Europe assign every great and good quality.

§ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 126.

Huns.* In the annals of the early history of Mewar, in the catalogue of princes who made common cause with this the chief of all the Rajpoots, when Cheetore was assailed in the first irruption of the Mahomedans, was Ungutsi, lord of the Huns, who led his quota on this occasion. De Guignes† describes Ungut as being the name of a considerable horde of Huns or Moguls; and Abulgazi says that the Tatar tribe who guarded the great wall of China were termed Ungutti, who had a distinct prince with high pay and honour. The countries inhabited by the Hiongnu and the Ou-huon, the Turks and Moguls, called 'Tatar' from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irish along the mountains of Altai to the shores of the Yellow Sea, are described at large by the historian of the Huns; following whom and other original sources, the historian of the Fall of Rome has given great interest to his narrative of their march into Europe. But those who are desirous to learn all that relates to the past history and manners of this people, must consult that monument of erudition and research, the Geography of Malte-Brun.†

D'Anville‡ quoting Co mas the traveller, informs us, that the white Huns Leukoi Ounnoi§ occupied the north of India; and it is most probable a colony of these found their way into Saurashtra and Mewar.

It is on the eastern bank of the Chumbul, at the ancient Baroli, that tradition assigns a residence to the Hoon; and one of the celebrated temples at that place, call'd the Sengar Chaoric, is the marriage hall of the Hoon prince, who is also declared to have been possessed of a lordship on the opposite bank, occupying the site of the present town of Bhynsror. In the twelfth century the Hoon must have possessed consequence, to occupy the place he holds in the chronicle of the prince of Gzerat. The race is not extinct. One of the most intelligent of the living bards of India assured the author of their existence; and in a tour where he accompanied him, redeemed his pledge, by pointing out the residence of some in a village on the estuary of the Myh'e, though degraded and mixed with other classes.

We may infer that few convulsions occurred in central Asia which drove forth these hordes of redundant population to seek subsistence in Europe, without India participating in such overflow. The only singular circumstance is by what means they came to be recognized as Hindus, even though of the lowest class. Sudra we cannot term them; for although the Catti and the Balla cannot be regarded as, or classed with Rajpoots, they would scorn the rank of Sudra.

CATTI—Of the ancient notices of this people much has been already said, and all the genealogists, both of Rajasthan and Saurashtra, concur in assigning it a place amongst the royal races of India. It is one of the most important tribes of the western peninsula, and which has effected the change of the name from Saurashtra to Cattiwar.

Of all its inhabitants the Catti retains most originality: his religion, his manners, and his looks, all are decidedly Scythic. He occupied, in the time of Alexander, that nook of the Punjab near the confluent of five streams. It was against these Alexander marched in person, when he nearly lost his

* Hist. Gen. des Huns, to m. iii. p. 238.

† *Précis de Géographie universelle*. Malte Brun traces a connection between the Hungarians and the Scandinavians, from similarity of language: "À ces siècles primitifs on les Huns, les Gutes, les Jutes, les Aes, et bien d'autres peuples étaient réunis autour des anciens anses d'Odin." Several of these words which he affords us are Sanscrit in origin. Vol. vi. p. 370. [‡ *Eclaircissements Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 43.

§ An orthography which more assimilates with the Hindu pronunciation of the name Hoon, or Oon, than Hun.

¶ The same bard says that there are three or four houses of these Hoonis at Tretahware, three coas from Baroda; and the Khochi bard, Mogjee, says their traditions record the existence of many powerful Hoon princes in India.

life, and where he left such a signal memorial of his vengeance. The Catti can be traced from these scenes to his present haunts. In the earlier portion of the annals of Jessulmeer mention is made of their conflicts with the Catti; and their own traditions* fix their settlement in the Peninsula from the south-eastern part of the valley of the Indus, about the eighth century.

In the twelfth century the Catti were conspicuous in the wars with Prithwiraja, there being several leaders of the tribe attached to his army, as well as to that of his rival, the monarch of Kanauj.† Though on this occasion they acted in some degree of subservience to the monarch of Anhilwara, it would seem that this was more voluntary than forced.

The Catti still adores the sun, scorns the peaceful arts, and is much less contented with the tranquil subsistence of industry than the precarious earning of his former predatory pursuits. The Catti was never happy but on horseback, collecting his *black mail*, lance in hand, from friend and foe.

We will conclude this brief sketch with Captain Macmurdo's character of this race. "The Catti differs in some respects from the Rajpoot. He is more 'cruel in his disposition, but far exceeds him in the virtue of bravery;‡ and 'a character possessed of more energy than a Catti does not exist. His size 'is considerably larger than common, often exceeding six feet. He is sometimes seen with light hair and blue-coloured eyes. His frame is athletic 'and bony, and particularly well adapted to his mode of life. His countenance is expressive, but of the worst kind, being harsh, and often destitute 'of a single mild feature.'§

BALLA.—All the genealogists ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe amongst the Rajulas. The *byrd*, or 'blessing,' of the bard is "*Tatta Moltan ca rao*,"|| indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim, however, to descent from the Suryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest son of Rama; that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhank, in more remote periods called Mongy Puttn; and that in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakhetr (their capital Ballabhipoora), and assumed the title of Ballas. Here they claim identity with the Ghlote race of M-war; nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Ghlotes adopted the worship of Mahadeva, which period is indicated in their annals, the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that Scythic resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim.

The Ballas on the continent of Saurashtra, on the contrary, assert their origin to be Indurvasa, and that they are the Balicaputras who were the ancient lords Acrore on the Indus. It would be presumption to decide between these claims; but I would venture to surmise, that they might be the offspring of Sehl, one of the princes of the Bharat, who founded Acrore.

The Catti claim descent from the Ballas: an additional proof of northern origin, and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards, "Lords of Mooltan and Tatta." The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to

* The late Capt. Macmurdo, whose death was a loss to the service and to literature, gives an animated account of the habits of the Catti. His opinions coincide entirely with my own regarding this race. See vol. i. p. 210, Trans. Soc. of Bombay.

† It is needless to particularize them here. In the poems of Chund, some books of which I have translated and purpose giving to the public, the important part the Catti had assigned to them will appear.

‡ It is the Rajpoot of Cattivar, not of Rajasthan, to whom Captain Macmurdo alludes.

§ Of their personal appearance, and the blue eye indicative of their Getic or Getic origin, the author will have occasion to speak more particularly in his personal narrative.

|| "Princes of Tatta and Mooltan."

make incursions on Mewar, and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhauk is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula.

JHALA MACWAHANA.—This tribe also inhabits the Saurashtra peninsula.* It is styled Rajpoot, though neither classed with the Solar, Lunar, nor Agnicula races; but though we cannot directly prove it, we have every right to assign to it a northern origin. It is a tribelittle known in Hindusthan or even Rajasthan, into which latter country it was introduced entirely through the medium of the ancient lords of Saurashtra, the present family of Mewar: a sanction which covers every defect. A splendid act of self-devotion of the Jhala chief, when Rana Pratap was oppressed with the whole weight of Akbar's power, obtained, with the gratitude of this prince, the highest honours he could confer,—his daughter in marriage, and a seat on his right hand. That it was the act, and not his rank in the scale of the thirty-six tribes, which gained him this distinction, we have decided proof in later times; when it was deemed a mark of great condescension that the present Rana should sanction a remote branch of his own family bestowing a daughter in marriage on the Jhala ruler of Kotah.*

This tribe has given its name to one of the largest divisions of Saurashtra, Jhalawar, which possesses several towns of importance. Of these Bankaneer, Hulwud, and Drangdra, are the principal.

Regarding the period of the settlement of the Jhalas tradition is silent, as also on their early history: but the aid of its quota was given to the Rana against the first attacks of the Mahomedans; and in the heroic history of Prithwiraja we have ample and repeated mention of the Jhala chieftains who distinguished themselves in his service, as well as in that of his antagonist, and the name of one of these, as recorded by the bard Chund, I have seen inscribed on the granite rock of the sacred Girnar, near their primitive abodes, where we leave them.

There are several subdivisions of the Jhala, of which the Macwahana is the principal.

JAITWA, JETWA, or CAMARI.—This is an ancient tribe, and by all authorities styled Rajpoot; though, like the Jhala, little known out of Saurashtra, to one of the divisions of which it has given its name, Jaitwar. Its present possessions are on the western coast of the peninsula: the residence of its prince, who is styled Rana, is Purbunder.

In remote times their capital was Goomlee, whose ruins attest considerable power, and afford singular scope for analogy, in architectural device, with the style termed Saxon of Europe. The bards of the Jaitwas run through a long list of one hundred and thirty crowned heads, and in the eighth century have chronicled the marriage of their prince with the Tuar refounder of Delhi. At this period the Jaitwa bore the name of Camar, and Schl Camar is reported to be the prince who was driven from Goomlee, in the twelfth century, by invaders from the north. With this change the name of Camar was sunk, and that of Jaitwa assumed, which has induced the author to style them Camari; and as they, with the other inhabitants of this peninsula, have all the appearance of Scythic descent, urging no pretensions to connection with the ancient races of India, they may be a branch of that

* His son Madhu Sing, the present administrator, is the offspring of the celebrated Zalim and a Rana-wut chieftain's daughter, which has entitled his (Madhu Sing's) issue to marry far above their scale in rank. So much does superiority of blood rise above all worldly considerations with a Rajpoot, that although Zalim Sing held the reins of the richest and best ordered state of Raja than he deemed his family honour by his obtaining to wife for his grandson the daughter of a Cutchwaha minor chieftain.

celebrated race, the Cimmerii of higher Asia, and the Cimbri of Europe. Their legends are as fabulous as fanciful. They trace their descent from the monkey god Hanuman, and confirm it by alleging the elongation of the spine of their princes, who bear the epithet of *Pconcheria*, or the 'long-tailed,' Ranas of Saurashtra. But the manners and traditions of this race will appear more fully in the narrative of the author's travels amongst them.

GOHIL.—This was a distinguished race: it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension. The first residence of the Gohils was Joonah Khergurb, near the bend of the Loony in Marwar. How long they had been established here we know not. They took it from one of the aboriginal Bhil chiefs named Kherwo, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations when expelled by the Rahtores at the end of the twelfth century. Thence migrating to Saurashtra, they fixed at Perumgur; which being destroyed, one branch settled at Bugwa, and the chief marrying the daughter of Nundun Nugger or Nandode, he usurped or obtained his father-in-law's estates; and twenty seven generations are enumerated, from Sompal to Narasing the present Raja of Nandode. Another branch fixed at Seehore, and thence founded Bhownugger and Gogo. The former town, on the gulf of the Myhie, is the residence of the Gohils who have given their name, Gohilwar, to the eastern portion of the peninsula of Saurashtra.

The present chief addicts himself to commerce, and possesses ships which trade to the gold coast of Sofala.

SARWYA or SARIASPA.—Of this race tradition has left us only the knowledge that it once was famous; for although, in the catalogues of the bard, it is introduced as the "essence of the Khetri race,"* we have only a few legends regarding its present degradation. Its name, as well as this epithet of the bard, induces a belief that it is a branch of the Aswas, with the prefix of *sr*, denoting 'essence,' or priority. But it is useless to speculate on a name.

SILAR or SULAR.—Like the former, we have here but the shade of a name; though one which, in all probability, originated the epithet *Lariks*, by which the Saurashtra peninsula was known to Ptolemy and the geographers of early Europe. The tribe of Lar was once famous in Saurashtra, and in the annals of Anbulwarra mention is made of Sid Rae Jey Sing having extirpated them throughout his dominions. *Sular*, or *Silar*, would therefore be distinctively the Lar.† Indeed, the author of the *Komarpal Charitra* styles it *Raj-tilac*, or 'regal prince'; but the name only now exists amongst the mercantile class professing the faith of Booddha: it is inserted as one of the eighty four. The greater portion of these are of Rajpoot origin.

DABI.—Little can be said of this tribe, but that it was once celebrated in Saurashtra. By some it is called a branch of the Yadu, though all the genealogists give it distinct importance. It now possesses neither territory nor numbers.

GOR.—The gor tribe was once respected in Rujasthan, though it never there attained to any considerable eminence. The ancient kings of Bengal were of this race, and gave their name to the capital, Luknowti.

We have every reason to believe that they were possessors of the land afterwards occupied by the Chohans, as they are styled in all the old chronicles the 'Gor of Ajmeer.' Repeated mention is made of them in the wars of Prithwiraja, as leaders of considerable renown, one of whom formed a small

* "Sarweya Khetrie tyn sar."

† *Sa* as before observed, is a distinctive prefix, meaning 'excellent.'

State in the centre of India, which survived through seven centuries of Mogul domination, till it at length fell a prey indirectly to the successes of the British over the Mahrattas, when Sindhia, in 1809, annihilated the power of the Gor and took possession of his capital, Supur.* A petty district, yielding about £5000 annually, is all this rapacious head of a predatory government has left to the Gor, out of about twelve lacs of annual revenue. The Gor has five sachas: Ontahir, Silhala, Toor, Doosena, and Bolano.

DOR or DODA.—We have little to say of this race. Though occupying place in all the genealogies, time has destroyed all knowledge of the past history of a tribe, to gain a victory over whom was deemed by Prithwiraja worthy of a tablet.†

GHERWAL.—The Gherwal Rajpoot is scarcely known to his brethren in Rajasthan, who will not admit his contaminated blood to mix with theirs; though, as a brave warrior, he is entitled to their fellowship. The original country of the Gherwal is in the ancient kingdom of Kasi.‡ Their great ancestor was Khortaj Deva, from whom Jessonda, the seventh in descent, in consequence of some grand sacrificial rites performed at Bindabassi, gave the title of Boondela to his issue. Boondela has now usurped the name of Gherwal, and become the appellation of the immense tract which its various branches inhabit in Boondelkhund, on the ruins of the Chandailas, whose chief cities, Kalinjara, Mohini, and Mohoba, they took possession of.

The Chundaila, classed by some of the genealogists amongst the thirty-six tribes, were powerful in the twelfth century, possessing the whole of the regions between the Jumna and Nerbudda, now occupied by the Boondelas and Bhaghelas. Their wars with Prithwiraja, forming one of the most interesting of his exploits, ended in the humiliation of the Chundela, and prepared the way for their conquest by the Gherwals; the date of the supremacy of the Boondela Manvira was about A. D. 1200. Madhukar Sab, the thirteenth in descent from him, founded Orcha on the Betwa, by whose son, Birsing Deva, considerable power was attained. Orcha became the chief of the numerous Boondela principalities; but its founder drew upon himself everlasting infamy by putting to death the wise Abul Fuzil,§ the historian and friend of the magnanimous Akbar, and the encomiast and advocate of Hindu race.

From the period of Akbar the Boondelas bore a distinguished part in all the grand conflicts, to the very close of the monarchy: nor, amongst all the brave chiefs of Rajasthan, did any perform more gallant or faithful services than the Boondela chieftains of Orcha and Dutta. Bagwan of Orcha commanded the advanced guard of the army of Shah Jehan. His son, Soopkurna, was Arungzebe's most distinguished leader in the Dekhan, and Dulput fell in the war of succession on the plains of Jajow. His descendants have not

* In 1607 the author passed through this territory, in a literary ramble to explore these arts, then little known; and though but a young Sub, was courteously received and entertained both at Baroda and Supur. In 1809 he again entered the country under very different circumstances, in the suite of the British envoy with Sindhia's court and had the grief to witness the operations against Soopoor, and its fall, unable to aid his friends.

The Gor, since had laid aside the martial virtues. He became a zealot in the worship of Vishnu, left off animal food, was continually dancing before the image of the god, and was far more conversant in the mystical poetry of Krishna and his beloved Radha than in the martial song of the bard. His name was Radhaca-das, 'the slave of Radha'; and, as far as he is personally concerned, we might cease to lament that he was the last of his race.

† See Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 133.

‡ Benares. [§ Slain at the instigation of prince Selim, son of Akbar, afterwards the emperor Jehangir. See this incident stated in the emperor's own Commentaries.

degenerated : nor is there any thing finer in the annals of the chivalry of the West, than the dignified and heroic conduct of the father of the present chief.*

The Boondela is now a numerous race, while the name Gherwal remains in their original haunts.

BIRGOOJUR.—This race is Suryavansi, and the one, with the exception of the Gehlote, which claims from Lava, the elder son of Rama. The Birgoojur held considerable possessions in Dhoondar,† and their capital was the hill fortress of Rajore,‡ in the principality of Machherri. Rajgurh and Alwa were also their possessions. The Birgoojurs were expelled from these abodes by the Cutchwahs. A colony found refuge and a new residence at Anupsahar on the Ganges.

SENGAR.—Of this tribe little is known, nor does it appear ever to have obtained great celebrity. The sole chieftainship of the Sengars is Jugmohunpur on the Jumna.

SIKERIVAL.—This tribe, like the former, never appears to have claimed much notice amidst the princes of Rajasthan ; nor is there a single independent chieftain now remaining, although there is a small district called after them, Sikerwar, on the right bank of the Dhumbul, adjoining Jaduvati, and like it now incorporated in the province of Gwalior, in Sindhia's dominions. The Sikerwal is therefore reduced to subsist by cultivation, or the more precarious employment of his lance, either as a follower of others, or as a common depredator.

They have their name from the town of Sikri (Futtehpur), which was formerly an independent principality.

BYCE.—The Byce has obtained a place amongst the thirty-six races, though the author believes it but a subdivision of the Suryavansi, as it is neither to be met with in the lists of Chund, nor in those of the *Komarpal Charitra*. It is now numerous, and have given its name to an extensive district, Bycewara in the Doab, or the land between the Ganges and Jumna.

DAHIA.—This is an ancient tribe, whose residence was the banks of the Indus, near its confluence with the Sutledge ; and although they retain a place amongst the thirty-six royal races, we have not the knowledge of any as now existing. They are mentioned in the annals of the Bhattis of Jessulmeer, and from name as well as from *locale*, we may infer that they were the Dahæ of Alexander.

JOYHA.—This race possessed the same haunts as the Dehia, and are always coupled with them. They however extended across the Garah into the northern desert of India, and in ancient chronicles are entitled "Lords of Jungul Desa," a tract which comprehended Meriana, Bhatnair, and Nagore. The author possesses a work relative to this tribe, like the Dahia now extinct.

* On the death of Madajee Sindhia, the females of his family, in apprehension of his successor (Dowlut Rao), sought refuge and protection with the Raja of Duttia. An army was sent to demand their surrender, and hostility was proclaimed as the consequence of refusal. This brave man would not even await the attack, but at the head of a devoted band of three hundred horse, with their lances, carried destruction amongst their assailants, neither giving nor receiving quarter : and thus he fell in defence of the laws of sanctuary and honour. Even when grievously wounded, he would accept no aid, and refused to leave the field, but disclaiming all compromise awaited his fate. The author has passed upon the spot where this gallant deed was performed ; and from his son, the present Raja, had the annals of his house.

† Ambar or Jeypoor, as well as Machherri, were comprehended in Dhoondar, the ancient geographical designation.

‡ The ruins of Rajore are about fifteen miles west of Rajgurh. A person sent there by the author reported the existence of inscriptions in the temple of Nilkantha Mahadeva.

MOHIL.—We have no mode of judging of the pretensions of this race to the place it is allowed to occupy by the genealogists. All that can be learned of its past history is, that it inhabited a considerable tract so late as the foundation of the present state of Bikaner, the Rahtore founders of which expelled, if not extirpated, the Mohil. With the Malun, Malani, and Mallia, also extinct, it may claim the honour of descent from the ancient Malli, the foes of Alexander, whose abode was Mooltan. (*Qu.* Mohil than ?)

NICOOMPA.—Of this race, to which celebrity attaches in all the genealogies, we can only discover that they were proprietors of the district of Mandalgurh prior to the Gehlotes.

RAJ-PALI.—It is difficult to discover, any thing regarding this race, which, under the names of Raj-pali, Raj-palica, or simply Pa'a, are mentioned by all the genealogists; especially those of Saurashtra, to which in all probability it was confined. This tends to make it Scythic in origin; the shepherd: it was probably a branch of the ancient Pali.*

DAHIRYA.—The *Komarpal Charitra* is our sole authority for classing this race with the thirty-six. Of its history we know nothing, amongst the princes who came to the aid of Cheetore, when first assailed by the arms of Islam, was "the lord of Debeil, Dahir, Despati,†" From the ignorance of the transcriber of the Gehl te annals, Delhi is written instead of Debeil; but we not only have the whole of the names of the Tuar race, but Delhi was not in existence at this time. Slight as is the mention of this prince in the Cheetore annals, it is nevertheless of high value, as stamping them with authenticity; for this Dahir was actually the despot of Scind, whose tragical end in his capital Debeil is related by Abul Fuzil. It was in the ninety-ninth year of the Hegira that he was attacked by Cassim, the lieutenant of the Caliph of Bagdad, and treated with the greatest barbarity. Whether this prince used Dahir as a proper name, or as that of his tribe, must be left to conjecture.

DAHIMA.—The Dahima has left but the wreck of a great name. Seven centuries have swept away all recollection of a tribe who once afforded one of the proudest themes for the song of the bard. The Dahima was the lord of Biana, and one of the most powerful vassals of the Chohan emperor, Prithwiraja. Three brothers of this house held the highest offices under this monarch, and the period during which the elder, Kaimas, was his minister, was the brightest history of the Chohan; but he fell a victim to a blind jealousy. Pundir, the second brother, commanded the frontier at Lahore. The third Chaond Rae, was the principal leader in the last battle, where Prithwiraja fell with the whole of his chivalry, on the banks of the Caggar. Even the historians of Shabudin have preserved the name of the gallant Dahima, Chaond Rae, whom they style Khandirai; and to whose valour, they relate, Shabudin himself nearly fell a sacrifice. With the Chohan, the race seems to have been extinguished. Rainsi, his only son, was by this sister of Chaond Rae, but he did not survive the capture of Delhi. This marriage forms the subject of one of the books of the bard, who never was more eloquent than in the praise of the Dahima.‡

Aboriginal Races.

Bangree, Mer, Kabu, Bhil, Seriah, Thori, Khangar, Goand, Bhurr, Junwar, and Sarud.

* The final syllable *ca* is a mark of the genitive case.

† 'Chief of a country,' from *des*, 'country,' and *pati*, 'chief.' (*Qu.* *despotas*.)

‡ Gound, the bard, thus describes Biana, and the marriage of Prithwiraja with the Dahime: "On the summit of the hills of Drunadhar, whose awful load oppressed the head "of Sessaug, was placed the castle of Biana, resembling Kyles. The Dahima had three sons, and two fair daughter: may his name be perpetuated throughout this iron age! One daughter was married to the Lord of Mewat, the other to the Chohan. With her he gave in dower

Agricultural and Pastoral Tribes.

Abhira or Aheer, Goala, Kurmi or Kulmbi, Goojur, and Jat.

Rajpoot Tribes to which no Sacha is assigned.

Jalia, Peshani, Sohagui Chahira, Ran, Simala, Boteela, Gotchir, Malua, Ohir, Hool, Bachuk, Batur Keruch, Kotuk, Boosa, and Birgota.

Catalogue of the eighty four Mercantile Tribes.

Sri Sri Mal, Srimal, Oswal, Bhagairwal, Deendoo, Pooshkurwal, Mairtalwal, Hursoruh, Soorurwal, Pilliwal, Bhumboo, Khundailwai, Dohilwal, Keihderwal, Deesawal, Goojurwal, Sohorwal, Uggurwal, Jae'wal, Manutwal, K jotiwal, Kortawal, Chehtrawal, Soni, Sejutwal, Nagur, Mad, Julhera, Lar, Kupole, Khuraita, Bururie, Dusora, Bamburwal, Nagudra, Kurbaira, Buttewura, Mewarra' Nuriangoura, Khaterwal, Punchumwal, Hunerwal, Sirkaira, Byce, Stukhi, Kumbowal, Jeerunwal, Bhagelwal, Orchitwal, Sreigor, Thakoorwal Balmiwal, Tepora, Tilota, Atburgi, Ladisaka, Bednora, Kheecho, Gusora, Bahaahur, Jaimo, Pudmora, Meherea, Dhakurwal Mungora, Goelwal, Mohorwal, Cheetora, Kakulea, Bhareja, Undora, Sachora, Bhoongrawal, Mundahulu, Bramunia, Bagria, Dindoria, Berwal, Sordes, Orwal Nufag, and Nagora, (One wanting.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Reflections on the present Political State of the Rajpoot Tribes.

HAVING thus taken a review of the tribes which at various times inhabited and still inhabit Hindusthan, the subject must be concluded.

In so extensive a field it was impossible to introduce all that could have been advanced on the distinctive marks in religion and manners; but this deficiency will be remedied in the annals of the most prominent races yet ruling by which we shall prevent repetition.

The same religion governing the institutions of all these tribes, operates to counteract that dissimilarity in manners, which would naturally be expected amidst so great a variety, from situation or climate; although such causes do produce a material difference in external habit. Cross but the elevated range which divides upland Mewar from the low sandy region of Marwar, and the difference of costume and manners will strike the most casual observer. But these changes, are only exterior and personal; the mental character is less changed, because the same creed, the same religion (the principal former and reformer of manners), guides them all.

We have the same mythology, the same theogony, the same festivals, though commemorated with peculiar distinctions. There are niceties in thought, as in dress, which if possible to communicate would excite but little interest; when the tie of a turban and the fold of a robe are, like Masonic symbols, distinguishing badges of tribes. But it is in their domestic circle that manners are best seen; where restraint is thrown aside, and no authority controls the freedom of expression. But does the European seek access to this *sanctum* of nationality ere he gives his *debtor and creditor* account of character, his balanced catalogue of virtues and vices? He may, however, with the Rajpoot, whose independence of mind places him above restraint, and whose hospitality and love of character will always afford free communication to those who respect his opinions and his prejudices, and who are

"eight beauteous damsels and sixty-three female slaves, one hundred chosen horses of the breed of Irak, two elephants, and ten shields, a pallet of silver for the bride, one hundred wooden images, one hundred chariots and one thousand pieces of gold."

"The bard, on taking leave, says: the Dahima lavished his gold, and filled his 'coffers with the praises of mankind. The Dah mee produced a jewel, a gem without price, the Prince Rainai. The author here gives a fragment of the ruins of Biana, the ancient abode of the Dahima."

devoid of that overweening opinion of self, which imagines that nothing can be learned from such friendly intercourse. The personal dissimilarity accordingly arises from *locale*; the mental similarity results from a grand fixed principle, which, whatever its intrinsic moral defect, whatever its incompatibility with the elevated notions we entertain, has preserved to these races, as nations, the enjoyment of their ancient habit to this distant period. May our boasted superiority in all that exalts man above his fellows, ensure to our Eastern empire like duration, and may these notions of our own peculiarly favoured destiny operate to prevent us from laying prostrate, in our periodical ambitious visitations, these the most ancient relics of civilization on the face of the earth! For the dread of their amalgamation with our empire will prevail, though such a result would be opposed not only to their happiness, but to our own stability.

With our present system of alliances, so pregnant with evil from their origin, this fatal consequence (far from desired by the legislative authorities at home) must inevitably ensue. If the wit of man had been taxed to devise a series of treaties with a view to an ultimate rupture, these would be entitled to applause as specimens of diplomacy.

There is a perpetual variation between the spirit and the letter of every treaty; and while the internal independence of each state is the ground work, it is frittered away and nullified by successive stipulations, and these positive and negative qualities continue mutually repelling each other, until it is apparent that independence cannot exist under such conditions. Where discipline is lax, as with these feudal associations, and where each subordinate vassal is master of his own retainers, the article of military contingents alone would prove a source of contention. By leading to interference with each individual chieftain, it would render such aid worse than useless. But this is a minor consideration to the tributary pecuniary stipulation, which unsettled and undetermined, leaves a door open to a system of espionage into their revenue accounts—a system not only disgusting, but contrary to treaty which leaves 'internal administration' sacred. These openings to dispute, and the general laxity of their governments coming in contract with our regular system, present dangerous handles for ambition: and who so blind as not to know, that ambition to be distinguished must influence every viceroy in the East? While deeds in arms and acquisition of territory outweigh the meek eclat of virtue, the periodical visitations to these kingdoms will ever be like the comet's.

"Foreboding change to princes."

Our position in the East has been, and continues to be, one in which conquest forces herself upon us. We have yet the power, however late, to halt, and not anticipate her further orders to march. A contest for a mud-bank has carried our arms to the *Aurea Chersonesus*, the limit of Ptolemy's geography. With the Indus on the left, the Brahmapootra to the right, the Himalayan barrier towering like a giant to guard the Tatarian ascent, the ocean and our ships at our back, such is our colossal attitude! But if misdirected ambition halts not at the Brahmapootra, but plunges in together laurels from the teak forest of Arracan, what surely have we for these Hindu states placed by treaty within the grasp of our control?

But the hope is cherished, that the same generosity which formed those ties that snatched the Rajpoots from degradation and impending destruction

will maintain the pledge given in the fever of success, 'that their independence should be sacred ;' that it will palliate faults we may not overlook and perpetuate this oasis of ancient rule, in the desert of destructive revolution of races whose virtues are their own, and whose vices are the grafts of tyranny, conquest, and religious intolerance.

To make them known is one step to obtain for them, at least, the boon of sympathy ; for with the ephemeral power of our governors and the agents of governments, is it to be expected that the rod will more softly fall when ignorance of their history prevails, and no kind association springs from a knowledge of their martial achievements and yet proud bearing, their generosity, courtesy, and extended hospitality ? These are Rajpoot virtues yet extant amidst all their revolutions, and which have survived ages of Mahomedan bigotry and power ; though to the honour of the virtuous and magnanimous few among the crowned heads of eight centuries, both Tatar and Mogul, there were some great souls ; men of high worth, who appeared at intervals to redeem the oppression of a whole preceding dynasty.

The high ground we assumed, and the lofty sentiments with which we introduced ourselves amongst the Rajpoots, arrogating motives of purity, of disinterested benevolence, scarcely belonging to humanity, and to which their sacred writings alone yielded a parallel, gave such exalted notions of our right of exerting the attributes of divinity, justice, and mercy, that they expected little less than almighty wisdom in our acts : but circumstances have throughout occurred in each individual state, to shew we were mere mortals, and that the poet's moral.

"Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,"

was true in politics. Sorrow and distrust were the consequence—anger succeeded ; but the sense of obligation is still too powerful to operate a stronger and less generous sentiment. These errors may yet be remedied, and our Rajpoot allies yet be retained as useful friends : though they can only be so while in the enjoyment of perfect internal independence, and their ancient institutions.

"No political institution can endure," observes the eloquent historian of the Middle Ages, "which does not rivet itself to the heart of men by ancient prejudices or acknowledged merit. The feudal compact had much of this character. In fulfilling the obligations of mutual assistance and fidelity by military service, the energies of friendship were awakened, and the ties of moral sympathy superadded to those of positive compact."

We shall throw out one of the assumed causes which give stability to political institution ; 'acknowledged merit,' which never belonged to the loose feudal compact of Rajwarra : but the absence of this strengthens the necessary substitute, 'ancient prejudices,' which supply many defects.

Our anomalous and inconsistent interference in some cases, and our non-interference in others, operate alike to augment the dislocation induced by long predatory oppression in the various order of society, instead of restoring that harmony and continuity which had previously existed. The great danger, nay, the inevitable consequence of perseverance in this line of conduct, will be their reduction to the same degradation with our other allies, and their ultimate incorporation with our already too extended dominion.

It may be contended, that the scope and tenor of these alliances were not altogether unfitted for the period when they were formed, and our circum-

tribed knowledge ; but was it too late, when this knowledge was extended, to purify them from the dross which deteriorated the two grand principles of mutual benefit, on which all were grounded, viz, 'perfect internal independence to them, and acknowledged supremacy' to the protecting power? It will be said, that even these corner-stones of this grand political fabric, are far from possessing those durable qualities which the contracting parties define, but that, on the contrary, they are the Ormuzd and Ahrimanes, the good and evil principles of contention. But when we have superadded pecuniary engagements of indefinite extent, increasing in the ratio of their prosperity, and armed quotas or contingents of their troops, whose loose habits and discipline would ensure constant complaint, we may certainly take credit for having established a system which must compel that direct interference, which the broad principle of each treaty professes to check.

The inevitable consequence is the perpetuation of that denationalizing principle so well understood by the Mahrattas, "*divide et impera.*" We are few ; to use an Oriental metaphor, our agents must "use the eyes and ears of others." That mutual dependence which would again have arisen, our interference will completely nullify. Princes will find they can oppress their chiefs, chiefs will find channels by which their sovereign's commands may be rendered nugatory, and irresponsible ministers must have our support to raise these undefined tributary supplies ; and unanimity, confidence, and all the sentiments of gratitude which they owe and acknowledge to be our due, will gradually fade with the national degradation. That our alliances have this tendency cannot be disputed. By their very nature they transfer the respect of every class of subjects from their immediate sovereign to the paramount authority and its subordinate agents. Who will dare to urge that a government, which cannot support its internal rule without power unshackled and unrestrained by exterior council of espionage, it can maintain self-respect, the corner-stone of every virtue with states as with individuals? This first of feelings these treaties utterly annihilate. Can we suppose such denationalized allies are to be depended upon in emergencies? or, if allowed to retain a spark of their ancient moral inheritance, that it will not be kindled into a flame against us when opportunity offers, instead of lighting up the powerful feeling of gratitude which yet exists towards us in these warlike communities?

Like us they were the natural foes of that predatory system which so long disturbed our power, and our preservation and theirs were alike consulted in its destruction. When we sought their alliance, we spoke in the captivating accents of philanthropy ; we courted them to disunite from this Ahrimanes of political convulsion. The benevolent motives of the great mover of these alliances we dare not call in question, and his policy coincided with the soundest wisdom. But the treaties might have been revised, and the obnoxious parts which led to discord, abrogated, at the expense of a few paltry lacs of tribute and a portion of sovereign homage. It is not yet too late. True policy would enfranchise them altogether from our alliance ; but till they let them not feel their shackles in the galling restraint on each internal operation. Remove that millstone to national prosperity, the poignant felling that every increased bushel of corn raised in their long-deserted fields must send its tithe to the British granaries. Let the national mind recover its wonted elasticity, and they will again attain their former celebrity. We

have the power to advance this greatness and make it and its result our own; or, by a system unworthy of Britain, to retard and even quench it altogether.*

Never were their national characteristics so much endangered as in the seducing calm which followed the tempestuous agitations in which they had so long floated; doubtful, to use their own figurative expression, whether 'the gift of our friendship, or our arms,' were fraught with greater evil. The latter they could not withstand; though it must never be lost sight of, that, like ancient Rome when her glory was fading, we use 'the arms of the barbarians' to defend our conquest against them! Is the mind ever stationary? are virtue and high notions to be acquired from contact and example? Is there no mind above the level of £10 monthly pay in all the native legions of the three presidencies of India! no Odoacer, no Sevaji, again to revive? Is the book of knowledge and of truth, which we hold up, only to teach them submission and perpetuate their weakness? Can we without fresh claims expect eternal gratitude, and must we not rationally look for action in some grand impulse, which, by furnishing a signal instance of the mutability of power may afford a lesson for the benefit of posterity!

Is the mantle of protection, which we have thrown over these warlike races, likely to avert such a result? It might certainly, if imbued with all those philanthropic feelings for which we took credit, act with soporific influence and extinguish the embers of international animosity. "The lion and the lamb were to drink from the same fountain:" they were led to expect the holy *Satya Yaj*, when each man reposed under his own fig-tree, which neither strife nor envy dared approach.

When so many nations are called upon, in a period of great calamity and danger, to make over to a foreigner, their opposite in every thing, their superior in most, the control of their forces in time of war, the adjudication of their disputes in time of peace and a share in the fruits of their renovating prosperity, what must be the result; when each Rajpoot may hang up his lance in the hall, convert his sword to a ploughshare, and make a basket of his buckler? What but the prostration of every virtue? It commences with the basis of the Rajpoot's—the martial virtues; extinguished these and they will soon cease to respect themselves. Sloth, low cunning and meanness will follow. What nation ever maintained its character that devolved on the stranger the power of protection! To be great, to be independent, its martial spirit must be cherished; happy if within the bounds of moderation. Led away by enthusiasm, the author experienced the danger of interference, when observing but one side of the picture—the brilliant lights which shone on their long days of darkness, not calculating the shade which would follow the sudden glare.

On our cessation from every species of interference alone depends their independence or their amalgamation,—a crisis fraught with danger to our overgrown rule.

* If Lord Hastings' philanthropy, which rejoiced in snatching these ancient states from the degradation of predatory warfare, expected that in four short years order should rise out of the chaos of a century, "and was prepared to visit with displeasure all symptoms of "internal neglect, arising from supineness, indifference, or concealed ill-will:" if he signified, "that government would take upon itself the task of restoring order," and that "all charges" "on this score "would be demanded and rigidly exacted:" in fine, that "such arrangements, "would be made as would deprive them of the power of longer abusing the spirit of liberal "forbearance, the motives of which they were incapable of understanding or appreciating;" "what have they to hope from those without his sympathies?

Let Alexander's speech to his veterans, tired of conquest and refusing to cross the Hyphasis, be applied, and let us not reckon too strongly on our empire of opinion: "Fame never represents matters truly as they are, but on the contrary magnifies every thing. This is evident; for our own reputation and glory, though founded on solid truths, is yet more obliged to rumour than reality."*

We may conclude with the Macedonian conqueror's reasons for shewing the Persians and his other foreign allies so much favour: "The possession of what we got by the sword is not very durable, but the obligation of good offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia, and not simply pass through it, our clemency must extend to them also, and their fidelity will make our empire everlasting. As for ourselves, we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaricious temper which desires to continue to fill what already runs over."†

* Quintus Curtius, lib. ix.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. viii.

SKETCH

OF A

FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Existing condition of Rajasthan.—General resemblance between the ancient systems of Asia and Europe.—Noble origin of the Rajpoot race.—Rahtores of Marwar.—Cutchwahs of Ambar.—Sesodias of Mewar.—Gradation of Ranks.—Revenues and rights of the Crown.—Burrar.—Khur Lakur.

IT is more than doubtful whether any code of civil or criminal jurisprudence ever existed in any of these principalities; though it is certain that none is at this day discoverable in their archives. But there is a martial system peculiar to these Rajpoot states, so extensive in its operation as to embrace every object of society. This is so analogous to the ancient feudal system of Europe, that I have not hesitated to hazard a comparison between them, with reference to a period when the latter was yet imperfect. Long and attentive observation enables me to give this outline of a system, of which there exists little written evidence. Curiosity originally, and subsequently a sense of public duty (lest I might be a party to injustice), co-operated in inducing me to make myself fully acquainted with the minutiae of this traditional theory of government; and incidents, apparently trivial in themselves, exposed parts of a widely-extended system, which, though now disjointed, still continue to regulate the actions of extensive communities, and lead to the inference, that at one period it must have attained a certain degree of perfection.

Many years have elapsed since I first entertained these opinions, long before any connection existed between these states and the British government; when their geography was little known to us, and their history still less so. At that period I frequently travelled amongst them for amusement, making these objects subservient thereto, and laying the result freely before my government. I had abundant sources of intelligence to guide me in forming my analogies; Montesquieu, Hume, Millar, Gibbon:* but I sought only general resemblances and lineaments similar to those before me. A more perfect, because more familiar picture, has since appeared by an author,† who has drawn aside the veil of mystery which covered the subject, owing to its being till then but imperfectly understood. I compared the features of Rajpoot society with the finished picture of this eloquent writer, and shall be satisfied with having substantiated the claim of these tribes to participation in a system, hitherto deemed to belong exclusively to Europe. I am aware of the danger of hypothesis, and shall advance nothing that I do not accompany by incontestable proofs.

* Vol. iii., Miscellaneous Works.

† Hallam's Middle Ages.

The leading features of government amongst semi-barbarous hordes or civilized independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must every where be similar, and will produce the analogies which are observed to regulate Tatar hordes or German tribes, Caledonian clans, the Rajpoot Cula (race), or Jhareja Bhyad (brotherhood). All the countries of Europe participated in the system we denominate feudal; and we can observe it, in various degrees of perfection or deterioration, from the mountains of Caucasus to the Indian ocean. But it requires a persevering toil, and more discriminating judgment than I possess, to recover all these relics of civilization: yet though time, and still more oppression, have veiled the ancient institutions of Mewar, the mystery may be penetrated, and will discover parts of a system worthy of being rescued from oblivion.

Mahratta cunning, engrafted on Mahomedan intolerance, had greatly obscured these institutions. The nation itself was passing rapidly away: the remnant which was left had become a matter of calculation, and their records and their laws partook of this general decay. The nation may recover; the physical frame may be renewed; but the *morale* of the society must be recast. In this chaos a casual observer sees nothing to attract notice; the theory of government appears, without any of the dignity which now marks our regular system. Whatever does exist is attributed to fortuitous causes—to nothing systematic: no fixed principle is discerned, and none is admitted; it is deemed a mechanism without a plan. This opinion is hasty. Attention to distinctions, though often merely nominal, will aid us in discovering the outlines of a picture which must at some period have been more finished; when real power, unrestrained by foreign influence, upheld a system, the plan of which was original. It is in these remote regions, so little known to the Western world, and where original manners lie hidden under those of the conquerors, that we may search for the germs of the constitutions of European states.* A contempt for all that is Asiatic too often marks our countrymen in the East: though at one period on record the taunt might have been reversed.

In remarking the curious coincidence between the habits, notions, and governments of Europe in the Middle ages, and those of Rajasthan, it is not absolutely necessary we should conclude that one system was borrowed from the other; each may, in truth, be said to have the patriarchal form for its basis. I have sometimes been inclined to agree with the definition of Gibbon, who styles the system of our ancestors the offspring of chance and barbarism.

* It is a high gratification to be supported by such authority as M. St. Martin, who, in his 'Discours sur l'Origine et l'Histoire des Arsacides,' thus speaks of the system of government termed feudal, which I contend exists amongst the Rajpoots: "On pense assez généralement que cette sorte de gouvernement qui dominait il y a quelques siècles, et qu'on appelle *système féodal*, était particulière à l'Europe, et que c'est dans les forêts de la Germanie qu'il faut en chercher l'origine. Cependant, si au lieu d'admettre les faits sans les discuter, comme il arrive trop souvent, on examine un peu cette opinion, elle disparaîtrait devant la critique, ou du moins elle se modifierait singulièrement; et l'on verrait que, si c'est des forêts de la Germanie que nous avons tiré le gouvernement féodal, il n'en est certainement pas originaire. Si l'on veut comparer l'Europe, telle qu'elle était au XIII. siècle, avec la monarchie fondée en Asie par les Arsacides trois siècles avant notre ère, partout on verra des institutions et des usages pareils. On y trouvera les mêmes dignités, et jusqu'aux mêmes titres, &c. &c. Boire, chasser, combattre, faire et défaire des rois, c'étaient la les nobles occupations d'un Parthe."—*Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 66. It is nearly so with the Rajpoot.

"Le système féodal, assemblage monstrueux de tant de parties que le temps et l'hazard ont réunies, nous offre un objet très compliqué : pour l'étudier il faut le décomposer."* This I shall attempt.

The form, as before remarked, is truly patriarchal in these states, where the greater portion of the vassal chiefs, from the highest of the sixteen peers to the holders of a *chursa*† of land, claim affinity in blood to the sovereign.‡

The natural seeds are implanted in every soil, but the tree did not gain maturity except in a favoured aspect. The perfection of the system in England is due to the Normans, who brought it from Scandinavia, whither it was probably conveyed by Odin and the Sacasenæ, or by anterior migrations, from Asia; which would coincide with Richardson's hypothesis, who contends that it was introduced from Tatar. Although speculative reasoning forms no part of my plan, yet when I observe analogy on the subject in the customs of the ancient German tribes, the Franks or Gothic races, I shall venture to note them. Of one thing there is no doubt—knowledge must have accompanied the tide of migration from the east: and from higher Asia emerged the Asj, the Catti, and the Cimbric Lombard, who spread the system in Scandinavia, Friesland, and Italy.

"It has been very common," says the enlightened historian of the Feudal System in the Middle Ages, "to seek for the origin of feuds, or at least for analogies to them, in the history of various countries: but though it is of great importance to trace the similarity of customs in different parts of the world, we should guard against seeming analogies, which vanish away when they are closely observed. It is easy to find partial resemblances to the feudal system. The relation of patron and client in the republic of Rome has been deemed to resemble it, as well as the barbarians and veterans who held frontier lands on the tenure of defending them and the frontier; but they were bound not to an individual, but to the state. Such a resemblance of fiefs may be found in the Zemindars of Hindusthan and the Timariots of Turkey. The clans of the Highlanders and Irish followed their chieftain into the field: but their tie was that of imagined kindred and birth, not the spontaneous compact of vassalage."§

I give this at length to shew, that if I still persist in deeming the Rajpoot system a pure relation of feuds, I have before my eyes the danger of seeming resemblances. But grants, deeds, charters, and traditions, copies of all of which will be found in the Appendix, will establish my opinions. I hope to prove that the tribes in the northern regions of Hindusthan did possess the system, and that it was handed down, and still obtains, notwithstanding seven centuries of paramount sway of the Mogul and Pathan dynasties, altogether opposed to them except in this feature of government, where there was an original similarity. In some of these states—those least affected by

* Gibben, Miscell. vol. III. Du gouvernement féodal.

† A, akin or hyde. Millar (chap. v. p. 85) defines a 'hyde of land,' the quantity which can be cultivated by a single plough. A *chursa*, 'akin or hyde' of land, is as much as one man can water; and what one can water is equal to what one plough can cultivate. If irrigation ever had existence by the founders of the system, we may suppose this the meaning of the term which designated a knight's fee. It may have gone westward with emigration.

‡ *Staggies*, 'sire,' is the appellation of royalty, and, strange enough, whether to male or female; while its offshoots, which form a numerous branch of vassals, are called *babas*, 'the infants.'

§ Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 200.

conquest—the system remained free from innovation. It is, however, from Mewar chiefly that I shall deduce my examples, as its internal rule was less influenced by foreign policy, even to the period at which the imperial power of Delhi was on the decline.

As in Europe, for a length of time, traditionary custom was the only regulator of the rights and tenures of this system, varying in each state, and not frequently (in its minor details) in the different provinces of one state, according to their mode of acquisition and the description of occupants when acquired. It is from such circumstances that the variety of tenure and customary law proceeds. To account for this variety, a knowledge of them is requisite; nor is it until every part of the system is developed that it can be fully understood. The most trifling cause is discovered to be the parent of some important result. If ever these were embodied into a code (and we are justified in assuming such to have been the case), the varied revolutions which have swept away almost all relics of their history were not likely to spare these. Mention is made of several princes of the house of Mewar who legislated for their country; but precedents for every occurring case lie scattered in formulas, grants, and traditionary sayings. The inscriptions still existing on stone would alone, if collected, form a body of laws sufficient for an infant community; and these were always first committed to writing, and registered ere the column was raised. The seven centuries of turmoil and disaster, during which these states were in continual strife with the foe, produced many princes of high intellect as well as valour. Sanga Rana, and his antagonist, Sultan Baber, were revived in their no less celebrated grandsons, the great Akbar and Rana Pratap: the son of the latter, Umra, the foe of Jehangir, was a character of whom the proudest nation might be vain.

The pen has recorded, and tradition handed down, many isolated fragments of the genius of these Rajpoot princes, as statemen and warriors, touching the political division, regulations of the aristocracy, and commercial and agricultural bodies. Sumptuary laws, even, which append to a feudal system, are to be traced in these inscriptions: the annulling of monopolies and exorbitant taxes; the regulation of transit duties; prohibition of profaning sacred days by labour; immunities, privileges, and charters to trades, corporations, and towns: such as would, inclines more favourable to liberty, have matured into a league, or obtained for these branches a voice in the councils of the state. My search for less perishable documents than parchment when I found the cabinet of the prince contained them not, was unceasing; but though the bigotted Mahomedan destroyed most of the traces of civilization within his reach, perseverance was rewarded with a considerable number. They are at least matter of curiosity. The will evince that monopolies and restraints on commerce were well understood in Rajwarra, though the doctrines of political economy never gained footing there. The setting up of these engraved tablets or pillars, called *Seoras*,* is of the highest antiquity. Every subject commences with invoking the sun and moon as witnesses, and concludes with a denunciation of the severest penalties on those who break the spirit of the imperishable bond. Tablets of an historical nature I have of twelve and fourteen hundred years' antiquity, but of grants of land or privileges about one thousand years is the oldest. Time has destroyed many, but man more. They became more numerous during the last three centuries.

* Sanscrit *Sula*

when successful struggles against their foes produced new privileges, granted in order to recall the scattered inhabitants. Thus one contains an abolition of the monopoly of tobacco;* another, the remission of tax on printed cloths, with permission to the country manufacturers to sell their goods free of duty at the neighbouring towns. To a third, a mercantile city, the abolition of war contributions,† and the establishment of its internal judicial authority. Nay, even where good manners alone are concerned, the lawgiver appears, and with an amusing simplicity: "From the public feast none shall attempt to carry any thing away." "None shall eat after sunset," shews that a Jain obtained the edict. To yoke the bullock or other animal for any work on the sacred Amavus,§ is also declared punishable. Others contain revocations of vexatious fees to officers of the crown; "of beds and quilts,"|| "the seizure of the carts, implements, or cattle of the husbandmen,"¶—the sole boon in our own *Manga Charta* demanded for the husbandman. These and several others, of which copies are annexed, need not be repeated. If even from such memoranda a sufficient number could be collected of each prince's reign up to the olden time, what more could we desire to enable us to judge of the genius of their princes, the wants and habits of the people, their acts and occupations? The most ancient written customary law of France is A.D. 1088,** at which time Mewar was in high prosperity; opposing, at the head of a league far more powerful than France could form for ages after, the progress of revolution and foreign conquest. Ignorance, sloth, and all the vices which wait on and result from continual oppression in a perpetual struggle for existence of ages' duration, gradually diminished the reverence of the inhabitants themselves for these relics of the wisdom of their forefathers. In latter years, they so far forgot the ennobling feeling and respect for "the stone which told" their once exalted condition, as to convert the materials of the temple in which many of these stood into places of abode. Thus many a valuable relic is built up in the castles of their barons, or buried in the rubbish of the fallen pile.

We have, however, the books of grants to the chiefs and vassals, and also the grand rent-roll of the country. These are of themselves valuable documents. Could we but obtain those of remoter periods, they would serve as a commentary on the history of the country, as each contains the detail of every estate, and the stipulated services in horse and foot, to be performed for it. In later times, when turbulence and disaffection went unpunished, it was useless to specify a stipulation of service that was nugatory; and too often the grants contained but the names of towns and villages, and their value; or if they had the more general terms of service, none of its details.†† From all these, however, a sufficiency of customary rules could easily be found to form the written law of fiefs in Rajasthan. In France, in the sixteenth century, the variety of these customs amounted to two hundred and eighty-five, of which only sixty‡ were of great importance. The number of consequence in

* See Appendix, No. XII.

† See Appendix, No. XIII.

‡ See Appendix, No. XIV.

§ 'Full moon.'—See Appendix, No. XIII.

|| It is customary, when officers of the government are detached on service, to exact from the towns where they are sent both bed and board.

¶ Seized for public service, and frequently to exact a composition in money.

** Hallam, vol. i. p. 197.

†† Some of these, of old date, I have seen three feet in length.

‡‡ Hallam, vol. i. p. 199.

Mewar which have come to my observation is considerable, and the most important will be given in the Appendix. Were the same plan pursued there as in that ordinance which produced the laws of *Pays Coutumiers** of France viz. ascertaining those of each district, the materials are ready.

Such a collection would be amusing, particularly if the traditionary were added to the engraved laws. They would often appear *jejune*, and might involve contradictions; but we should see the wants of the people; and if ever our connection (which God forbid!) should be drawn closer, we could then legislate without offending national customs or religious prejudices. Could this, by any instinctive impulse or external stimulus, be effected by themselves, it would be the era of their emersion, from long oppression, and might lead to better notions of government, and consequent happiness to them all.

NOBLE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPOOT RACE.—If we compare the antiquity and illustrious descent of the dynasties which have ruled, and some which continue to rule, the small sovereignties of Rajasthan, with many of celebrity in Europe, superiority will often attach to the Rajpoot. From the most remote periods we can trace nothing ignoble, nor any vestige of vassal origin. Reduced in power, circumscribed in territory, compelled to yield much of their splendour and many of the dignities of birth, they have not abandoned an iota of the pride and high bearing arising from a knowledge of their illustrious and regal descent. On this principle the various revolutions in the Rana's family never encroached; and the mighty Jehangir himself, the Emperor of the Moguls, became, like Cæsar, the commentator of the history of the tribe of Sesodia.† The potentate of the twenty-two Satrapies of Hind dwells with proud complacency on this Rajpoot king having made terms with him. He pines heaven, that what his immortal ancestor Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, failed to do, the project in which Hemayoon had also failed, and in which the illustrious Akbar, his father, had but partial success, was reserved for him. It is pleasing to peruse in the commentaries of these conquerors, Baber and Jehangir, their sentiments with regard to these princes. We have the evidence of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of Elizabeth to Jehangir, as to the splendour of this race: it appears throughout their annals and those of their neighbours.

RAHTORES OF MARWAR.—The Rahtores can boast a splendid pedigree; and if we cannot trace its source with equal certainty to such a period of antiquity as the Rana's we can, at all events, shew the Rahtore monarch wielding the sceptre at Canouj, at the time the leader of an unknown tribe of the Franks was paving the way towards the foundation of the future kingdom of France. Unwieldy greatness caused the sudden fall of Canouj in the twelfth century, of which the existing line of Marwar is a renovated scion.

CUTCHWAHAS OF AMBAR.—Ambar is a branch of the once illustrious and ancient Nissida, now Nirwur, which produced the ill-fated prince whose story‡ is so interesting. Revolution and conquest compelled them to quit their ancestral abodes. Hindusthan was then divided into no more than four great kingdoms. By Arabian§ travellers we have a confused picture of these

* Hallam notices these laws by this technical phrase.

† Sesodia is the last change of name which the Rana's race has undergone. It was first *Seryavansa*, then *Grahidote* or *Gehlote*, *Aharya*, and *Sesodia*. These changes arise from revolutions and local circumstances.

‡ Nala and Dumayanti.

§ Relations anciennes des Voyageurs, par Remondet.

states. But all the minor states, now existing in the west, arose about the period when the feudal system was approaching maturity in France and England.

The others are less illustrious, being the descendants of the great vassals of their ancient kings.

SESODIAS OF MEWAR.—Mewar exhibits a marked difference from all the other states in her policy and institutions. She was an old established dynasty when these renovated scions were in embryo. We can trace the losses of Mewar, but with difficulty her acquisitions while it is easy to note the gradual aggrandizement of Marwar and Ambar, and all the minor states. Marwar was composed of many petty states, whose ancient possessions formed an allodial vassalage under the new dynasty. A superior independence of the control of the prince arises from the peculiarity of the mode of acquisition; that is, with rights similar to the allodial vassals of the European feudal system.

The poorest Rajpoot of this day retains all the pride of ancestry, often his sole inheritance: he scorns to hold the plough, or to use his lance but on horseback. In these aristocratic ideas he is supported by his reception amongst his superiors, and the respect paid to him by his inferiors. The honours and privileges, and the gradations of rank, amongst the vassals of the Rana's house, exhibit a highly artificial and refined state of society. Each of the superior rank is entitled to a banner, kettle-drums preceded by heralds and silver maces, with peculiar gifts and personal honours, in commemoration of some exploit of their ancestors.

The martial Rajpoots are not strangers to armorial bearings* now so indiscriminately used in Europe. The great banner of Mewar exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field: those of the chiefs bear a dagger. Ambar displays the *panchranga* or five-coloured flag. The lion rampant on an argent field is extinct with the estate of Chanderi.†

In Europe these customs were not introduced till the period of the Crusades, and were copied from the Saracens; while the use of them amongst the Rajpoot tribes can be traced to a period anterior to the war of Troy. In the Mahabharat, or great war, twelve hundred years before Christ, we find the hero Bhishma exulting over his trophy, the banner of Arjuna, its field adorned with the figure of the Indian Hanuman.‡

These emblems had a religious reference amongst the Hindus, and were taken from their mythology, the origin of all devices.

Every royal house has its palladium, which is frequently borne to battle at the saddle-bow of the prince. Rao Bhima Hara, of Kotah, lost his life

* It is generally admitted that armorial bearings were little known till the period of the Crusades and that they belong to the east. The twelve tribes of Israel were distinguished by the animals on their banners, and the sacred writings frequently allude to the "Lion of Judah." The peacock was a favourite armorial emblem of the Rajpoot warrior; it is the bird sacred to their Mars (Kumara), as it was to Juno, his mother, in the west. The feather of the peacock decorates the turban of the Rajpoot and the warrior of the Crusade, adopted from the Hindu through the Saracens. Le paon a toujours été l'emblème de la noblesse. Plusieurs chevaliers ornaient leurs casques des plumes de cet oiseau; un grand nombre de familles nobles le portaient dans leur blazon ou sur leur cimier, quelques uns n'en portaient que la queue.—Art. 'Armoirie,' Dict. de l'ancien Regime.

† I was the first European who traversed this wild country, in 1807, not without some hazard. It was then independent: about three years after it fell a prey to Sindhis.

‡ The monkey-delt.

and protecting deity together. The late celebrated Kheechee* leader, Jey Sing, never took the field without the god before him. "Victory to Bujrang" was his signal for the charge so dreaded by the Mahratta, and often has the deity been sprinkled with his blood and that of the foe.

Their ancestors, who opposed Alexander, did the same, and carried the images of Hercules (*Baldeva*) at the head of their array.

The custom (says Arrian) of presenting banners as an emblem of sovereignty over vassals, also obtained amongst the tribes of the Indus when invaded by Alexander. When he conquered the Sacæ and tribes east of the Caspian, he divided the provinces amongst the princes of the ancient families, for which they paid homage, engaged to serve with a certain quota of troops, and received from his own hand a banner; in all of which he followed the customs of the country. But in these we see only the outline of the system; we must descend to more modern days to observe it more minutely. A grand picture is drawn of the power of Mewar, when the first grand irruption of the Mahomedans occurred in the first century of their era; when "a hundred† kings, "its allies and dependents, had their thrones raised in Cheetore," for its defence and their own individually, when a new religion, propagated by the sword of conquest, came to enslave these realms. This invasion was by Scind and Mekran; for it was half a century later ere "the light" shone from the heights of Pamer‡ on the plains of the Jumna and Ganges.

From the commencement of this religious war in the mountains westward of the Indus, many ages elapsed ere the 'King of the Faith' obtained a seat on the throne of Yudhisthira. Chund, the bard, has left us various valuable memorials of this period, applicable to the subject historically as well as to the immediate topic. Visaldeva, the monarch whose name appears on the pillar of victory at Delhi, led an army against the invader, in which, according to the bard, "the banners of eighty-four princes were assembled." The bard describes with great animation the summons sent for this magnificent feudal levy from the heart of Anterbed§ to the shores of the western sea, and it coincides with the record of his victory, which most probably this very army obtained for him. But no finer picture of feudal manners exists than the history of Prithwiraja, contained in Chund's poem. It is surprising that this epic should have been allowed so long to sleep neglected: a thorough knowledge of it, and of others of the same character, would open many sources of new knowledge, and enable us to trace many curious and interesting coincidences ||

In pursuing these tales of the days that are past, we should be induced

* The Kheechees are a branch of the Chohans, and Kheechiwara lies east of Haravati.

† See annals of Mewar, and note from D'Anville.

‡ The Pamer range is a grand branch of the Indian Caucasus, Chund, the bard, designates them as the "Purbat Patt Pamer" or Pamer Lord of Mountains. From Fahar and Pamer the Greeks may have compounded Paropamisian, in which was situated the most remote of the Alexandrian.

§ The space between the grand rivers Ganges and Jumna, well known as the Do-ab

|| Domestic habits and national manners are painted to the life, and no man can well understand the Rajpoot of yore, who does not read these.

Those were the days of chivalry and romance, when the assembled princes contended for the hand of the fair, who chose her own lord, and threw to the object of her choice, in full court, the *bur-mala*, or garland of marriage. Those were the days which the Rajpoot y. t. loves to talk of, when the glance of an eye weighed with a sceptre: when three things alone occupied him: his horse, his lance, and his mistress; for she is but the third in his estimation, after all to the two first he owed her.

to conclude that the *Couroltai* of the Tatars, the *Chougan* of the Rajpoot and the *Cham de Mars* of the Frank, had one common origin.

Caste has for ever prevented the inferior classes of society from being incorporated with this haughty noblesse. Only those of pure blood in both lines can hold fiefs of the crown. The highest may marry the daughter of a Rajpoot, whose sole possession is a '*skin of land*':* the sovereign himself is not degraded by such alliance. There is no moral blot, and the operation of a law like the *Salic* would prevent any political evil resulting therefrom. Titles are granted, and even fiefs of office, to ministers and civil servants not Rajpoots: they are, however, but official, and never confer hereditary rights: These official fiefs may have originally arisen, here and in Europe, from the same cause; the want of a circulating medium to pay the offices. The *Mantrist*† of Mewar prefer estates to pecuniary stipend, which gives more consequence in every point of view. All the higher offices—as cup-bearer, butler, stewards of the household, wardrobe, kitchen, master of the horse—all these are enumerated as ministerialists; at the court of Charlemagne in the dark ages of Europe, and of whom we have the duplicates. These are what the author of the *Middle Ages* designates as "improper feuds."§ In Mewar the prince's architect, painter, physician, bard, genealogist, heralds, and all the generation of the foster-brothers, hold lands. Offices are hereditary in this patriarchal government; their services personal. The title even appends to the family, and if the chance of events deprive them of the substance, they are seldom left destitute. It is not uncommon to see three or four with the title of *pradhan* or premier.||

But before I proceed further in these desultory and general remarks, I shall commence the chief details of the system as described in times past, and, in part, still obtaining in the principality of the Rana of Mewar. As its geography and distribution are fully related in their proper place, I must refer the reader to that for a preliminary understanding of its localities.

The local disposition of the estates was admirably contrived. Bounded on three sides, the south, east, and west, by marauding barbarous tribes of Bhils, Mers, and Meenas, the circumference of this circle was subdivided into estates for the chiefs, while the *khalisa*, or fiscal land, the best and richest, was in the heart of the country, and consequently well protected.

It appears doubtful whether the *khalisa* lands amounted to one-fourth of those distributed in grant to the chiefs. The value of the crown demesne as the nerve and sinew of sovereignty, was well known by the former heads of this house. To obtain any portion thereof was the reward of important services; to have a grant of a few acres near the capital for a garden was deemed a high favour; and a village in the amphitheatre or valley, in which the present capital is situated, was the *ne plus ultra* of recompense. But the lavish folly of the present prince, out of this tract, twenty-five miles in circumference, has not preserved a single village in his *khalisa*.

* *Chursa*, a 'hide or skin.'

† '*Ministers*,' from *Munera*, 'mystification.'

‡ It is probably of Teutonic origin, and akin to '*Mantri*,' which embraces all the ministers and councillors of royalty. (Hallam, p. 195.)

§ Hallam, p. 193.

|| One I know, in whose family the office has remained since the period of Prithwiraja, who transferred his ancestor to the service of the Rana's house seven hundred years ago. He is not merely a nominal hereditary minister, for his uncle actually held the office; but in consequence of having favoured the views of a pretender to the crown, his active duties are not entrusted to any of the family.

By this distribution, and by the inroads of the wild tribes in the vicinity, or of Moguls and Mahrattas, the valour of the chiefs was kept in constant play.

The country was partitioned into districts, each containing from fifty to one hundred towns and villages, though sometimes exceeding that proportion. The great number of Chourasis* leads to the conclusion that portions to the amount of eighty-four, had been the general subdivision. Many of these yet remain: as the 'Chourasi' of Jehazpur and of Komulmeer: tantamount to the old 'hundreds' of our Saxon ancestry. A circle of posts was distributed, within which the quotas of the chiefs attended, under "the Foujdar of the Sima" (*vulgo* Seem), or commander of the border. It was found expedient to appoint from court this lord of the frontier, always accompanied by a portion of the royal insignia, standard, kettle-drums, and heralds, and being generally a civil officer, he united to his military office the administration of justice.† The higher vassals never attended personally at these posts, but deputed a confidential branch of their family, with the quota required. For the government of the districts there were conjoined a civil and a military officer: the latter generally a vassal of the second rank. Their residence was the chief place of the district, commonly a stronghold.

The division of the chiefs into distinct grades, shews a highly artificial state of society.

1st Class. We have the sixteen, whose estates were from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand rupees and upwards, of yearly rent. These appear in the presence only on special invitation, upon festivals and solemn ceremonies, and are the hereditary councillors of the crown.‡

2nd Class, from five to fifty thousand rupees. Their duty is to be always in attendance. From these, chiefly, foudars and military officers are selected.†

3rd Class is that of *Gole*,‡ holding lands chiefly under five thousand rupees, though by favour they may exceed this limit. They are generally the holders of separate villages and portions of land, and in former times they were the most useful class to the prince. They always attended on his person, and indeed formed his strength against any combination or opposition of the higher vassals.

4th Class. The offsets of the younger branches of the Rana's own family within a certain period are called the *babas*, literally 'infants,' and have appanages bestowed on them. Of this class are Shapura and Bunera; too powerful for subjects. They hold on none of the terms of great clans, but consider themselves at the disposal of the prince. These are more within the influence of the crown. Allowing adoption into these houses, except in the case of near kindred, is assuredly an innovation: they ought to revert to the crown, failing immediate issue, as did the great estate of Bhynsroorgurh, two generations back.

From these to the holder of a *chursa*, or hide of land, the peculiarity of tenure and duties of each, will form a subject for discussion.

* The numeral eighty-four.

† Now each chief claims the right of administering justice in his own domain, that is, in civil matters; but in criminal cases they ought not, without the special sanction of the crown. Justice, however, has long been left to work its own way, and the self-constituted tribunals, the *punchaets*, sit in judgment in all cases where property is involved.

‡ See Appendix, No. XX.

REVENUES AND RIGHTS OF THE CROWN.—I need not here expatiate upon the variety of items which constitute the revenues of the prince, the details of which will appear in their proper place. The land-tax in the *khalisa demesne* is, of course, the chief source of supply; the transit duties on commerce and trade, and those of the larger towns and commercial marts, rank next. In former times more attention was paid to this important branch of income, and the produce was greater because less shackled. The liberality on the side of the crown was only equalled by the integrity of the merchant, and the extent to which it was carried would imply an almost Utopian degree of perfection in their mutual qualities of liberality and honesty; the one, perhaps, generating the other. The remark of a merchant recently, on the vexatious train of duties and espionage attending their collection, is not merely figurative: "our ancestors tied their invoice to the horns of the oxen* at the first frontier post of customs, and no intermediate questions were put till we passed to the opposite or sold our goods, when it was opened and payment made accordingly; but now every town has its rights." It will be long ere this degree of confidence is restored on either side; extensive demand on the one is met by fraud and evasion on the other, though at least one-half of these evils have already been subdued.

The mines were very productive in former times, and yielded several lacs to the princes of Mewar. The rich tin mines of Jawara produced at one time a considerable proportion of silver. Those of copper are abundant, as is also iron on the now alienated domain on the Chumbul; but lead least of all.†

The marble quarries also added to the revenue; and where there is such a multiplicity of sources, none are considered too minute to be applied in these necessitous times.

BURRAR.—*Burrar* is an indefinite term for taxation, and is connected with the thing taxed: as *ganeem-burrar*† 'war-tax'; *gurb geentee-burrar*§ 'house-tax'; *hal-burrar*, 'plough-tax'; *neauta-burrar*, 'marriage-tax'; and others, both of old and new standing. The war-tax was a kind of substitute for the regular mode of levying the rents on the produce of the soil; which was rendered very difficult during the disturbed period, and did not accord with the wants of the prince. It is also a substitute in those mountainous regions for the *jareeb*,|| where the produce bears no proportion to the cultivated surface; sometimes from poverty of soil, but often from the reverse, as in Komalmear where the choicest crops are produced on the cultivated terraces, and on the sides of its mountains, which abound with springs, yielding the richest canes and cottons, and where experiment has proved that four crops can be raised in the same patch of soil within the year.

The offering on confirmation of estates (or fine on renewal) is now,

* Oxen and carts are chiefly used in the *Tandas*, or caravans, for transportation of goods in these countries; camels further to the north.

† The privilege of coining is a reservation of royalty. No subject is allowed to coin gold or silver, though the Saloombra chief has on sufferance a copper currency. The mint was a considerable source of income, and may be again when confidence is restored and a new currency introduced. The Cheetore rupee is now thirty-one per cent. inferior to the old Bhilara standard, and there was one struck at the capital even worse, and very nearly as bad as the *moneta nigra* of Philip the Fair of France, who allowed his vassals the privilege of coining it.

‡ Enemy.

§ Numbering of houses.

|| A measure of land.

though a very small, yet still one source of supply; as is the annual and triennial payment of the quit-rents of the Bhoomia chiefs. Fines in composition of offences may also be mentioned; and they might be larger, if more activity were introduced in the detection of offenders.

These Governments are mild in the execution of the laws; and a heavy fine has more effect (especially on the hill tribes) than the execution of the offender, who fears death less than the loss of property.

KHUR-LAKUR.—The composition for 'wood and forage' afforded a considerable supply. When the princes of Mewar were oftener in the tented field than in the palace, combating for their preservation, it was the duty of every individual to store up wood and forage for the supply of the prince's army. What originated in necessity was converted into an abuse and annual demand. The towns also supplied a certain portion of provisions; where the prince halted for the day these were levied on the community; a goat or sheep from the shepherd, milk and flour from the farmer. The maintenance of these customs is observable in taxes, for the origin of which it is impossible to assign a reason without going into the history of the period; they scarcely recollect the source of some of these themselves. They are akin to those known under the feudal tenures of France, arising from exactly the same causes, and commuted for money payments such as the *droit de giste et de chevauche*.* Many also originated in the perambulations of these princes to visit their domains:† a black year in the calendar to the chief and the subject. When he honoured the chief by a visit, he had to present horses and arms, and to entertain his prince, in all which honours the cultivators and merchant had to share.

The duties on the sale of spirits, opium, tobacco, and even to a share of the garden-stuff, affords also modes of supply.‡

CHAPTER II.

*Legislative authority.—Rozina.—Military Service.—
Inefficiency of this form of Government.*

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.—During the period still called "the good times of Mewar," the prince, with the aid of his civil council, the four ministers of the crown and their deputies, promulgated all the legislative enactments in which the general rights and wants of the community were involved. In these the martial vassals or chiefs had no concern: a wise exclusion, comprehending also their immediate dependents, military, commercial, and agricultural. Even now, the little that is done in these matters is effected by the civil administration, though the Rajpoot Pradhans have been too apt to interfere in matters from which they ought always to be kept aloof, being ever more tenacious of their own rights than solicitous for the welfare of the community.

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 232.

† Hume describes the necessity for our earlier kings making these tours to consume the produce, being in kind. So it is Mewar; but I fancy the supply was always too easily convertible into circulating medium to be the cause there.

‡ See Appendix, No. X.

The neglect in the legislation of late years was supplied by the self-constituted tribunals, the useful *punchaets*, of which enough has been said to render further illustration unnecessary. Besides the resident ruler of the district, who was also a judicial functionary, there was, as already stated, a special officer of the government in each frontier Thana, or garrison post. He united triple occupation of embodying the quotas, levying the transit duties, and administering justice, in which he was aided at the *chabootra** or *court*, by assembling the *Chotias* or assessors of justice. Each town and village has its *chotia*, the members of which are elected by their fellow citizens, and remain as long as they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complaints preferred to them.

They are the aids to the Nagar Seth, or chief magistrate, an hereditary office in every large city in Rajasthan. Of this *chotia* the Patel and Patwarri are generally members. The former of these, like the *Dusondée* of the Mahrattas, resembles in his duties the *decanus* of France and the tithing-man in England. The *chotia* and *punchaet* of these districts are analogous to the assessors of justice called *scabini*† in France, who held the office by election or the concurrence of the people. But these are the special and fixed council of each town: the general *punchaets* are formed from the respectable population at large, and were formerly from all classes of society.

The *chabootras*, or terraces of justice, were always established in the *khalisa*, or crown demesne. It was deemed a humiliating intrusion if they sat within the bounds of a chief. To 'erect the flag' within his limits whether for the formation of defensive posts or the collection of duties, is deemed a gross breach of his privileged independence, as to establish them within the walls of his residence would be deemed equal to sequestration. It often becomes necessary to see justice enforced on a chief or his dependent, but it begets eternal disputes and disobedience, till at length they are worried to compliance by *rozina*.

ROZINA.—When delay in these matters, or to the general commands of the prince, is evinced, an officer or herald is deputed with a party of four, ten, or twenty horse or foot, to the fief of the chief, at whose residence they take up their abode; and carrying, under the seal, a warrant to furnish them with specified *dela (rozina)* rations, they live at free quarters till he is quickened into compliance with the commands of the prince. This is only accelerator of the slow movements of a Rajpoot chieftain in these days, whether for his appearance at court or the performance of an act of justice. It is often carried to a harassing excess, and causes much complaint.

In cases regarding the distribution of justice or the internal economy of the chiefs' estates, the government officers seldom interfere. But of their *punchaets* I will only remark, that their import amongst the vassals is very comprehensive; and when they talk of the '*punch*,' it means the 'collective wisdom.' In the reply to the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals,‡ the chief promises never to undertake any measure without their deliberation and sanction.

On all grand occasions where the general peace or tranquillity of the

* Literally 'terrace,' or 'altar.'

† They were considered a sort of jury, bearing a close analogy to the *judices selecti*, who sat with the praetor in the Tribunal of Rome.—Hallam.

‡ See Appendix, No. III.

government is threatened, the chiefs form the council of the sovereign. Such subjects are always first discussed in the domestic councils of each chief; so that when the *wittenagemote* of Mewar was assembled, each had prepared himself by previous discussion, and was fortified by abundance of advice.

To be excluded the council of the prince is to be in utter disgrace. These grand divans produce infinite speculation, and the ramifications which form the opinions are extensive. The council of each chief is, in fact, a miniature representation of the sovereign's. The greater sub-vassals, his civil *pradhan*, the mayor of the household, the *purohit*,* the bard and two or three of the most intelligent citizens, form the minor councils, and all are separately deliberating while the superior court is in discussion. Thus is collected the wisdom of the magnates of Rajwarra.

MILITARY SERVICE.—In Mewar, during the days of her glory and prosperity, fifteen thousand horse, bound by the ties of fidelity and service, followed their prince into the field, all supported by lands held by grant; from the chief who headed five hundred of his own vassals, to the single horseman.

KNIGHT'S FEE or SINGLE HORSEMEN.—A knight's fee in these states varies. For each thousand rupees of annual rent, never less than two, and generally three horsemen were furnished; and sometimes three horse and three foot soldiers, according to the exigence of the times when the grant was conferred. The different grants† appended will shew this variety, and furnish additional proof that this, and all similar systems of policy, must be much indebted to chance for the shape they ultimately take. The knight's fee, when William the Conqueror partitioned England into sixty thousand such portions, from each of which a soldier's service was due, was fixed at £20. Each portion furnished its soldier or paid *escuage*. The knight's fee of Mewar may be said to be two hundred and fifty rupees, or about £30.

LIMITATIONS of SERVICE.—In Europe, service was so restricted, that the monarch had but a precarious authority. He could only calculate upon forty days' annual service from the tenant of a knight's fee. In Rajasthan it is very different: "at home and abroad, service shall be performed when demanded;" such is the condition of the tenure.

For state and show, a portion of the greater vassals‡ reside at the capital for some months, when they have permission to retire to their estates, and are relieved by another portion. On the grand military festival the whole attend for a given time; and when the prince took the field, the whole assembled at their own charge; but if hostilities carried them beyond the frontier they were allowed certain rations.

ESCUAGE or SCUTAGE.—*Escuage* or *scutage*, the phrase in Europe to denote the amercement§ for non-attendance, is also known and exemplified in deeds. Failure from disaffection, turbulence, or pride, brought a heavy fine; the sequestration of the whole or part of the estate.|| The princes of these states would willingly desire to see *escuage* more general. All have made this first attempt towards an approximation to a standing army: but,

* Family priest.

† See Appendix, Nos. IV, V. and VI.

‡ See Appendix, No. XX, art. 6; the treaty between the chiefs and his vassals defining service.

§ Appendix, No. XVI.

|| Both of which I have witnessed.

though the chiefs would make compensation to get rid of some particular service, they are very reluctant to renounce lands, by which alone a fixed force could be maintained. The rapacity of the court would gladly fly to scutages but in the present impoverished state of the fiefs, such if injudiciously levied would be almost equivalent to resumption; but this measure is so full of difficulty as to be almost impracticable.

INEFFICIENCY OF THIS FORM OF GOVERNMENT.—Throughout Rajasthan the character and welfare of the estates depend on that of the sovereign: he is the main-spring of the system—the active power to set and keep in motion all these discordant materials; if he relax, each part separates and moves in a narrow sphere of its own. Yet will the impulse of one great mind put the machine in regular movement, which shall endure during two or three imbecile successors, if no fresh exterior force be applied to check it. It is a system full of defects; yet we see them so often balanced by virtues, that we alternately biassed by these counteracting qualities: loyalty and patriotism, which combine a love of the institutions, religion, and manners of the country, are the counterpoise to systematic evil. In no country has the system ever proved efficient. It has been one of eternal excitement and irregular action; inimical to order, and the repose deemed necessary after conflict for recruiting the national strength. The absence of an external foe was but the signal for disorders within, which increased to a terrific height in the feuds of the two great rival factions of Mewar, the clans of Chondawut* and Suktawut,† as the weakness of the prince augmented by the abstraction of his personal domain, and the diminution of the services of the third class of vassals (the Gole), the personal retainers of the crown; but when these feuds broke out, even with the enemy at their gates, it required a prince of great nerve and talent to regulate them. Yet is there a redeeming quality in the system, which, imperfect as it is, could render such perilous circumstances but the impulse to a rivalry of heroism.

When Jehangir had obtained possession of the palladium of Mewar, the ancient fortress of Cheetore, and driven the prince into the wilds and mountains of the west, an opportunity offered to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and the Rana with all his chiefs were assembled for the purpose. But the Suktawuts asserted an equal privilege with their rivals to form the vanguard;‡ a right which their indisputable valour (perhaps superior to that of the other party) rendered not invalid. The Chondawuts claimed it as an hereditary privilege, and the sword would have decided the matter but for the tact of the prince. "The *herole* to the clan which first enters Ontala," was a decision which the Suktawut leader quickly heard; while the other could no longer plead his right, when such a gauntlet was thrown down for its maintenance.

Ontala is the frontier fortress in the plains, about eighteen miles east of the capital, and covering the road which leads from it to the more ancient one of Cheetore. It is situated on a rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its walls, which are of solid masonry, lofty, and with round towers at

* A clan called after Chonda, eldest son of an ancient Rana, who resigned his birthright.

† Sakta was the son of Rana Udaya Sing, founder of Udayapura, or Oodipur. The feuds of the two clans, like those of the *A magnates au Bourguignons*, "qui couvrirent la France d'un crepe sanglant," have been the destruction of Mewar. It requires but a change of names and places, while reading the one, to understand perfectly the history of the other.

‡ *Herole*.

intervals.* In the centre was the governor's house, also fortified. One gate only gave admission to this castle.

The clans, always rivals in power, now competitors in glory, moved off at the same time, some hours before daybreak—Ontala the goal, the herole the reward! Animated with hope—a barbarous and cruel foe the object of their prowess—their wives and families spectators, on their return, of the meed of enterprize; the Bard, who sang the praise of each race at their outset, demanding of each materials for a new wreath, supplied every stimulus that a Rajpoot could have to exertion.

The Suktawuts made directly for the gateway, which they reached as the day broke, and took the foe unprepared; but the walls were soon manned, and the action commenced. The Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, had traversed a swamp, which retarded them—but through which they dashed, fortunately meeting a guide in a shepherd of Ontala. With more foresight than their opponents, they had brought ladders. The chief led the escalade, but a ball rolled him back amidst his vassals: it was not his destiny to lead the herole! Each party was checked. The Suktawut depended on the elephant he rode, to gain admission by forcing the gate; but its projecting spikes deterred the animal from applying its strength. His men were falling thick around him, when a shout from the other party made him dread their success. He descended from his seat, placed his body on the spikes, and commanded the driver on pain of instant death, to propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief his clan rushed to the combat! But even this heroic surrender of his life failed to purchase the honour for his clan. The lifeless corpse of his rival was already in Ontala, and this was the event announced by the shout which urged sacrifice to honour and ambition. When the Chondawut chief fell, the next in rank and kin took the command. He was one of those arrogant, reckless Rajpoots, who signalized themselves wherever there was danger, not only against men but tigers, and his common appellation was the *Benda Thakur* ('mad chief') of Deogurh. When his leader fell, he rolled the body in his scarf; then tying it on his back, scaled the wall, and with his lance having cleared the way before him, he threw the dead body over the parapet of Ontala, shouting, "the vanguard to the Chondawut! we are first in!" The shout was echoed by the clan, and the rampart was in their possession nearly at the moment of the entry of the Suktawuts. The Moguls fell under their swords: the standard of Mewar was erected in the castle of Ontala, but the leading of the vanguard remained with the Chondawuts.†

This is not the sole instance of such jealousies being converted into a generous and patriotic rivalry; many others could be adduced throughout the greater principalities, but especially amongst the brave Rahtores of Marwar.

It was a nice point to keep these clans poised against each other: their feuds were not without utility, and the tact of the prince frequently turned

* It is now in ruins, but the towers and part of the walls are still standing.

† An anecdote appended by my friend Umra (the Bard of the Sungawuts, a powerful division of the Chondawuts, whose head is Deogurh, often alluded to, and who alone used to lead two thousand vassals into the field) was well attested. Two Mogul chiefs of note were deeply engaged in a game of chess when the tumult was reported to them. Feeling confident of success, they continued their game; nor would they desist till the inner castle of this donjon keep was taken, and they were surrounded by the Rajpoots, when they coolly begged they might be allowed to terminate their game. This the enemy granted; but the loss of their chiefs had steeled their breasts against mercy, and they were afterwards put to death.

them to account. One party was certain to be enlisted on the side of the sovereign, and this alone counterbalanced the evil tendencies before described. To this day it has been a perpetual struggle for supremacy; and the epithets of "loyalist" and "traitor" have been alternating between them for centuries, according to the portion they enjoyed of the prince's favour, and the talents and dispositions of the heads of the clans to maintain their predominance at court. The Suktawuts are weaker in numbers, but have the reputation of greater bravery and more genius, than their rivals. I am inclined, on the whole, to assent to this opinion; and the very consciousness of this reputation must be a powerful incentive to its preservation.

When all these governments were founded and maintained on the same principle, a system of feuds, doubtless, answered very well; but it cannot exist with a well-constituted monarchy. Where individual will controls the energies of a nation, it must eventually lose its liberties. To preserve their power, the princes of Rajasthan surrendered a portion of theirs to the emperors of Delhi. They made a nominal surrender to him of their kingdoms, receiving them back with a *sunnud*, or grant, renewed on each lapse: thereby acknowledging him as lord paramount. They received, on these occasions, the *khelat* of honour and investiture, consisting of elephants, horses, arms, and jewels; and to their hereditary title of 'prince' was added by the emperor, one of dignity, *munsab*. Besides this acknowledgment of supremacy, they offered *nuzzarana** and homage, especially on the festival of *Noroza* (the new year), engaging to attend the royal presence when required, at the head of a stipulated number of their vassals. The emperor presented them with a royal standard, kettle drums, and other insignia, which headed the array of each prince. Here we have all the chief incidents of a great feudal sovereignty. Whether the Tatar sovereigns borrowed the customs from their princely vassals, or brought them from the highlands of Asia, from the Oxus and Jaxartes, whence, there is little doubt, many of these *Sacha Rajpoots* originated, shall be elsewhere considered.

The splendour of such an array, whether in the field or at the palace, can scarcely be conceived. Though *Hemayoon* had gained the services of some of the Rajpoot princes, their aid was uncertain. It was reserved for his son, the wise and magnanimous Akbar, to induce them become at once the ornament and support of his throne. The power which he consolidated, and knew so well to wield, was irresistible; while the beneficence of his disposition, and the wisdom of his policy, maintained what his might conquered. He felt that a constant exhibition of authority would not only be ineffectual but dangerous, and that the surest hold on their fealty and esteem would be the giving them a personal interest in the support of the monarchy.

He determined to unite the pure Rajpoot blood to the scarcely less noble stream which flowed from *Oguz Khan*, through *Jungheez*, *Timoor* and *Baber*, to himself, calculating that they would more readily yield obedience to a prince who claimed kindred with them, than to one purely Tatar; and that, at all events, it would gain the support of their immediate kin, and might in the end become general. In this supposition he did not err. We are less acquainted with the obstacles which opposed his first success, than those he subsequently encountered: one of which neither he nor his descendants ever overcame in the family of *Mewar*, who could never be brought to submit to such alliance.

* *Fine of relief.*

Ambar, the nearest to Delhi and the most exposed, though more open to temptation than to conquest, in its then contracted sphere, was the first to set the example.

Its Raja Bhagwandas gave his daughter to Hemayoon; and subsequently this practice became so common, that some of the most celebrated emperors were the offspring of Rajpoot princesses.

Of these, Selim, called after his accession, Jehangir; his ill-fated son, Khosroo; Shah Jehan;* Kambaksh,† the favourite of his father; Aurungzebe, and his rebellious son Akbar, whom his Rajpoot kin would have placed on the throne had his genius equalled their power, are the most prominent instances. Feroksere, when the empire began to totter, furnished the last instance of a Mogal sovereign marrying a Hindu princess,‡ the daughter of Raja Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar.

These Rajpoot princes became the guardians of the minority of their imperial nephews, and had a direct stake in the empire, and in the augmentation of their estates.

Of the four hundred and sixteen Munsubdars, or military commanders of Akbar's empire, from leaders of two hundred to ten thousand men, forty-seven were Rajpoots, and the aggregate of their quotas amounted to fifty-three thousand horse;§ exactly one-tenth of the united Munsubdars of the empire, or five hundred and thirty thousand horse.||

Of the forty-seven Rajpoot leaders, there were seventeen whose munsubs were from one thousand to five thousand horse, and thirty from two hundred to one thousand.

The princes of Ambar, Marwar, Bikaner, Boondi, Jessulmeer, Bundelkhund, and even Shekawut, held munsubs of above one thousand; but Ambar only, being allied to the throne, had the dignity of five thousand.

The Raja Udaya Sing of Marwar, surnamed the Fat, chief of the Rahoors, held but the munsub of one thousand, while a scion of his house, Rae Sing of Bikaner, had four thousand. This is to be accounted for by the dignity being thrust upon the head of that house. The independent princes of Chanderi, Kerowli, Dutta, with the tributary feudatories of the larger principalities, and members of the Shekawut federation, were enrolled on the other grades, from four to seven hundred. Amongst these we find the founder of the Suktawut clan, who quarrelling with his brother, Rana Pratap of Mewar, gave his services to Akbar. In short it became general, and what originated in force or persuasion, was soon coveted from interested motives; and as nearly all the states submitted in time to give queens to the empire, few were left to stigmatize this dereliction from Hindu principle.

Akbar thus gained a double victory, securing the good opinions as well

* The son of the Princess Jodh Bae, whose magnificent tomb still excites admiration at Secundra, near Agra.

† 'Gift of Love.'

‡ To this very marriage we owe the origin of our power. When the nuptials were preparing, the Emperor fell ill. A mission was at that time at Delhi from Surat, where we traded, of which Mr. Hamilton was the surgeon. He cured the King, and the marriage was completed. In the oriental style, he desired the doctor to name his reward; but instead of asking any thing for himself, he demanded a grant of land for a factory on the Hoogly for his employers. It was accorded, and this was the origin of the greatness of the British empire in the East. Such an act deserved at least a column; but neither "trophyed urn or monumental bust" marks the spot where his remains are laid.

§ Abul Fazil's Institutes of Akbar.

|| The infantry, regulars and militia, exceeded 4,000,000.

as the swords of these princes in his aid. A judicious perseverance would have rendered the throne of Timoor immoveable, had not the tolerant principles and beneficence of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, been lost sight of by the bigotted and blood-thirsty Aurungzebe; who, although while he lived his commanding genius wielded the destinies of this immense empire at pleasure, alienated the affections, by insulting the prejudices, of those who had aided in raising the empire to the height on which it stood. This affection withdrawn, and the weakness of Ferokse substituted for the strength of Aurungzebe, it fell and went rapidly to pieces. Predatory warfare and spoliation rose on its ruins. The Rajpoot princes, with a short-sighted policy, at first connived at, and even secretly invited the tumult; not calculating on its affecting their interests. Each looked to the return of ancient independence, and several reckoned on great accession of power. Old jealousies were not lessened by the part which each had played in the hour of ephemeral greatness; and the prince of Mewar, who preserved his blood uncontaminated, though with loss of land, was at once an object of respect and envy to those who had forfeited the first pretensions* of a Rajpoot. It was the only ovation the Sesodia† had to boast for centuries of oppression and spoliation, whilst their neighbours were basking in court favour. The great increase of territory of these princes nearly equalled the power of Mewar, and the dignities thus acquired from the sons of Timoor, they naturally wished should appear as distinguished as his ancient title. Hence, while one inscribed on his seal "the exalted in dignity, a prince amongst princes, and king of kings,"‡ the prince of Mewar preserved his royal simplicity in 'Maha-Rana Bhima Sing, son of Ursi.' But this is digression.

It would be difficult to say what would be the happiest form of government for these states without reference to their neighbours. Their own feudal customs would seem to have worked well. The experiment of centuries has secured to them political existence, while successive dynasties of Afghans and Moguls, during eight hundred years, have left but the wreck of splendid names. Were they to become more monarchical, they would have every thing to dread from unchecked despotism, over which even the turbulence of their chiefs is a salutary control.

Were they somewhat more advanced towards prosperity, the crown demesne redeemed from dissipation and sterility, and the chiefs enabled to bring their quotas into play for portection and police, recourse should never be had to bodies of mercenary troops, which practice, if persevered in, will inevitably change their present form of Government. This has invariably been the result, in Europe as well as Rajasthan, else why the dread of standing armies?

Escuage is an approximating step. When Charles VII. of France§ raised his companies of ordnance, the basis of the first national standing army ever embodied in Europe, a tax called 'taille' was imposed to pay them, and Guienne rebelled. Kotah is a melancholy instance of subversion of the ancient order of society. Mewar made the experiment from necessity sixty

* See, in the annals of Mewar, the letter of Rao Sing of Bikaner (who had been compelled to submit to this practice), on hearing that Rana Pratap's reverses were likely to cause a similar result. It is a noble production, and gives the character of kotah.

† The tribe to which the princes of Mewar belonged.

‡ *Raj Raj ewara*, the title of the prince of Marwar: the prince of Auzier. *Raj Raj Jodra*.

§ Hallam, vol. i. p. 117.

years ago, when rebellion and invasion conjoined; and a body of Sindies were employed, which completed their disgust, and they fought with each other till almost mutually exterminated, and till all faith in their prince was lost. Jeypur had adopted this custom to a greater extent; but it was an ill paid band, neither respected at home nor feared abroad. In Marwar the feudal compact was too strong to tolerate it, till Pathan predatory bands, prowling amidst the ruins of Mogul despotism, were called in to partake in each family broil; the consequence was the weakening of all, and opening the door to a power stronger than any, to be the arbiter of their fate.

GENERAL DUTIES OF THE PUTTAWUT, OR VASSAL CHIEF OF RAJASTHAN.—"The essential principle of a fief was a mutual contract of support and fidelity. Whatever obligations it laid upon the vassal of service to his lord, corresponding duties of protection were imposed by it on the lord towards his vassal. If these were transgressed on either side, the one forfeited his land, the other his signiory or rights over it."*

In this is comprehended the very foundation of feudal policy, because in its simplicity we recognize first principles involving mutual preservation. The best commentary on this definition of simple truth will be the sentiments of the Rajpoots themselves in two papers: one containing the opinions of the chiefs of Marwar on the reciprocal duties of sovereign and vassal;† the other those of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, one of the largest fiefs in Rajasthan, of their rights, the infringement of them, and the remedy.‡

If, at any former period in the history of Marwar, its prince had thus dared to act, his signiory and rights over it would not have been of great value; his crown and life would both have been endangered by these turbulent and determined vassals. How much is comprehended in that manly, yet respectful sentence: "If he accepts our services, then is he our prince and leader; if not, but our equal, and we again his brothers, claimants of and laying claim to the soil."

In the remonstrance of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, we have the same sentiments on a reduced scale. In both we have the ties of blood and kindred, connected with and strengthening national policy. If a doubt could exist as to the principle of fiefs being similar in Rajasthan and in Europe, it might be set at rest by the important question long agitated by the feudal lawyers in Europe, "whether the vassal is bound to follow the standard of his lord against his own kindred or against his sovereign: which in these states is illustrated by a simple and universal proof. If the question were put to a Rajpoot to whom his service is due, whether to his chief or his sovereign, the reply would be, *Rajca malik weh patš ca malik yeh*: 'He is the sovereign of the state, but this is my head.' an ambiguous phrase, but well understood to imply that his own immediate chief is the only authority he regards.

This will appear to militate against the right of remonstrance (as in the case of the vassals of Deogurh), for they look to the crown for protection against injustice; they annihilate other rights by admitting appeal higher than this. Every class looks out for some resource against oppression. The sovereign is the last applied to on such occasions, with whom the sub-vassal

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 173.

† See Appendix, No. I.

‡ See Appendix, Nos. II. and III.

§ *Pat* means 'head,' 'chief,' also 'board,' 'throne'—like *takht*, in Persian.

has no bond of connection. He can receive no favour, nor perform any service, but through his own immediate superior; and presumes not to question (in cases not personal to himself) the propriety of his chief's actions, adopting implicitly his feeling and resentments. The daily familiar intercourse of life is far too engrossing to allow him to speculate, and with his lord he lives a patriot or dies a traitor. In proof of this, numerous instances could be given of whole clans devoting themselves to the chief against their sovereign;* not from the ties of kindred, for many were aliens in blood; but from the ties of duty, gratitude, and all that constitutes clannish attachment, superadded to feudal obligation. The sovereign, as before observed, has nothing to do with those vassals not holding directly from the crown; and those who wish to stand well with their chiefs, would be very slow in receiving any honours or favours from the general fountain-head. The Deogurh chief sent one of his sub-vassals to court on a mission: his address and deportment gained him favour, and his consequence was increased by a seat in the presence of his sovereign. When he returned, he found this had lost him the favour of his chief, who was offended, and conceived a jealousy both of his prince and his servant. The distinction paid to the latter was, he said, subversive of his proper authority, and the vassal incurred by his vanity the loss of estimation where alone it was of value.

OBLIGATIONS OF A VASSAL.—The attempt to define all the obligations of a vassal would be endless: they involve all the duties of kindred in addition to those of obedience. To attend the court of his chief; never to absent himself without leave; to ride with him a hunting; to attend him at the court of his sovereign or to war, and even give himself as a hostage for his release; these are some of the duties of a vassal.

* The death of the chief of Nimaj, in the annals of Marwar, and Seogurh Feud, in the Personal Narrative, vol. ii.

CHAPTER III.

Feudal—Incidents.—Durations of Grants.

FEUDAL INCIDENTS.—I shall now proceed to compare the more general obligations of vassals, known under the term of 'Feudal Incidents' in Europe and shew their existence in Rajasthan. These were six in number:—1. reliefs; 2. fines of alienation; 3. escheats; 4. aids; 5. wardship; 6. marriage.

RELIEF.—The first and most essential mark of a feudal relation exists in all its force and purity here: it is a perpetually recurring mark of the source of the grant, and the solemn renewal of the pledge which originally obtained it. In Mewar it is a virtual and *bona fide* surrender of the fief and renewal thereof. It is thus defined in European polity: "A relief" is a sum of money "due from every one of full age taking a fief by descent." It was arbitrary, and the consequent exactions formed a ground of discontent; nor was the tax fixed till a comparatively recent period.

By *Magna Charta* reliefs were settled at rates proportionate to the dignity of the holder.† In France the relief was fixed by the customary laws at one year's revenue.‡ This last has long been the settled amount of *nuz-serana*, or fine of relief, in Mewar.

On the demise of a chief, the prince immediately sends a party, termed the *zubti* (sequestrator), consisting of a civil officer and a few soldiers, who take possession of the estate in the prince's name. The heir sends his prayer to court to be installed in the property, offering the proper relief. This paid, the chief is invited to repair to the presence, when he performs homage, and makes protestations of service and fealty; he receives a fresh grant, and the inauguration terminates by the prince girding him with a sword, in the old forms of chivalry. It is an imposing ceremony, performed in a full assembly of the court, and one of the few which has never been relinquished. The fine paid, and the brand buckled to his side, a steed, turban, plume, and dress of honour given to the chief, the investiture§ is complete; the sequestrator returns to court, and the chief to his estate, to receive the vows and congratulations of his vassals.

* "Plusieurs possesseurs de fiefs, ayant voulu en laisser perpetuellement la propriete a leurs descendants, prirent des arrangements avec leur Seigneur; et, outre ce qu'ils donnerent pour faire le marche, ils s'engagerent, eux et leur posterite, a abandonner pendant une annee "an Seigneur, la jouissance entiere du fief, chaque fois que le dit fief changerait de main. C'est ce qui forma le droit de relief."

"Quand un gentilhomme avait deroge, il pouvait effacer cette tache moyennant finances "et ce qu'il payait s'appelait relief, il recevait pour quittance des lettres de relief ou de rehabilitation."—Art. 'Relief,' Dict. de l'anc. Regime.

† Viz. "the heir or heirs of an earl, for an entire earldom, one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for an entire barony, one hundred marks; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, one hundred shilling at most."—Art. III. *Magna Charta*.

‡ "Le droit de rachat devoit se payer a chaque mutation d'heritier, et se paya meme d'abord en ligne directe.—La coutume la plus generale l'avait fixe a une annee du revenu."—*L'Esprit des Loix*, Liv. xxxi. chap. xxxiii.

§ That symbolic species of investiture denominated 'improper investiture,' the delivery of a turf, stone, and wand, has its analogies amongst the mountaineers of the Aravali. The old baron of Bednor, when the Mer villages were reduced, was clamorous about his feudal rights over those wild people. It was but the point of honour. From one he had a hare from another a bullock, and so low as a pair of sticks which they use on the festivals of the *Holi*. These marks of vassalage come under the head of 'petite serjanterie' (petit serjeantry) in the feudal system of Europe. (See Art. XLI. of *Magna Charta*.)

In this we plainly perceive the original power (whether exercised or not) of resumption. On this subject more will appear in treating of the duration of grants. The *kharg bandai*, or 'binding of the swords,' is also performed when a Rajpoot is fit to bear arms; as amongst the ancient German tribes, when they put into the hands of the aspirant for fame a lance. Such are the substitutes for the *toga virilis* of the young Roman. The Rana himself is thus ordained a knight by the first of his vassals in dignity, the chief of Saloombra.

RENUNCIATION OF RELIEFS.—In the demoralization of all those states some of the chiefs obtained renunciation of the fine of relief, which was tantamount to making a grant in perpetuity, and annulling the most overt sign of paramount sovereignty. But these and many other important encroachments were made when little remained of the reality, or when it was obscured by a series of oppressions unexampled in any European state.

It is in Mewar alone, I believe, of all Rajasthan, that these marks of fealty are observable to such an extent. But what is remarked elsewhere upon the fiefs being moveable, will support the doctrine of resumption though it might not be practised: a prerogative may exist without its being exercised.

FINE OF ALIENATION.—Rajasthan never attained this refinement indicative of the dismemberment of the system; so vicious and self-destructive a notion never had existence in these states. Alienation does not belong to a system of fiefs: the lord would never consent to it, but on very peculiar occasions.

In Kutch, amongst the Jhareja* tribes, sub-vassals may alienate their estates; but this privilege is dependent on the mode of acquisition. Perhaps the only knowledge we have in Rajasthan of alienation requiring the sanction of the lord paramount, is in donations for pious uses: but this is partial. We, see in the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals the opinion they entertained of their lord's alienation of their sub-fiefs to strangers, and without the Rana's consent; which, with a similar train of conduct, produced sequestration of his fief till they were re-inducted.

TENANTS OF THE CROWN MAY ALIENATE.—The agricultural tenants, proprietors of land held of the crown, may alienate their right upon a small fine, levied merely to mark the transaction. But the tenures of these non-combatants and the holders of fees are entirely distinct, and cannot here be entered on, further than to say that the agriculturist is, or was, the proprietor of the soil; the chief, solely of the tax levied thereon. But in Europe the alienation of the *feudum paternum* was not good without the consent of the kindred in the line of succession.† This would involve sub-infeudation and frerage, which I shall touch on distinctly, many of the troubles of these countries arising therefrom.

ESCHEATS AND FORFEITURES.—The fiefs which were only to descend in lineal succession, reverted to the crown on failure of heirs, as they could not be bequeathed by will. This answers equally well for England as for Mewar. I have witnessed escheats of this kind, and foresee more, if the pernicious practice of unlimited adoption do not prevent the Rana from regaining lands alienated by himself at periods of contention. Forfeitures for crimes must of course occur, and these are partial or entire, according to the delinquency.

* Jhareja is the title of the Rajpoot race in Kutch; they are descendants of the Yadus, and claim from Criskna. As early as they inhabited the tracts on the Indus and in Saurashtra.

† Wright on Tenures *supra* Hallam, vol. i. p. 185.

In Marwar, at this moment, nearly all the representatives of the great fiefs of that country are exiles from their homes: a distant branch of the same family, the prince of Edur would have adopted a similar line of conduct but for timely check from the hand of benevolence.*

There is, or rather was, a class of lands in Mewar appended to the crown, of which it bestowed life-rents on men of merit. These were termed *Chur-ootar*, and were given and taken back, as the name implies; in contradistinction to grants which, though originating in good behaviour, not only continued for life but descended in perpetuity. Such places are still so marked in the rent-roll, but they are seldom applied to the proper purpose.

AIDS.—Aids, implying 'free gifts,' or 'benevolences,' as they were termed in a European code, are well known. The *burrar* (war-tax) is well understood in Mewar, and is levied on many occasions for the necessities of the prince or the head of a clan. It is a curious fact, that the *dissond*, or 'tenth,' in Mewar, as in Europe, was the stated sum to be levied in periods of emergency or danger. On the marriage of the daughters of the prince, a benevolence or contribution was always levied: this varied. A few years ago, when two daughters and a grand-daughter were married to the princes of Jessulmeer, Bikaner, and Kishengurh, a schedule of one-sixth, to portion the three, was made out; but it did not realize above an eighth. In this aid the civil officers of Government contribute equally with others. It is a point of honour with all to see their sovereign's daughters married, and for once the contribution merited the name of benevolence.

But it is not levied solely from the coffers of the rich; by the chiefs it is exacted of their tenantry of all classes, who, of course, wish such subjects of rejoicing to be of as rare occurrence as possible.

"These feudal aids are deserving of our notice as the commencement of "taxation, of which they long answered the purpose, till the craving necessities "and covetous policy of kings established for them more durable and onerous "burthens."†

The great chiefs, it may be assumed, were not backward, on like occasions, to follow such examples, but these gifts were more voluntary. Of the details of aids in France we find enumerated, "paying the relief to the suzerain on taking possession of his lands;"‡ and by *Magna Charta* our barons could levy them on the following counts: to make the baron's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, or to redeem his person from captivity. The latter is also one occasion for the demand in all these countries. The chief is frequently made prisoner in their predatory invasions, and carried off as a hostage for the payment of a war contribution. Every thing disposable is often got rid of on an occasion of this kind. *Cœur de Lion* would not have remained so long in the dungeons of Austria had his subjects been Rajpoots.

In Ambar the most extensive benevolence, or *burrar*§ is on the marriage of the Raj-Cumar, or heir-apparent.

WARDSHIP.—This does exist, to foster the infant vassal during minority;

* The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, governor of Bombay. As we prevented the spoliation of Edur by the predatory powers, we are but right in seeing that the head does not become the spoliator himself, and make these brave men "wish any change but that which we have given them."

† Hallam.

‡ Ducange apud Hallam.

§ *Burrar* is the generic name for taxation.

but often terminating, as in the system of Europe, in the nefarious act of defrauding a helpless infant, to the pecuniary benefit of some court favourite. It is accordingly here undertaken occasionally by the head of the clan; but two strong recent instances brought the dark ages, and the purchase of wardships for the purpose of spoliation, to mind. The first was in the Deogurh chief obtaining by bribe the entire management of the lands of Singramgurh, on pretence of improving them for the infant, Nahar Sing, whose father was incapacitated by derangement. Nahar was a junior branch of the clan *Sangawut*, a subdivision of the Chondawut clan, both, Sesodias of the Rana's blood. The object, at the time, was to unite them to Deogurh, though he pleaded duty as head of the clan. His nomination of young Nahar as his own heir gives a colouring of truth to his intentions; and he succeeded, though there were nearer of kin, who were set aside (at the wish of the vassals of Deogurh and with the concurrence of the sovereign) as unfit to head them or serve him.

Another instance of the danger of permitting wardships, particularly where the guardian is the superior in clanship and kindred, is exemplified in the Kalianpur estate in Mewar. That property had been derived from the crown only two generations back, and was of the annual value of ten thousand rupees. The mother having little interest at court, the Saloombra chief, by bribery and intrigue, upon paying a fine of about one year's rent, obtained possession—ostensibly to guard the infant's rights; but the falsehood of this motive was soon apparent. There were duties to perform on holding it which were not thought of. It was a frontier post, and a place of rendezvous for the quotas to defend that border from the incursions of the wild tribes of the south-west. The Saloombra chief, being always deficient in the quota for his own estate, was not likely to be very zealous in his muster-roll for his ward's, and complaints were made which threatened a change. The chief of Chaond was talked of as one who would provide for the widow and minor, who could not perform the duties of defence.

The sovereign himself often assumes the guardianship of minors; but the mother is generally considered the most proper guardian for her infant son. All others may interest of their own; she can be actuated by his welfare alone. Custom, therefore, constitutes her the guardian; and with the assistance of the elders of the family, she rears and educates the young chief till he is fit to be girded with the sword.*

The Foudjar, or military manager, who frequently regulates the household as well as the subdivisions of the estate, is seldom of the kin or clan of the chief: a wise regulation, the omission of which has been known to produce, in these *maires du palais* on a small scale, the same results as will be described in the larger. This officer, and the civil functionary who transacts all the pecuniary concerns of the estate, with the mother and her family, are always considered to be the proper guardians of the minor. "Blood which could not inherit" was the requisite for a guardian in Europe,† as here; and when neglected, the results are in both cases the same.

MARRIAGE.—Refinement was too strong on the side of the Rajpoot to admit this incident, which, with that of wardship (both partial in Europe),

* The charter of Henry I. promises the custody of heirs to the mother or next of kin.—Hallam, vol. ii. p. 429.

† Hallam vol. i. p. 190.

illustrated the rapacity of the feudal aristocracy. Every chief, before he marries, makes it known to his sovereign. It is a compliment which is expected, and is besides attended with some advantage, as the prince invariably confers presents of honour, according to the station of the individual.

No Rajpoot can marry in his own clan; and the incident was originated in the Norman institutes, to prevent the vassal marrying out of his class, or amongst the enemies of his sovereign.

Thus, setting aside marriage (which even in Europe was only partial and local) and alienation, four of the six chief incidents marking the feudal system are in force in Rajasthan, viz. relief, escheats, aids, and wardships.

DURATION OF GRANTS.—I shall now endeavour to combine all the knowledge I possess with regard to the objects attained in granting lands, the nature and durability of these grants, whether for life and renewable, or in perpetuity. I speak of the rules as understood in Mewar. We ought not to expect much system in what was devoid of regularity, even according to the old principles of European feudal law, which, though now reduced to some fixed principles, originated in, and was governed by, fortuitous circumstances; and after often changing its character, ended in despotism, oligarchy, or democracy.

There are two classes of Rajpoot landholders in Mewar, though the one greatly exceeds the other in number. One is the *Grasya thacoor*, or 'lord'; the other the *Bhoomia*. The *Grasya* chieftain is he who holds (*gras*) by grant (*putta*) of the prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at lapse, when all the ceremonies of resumption,* the fine of relief,† and the investiture take place.

The *Bhoomia* does not renew his grant, but holds on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. He is the counterpart of the allodial proprietor of the European system, and the real 'zemindar' of these principalities. Both have the same signification; from *bhoom* and *zemin*, land: the latter is an exotic of Persian origin.

GRASYA.—*Grasya* is from *gras*, 'a subsistence;' literally and familiarly, 'a mouthful. Whether it may have a like origin with the Celtic word *grwas*,‡ said to mean a 'servant,'§ and whence the word vassal is derived, I shall leave to etymologists to decide, who may trace the resemblance to the *grasya*, the vassal chieftain of the Rajpoots. All the chartularies or *puttas*|| commence, "To... *gras* has been ordained,"

WHETHER RESUMABLE.—It has always been a subject of doubt whether, grants were resumable at pleasure, or without some delinquency imputable to the vassal. Their duration in Europe was, at least, the life of the possessor, when they reverted¶ to the fise. The whole of the ceremonies in cases of such lapse are decisive on this point in Mewar. The right to resume, therefore, may

* *Zubti*, 'sequestration.'

† *Nuzzerana*.

‡ It might not be unworthy of research to trace many words common to the Hindu and Celt; or to inquire whether the Kimbri, the Juts or Gètes the Sacasenas, the Catti of the Elbe and Cimbric Chersonese, and the ancient Britons, did not bring their terms with their bards and vates (the Bhais and Bardais) from the highland of Scythia east of the Caspian, which originated the nations common to both, improved beyond the Wolga and the Indus.

§ Hallam, vol. i.

|| *Patta*, a 'patent' or 'grant' *Pattawat*, 'holder of the fief or grant.'

¶ Montesquieu, chap. xxv. liv. xxxi.

be presumed to exist; while the non-practice of it, the formalities of renewal being gone through, may be said to render the right a dead letter. But to prove its existence I need only mention, that so late as the reign of Rana Singram,* the fiefs of Mewar were actually moveable; and little more than a century and a half has passed since this practice ceased. Thus a Rahtore would shift, with family, chattels, and retainers, from the north into the wilds of Chuppun;† while the Suktawut relieved would occupy the plains at the foot of the Aravali;‡ or a Chondawut would exchange his abode on the banks of the Chumbul with a Pramara or Chohan from the table-mountain, the eastern boundary of Mewar.§

Since these exchanges were occurring, it is evident the fiefs (puttas) were not grants in perpetuity. This is just the state of the benefices in France at an early period, as described by Gibbon, following Montesquieu: "Les benefices 'etoient amovibles; bientot ils les rendirent perpetuels, et enfin hereditaires.'"|| This is the precise gradation of fiefs in Mewar; moveable, perpetual, and then hereditary. The sons were occasionally permitted to succeed their fathers;¶ an indulgence which easily grew into a right, though the crown had the indubitable reversion. It is not, however, impossible that these changes** were not of ancient authority, but arose from the policy of the times to prevent infidelity.

We ought to have a high opinion of princes who could produce an effect so powerful on the minds of a proud and turbulent nobility. The son was heir to the title and power over vassals' personals and moveables, and to the allegiance of his father, but to nothing which could endanger that allegiance.

A proper apportioning and mixture of the different clans was another good result to prevent their combinations in powerful families, which gave effect to rebellion, and has tended more than external causes to the ruin which the state of Mewar exhibits.

Throughout the various gradations of its nobility, it was the original policy, to introduce some who were foreign in country and blood. Chiefs of the Rahtor, Chehan, Pramara, Solanki, and Bhatti tribes were intermingled. Of these several were lineal descendants of the most ancient races of the kings of Delhi and Anhilwarra Puttun;†† and from these, in order to preserve the purity of blood, the princes of Mewar took their wives, when the other princes of Hind assented to the degradation of giving daughters in marriage

* Ten generations ago.

† The grand mountainous and woody region to the south-west, dividing Mewar from Guzerat.

‡ The grand chain dividing the western from the central states of Rajasthan.

§ Such changes were triennial; and, as I have heard the prince himself say, interwoven with their customs was this rule that it caused no dissatisfaction; but of this we may be allowed at least to doubt. It was a perfect check to the imbibing of local attachment; and the prohibition against erecting forts for refuge or defiance, prevented its growth if acquired. It produced the object intended, obedience to the prince, and unity against the restless Mogul. Perhaps to these institutions it is owing that Mewar alone never was conquered by the kings during the protracted struggle of seven centuries; though at length worried and worn out, her power expired with their's, and predatory spoliation completed her ruin.

|| Gibbon, Misc. Works, vol. iii. p. 189; *sur le systeme feudal surtout en France*.

¶ Hallam, quoting Gregory of Tours; the picture drawn in A.D. 595.

** Fiefs had partially become hereditary towards the end of the first race; in these days they had not the idea of an 'unalienable fief.' Montesquieu, vol. ii. p. 431. The historians of the middle ages doubt if ever they were resumable at pleasure, unless from delinquency.

†† The Nehlwar of D'Anville and the Arabian travellers of the eighth century, the capital the Ballam kings.

to the emperors of Delhi. The princes of Mewar never yielded in this point, but preserved their ancient manners amidst all vicissitudes. In like manner did the nobles of the Rana's blood take daughters from the same tribes; the interest of this foreign race was therefore strongly identified with the general welfare, and on all occasions of internal turmoil and rebellion they invariably supported their prince. But when these wise institutions were overlooked, when the great clans increased and congregated together, and the crown demesne was impoverished by prodigality, rebellions were fostered by Mahratta rapacity, which were little known during the lengthened paramount sway of the kings of Delhi. This foreign admixture will lead us to the discussion of the different kinds of grants: a difference, perhaps, more nominal than real, but exhibiting a distinction so wide as to imply grants resumable and irresumable.

KALA PUTTAS.—It is elsewhere related that two great clans, descendants of the Ranas Rae Mul and Udyā Sing, and their numerous scions, forming subdivisions with separate titles or patronymics, compose the chief vassalage of this country.

Chondawut and Suktawut are the stock; the former is subdivided into ten, the latter into about six clans. Rajpoots never intermarry with their own kin: the prohibition has no limit; it extends to the remotest degree. All these clans are resolvable into the generic term of 'the race' or Cula Sesodia. A Sesodia man and woman cannot unite in wedlock—all these are therefore of the blood royal; and the essayists on population would have had a fine field in these quarters a century ago, ere constant misery had thinned the country, to trace the numerous progeny of Chonda and Sukta in the *Genesis** of Mewar. The Bhat's genealogies would still, to a certain extent, afford the same means.

Descent gives a strength to the tenure of these tribes which the foreign nobles do not possess; for although, from all that has been said, it will be evident that a right of reversion and resumption existed (though seldom exercised, and never but in cases of crime), yet the foreigner had not this strength in the soil, even though of twenty generations' duration. The epithet of *kala putta*, or black grant, attaches to the foreign grant, and is admitted by the holder, from which the kinsman thinks himself exempt. It is virtually a grant resumable; nor can the possessors feel that security which the other widely affiliated aristocracies afford. When on a recent occasion, a revision of all the grants took place, the old ones being called in to be renewed under the sign-manual of the reigning prince, the minister himself visited the chief of Salombra, the head of the Chondawuts, at his residence at the capital, for this purpose. Having become possessed of several villages in the confusion of the times, a perusal of the grant would have been the means of detection: and on being urged to send to his estate for it, he replied, pointing to the palace, "my grant is in the foundation of that edifice:" an answer worthy of a descendant of Chonda, then only just of age. The expression marks the spirit which animates this people, and recalls to mind the well-known reply of our own Earl Warrenne, on the very same occasion, to the *quo warranto* of Edward: "by their swords my ancestors obtained this land, and by mine will I maintain it."

Hence it may be pronounced that a grant of an estate is for the life of the holder, with inheritance for his offspring in lineal descent of adoption, with

* *Janam*, 'birth'; *es*, 'lord' or 'man.'

the sanction of the prince, and resumable for crime or incapacity :* this reversion and power of resumption being marked by the usual ceremonies on each lapse of the grantee, of sequestration (*subti*), of relief (*nazzerana*), of homage and investiture of the heir. Those estates held by foreign nobles differ not in tenure; though, for the reasons specified, they have not the same grounds of security as the others, in whose welfare the whole body is interested, feeling the case to be their own: and their interests, certainly, have not been so consulted since the rebellions of S. 1822,† and subsequent years. Witness the Chohans of Baidla and Katario (in the Oodipur valley), and the Pramars of the plateau of Mewar, all chiefs of the first rank.

The difficulty and danger of resuming an old established grant in these countries are too great to be lightly risked. Though in all these estates there is a mixture of foreign Rajpoots, yet the blood of the chief predominates; and these must have a leader of their own, or be incorporated in the estates of the nearest of kin. This increase might not be desirable for the crown, but the sub-vassals cannot be turned adrift; a resumption therefore in these countries is widely felt, as it involves many. If crime or incapacity render it necessary, the prince inducts a new head of that blood; and it is their prince as well as the prince's interest, that a proper choice should be made. If, as has often occurred, the title be abolished, the sub-vassals retain their sub-infeudations, and become attached to the crown.

Many estates were obtained, during periods of external commotion, by threats, combination, or the avarice of the prince—his short-sighted policy, or that of his ministers—which have been remedied in the late re-organization of Mewar; where, by retrograding half a century, and bringing matters as near as possible to the period preceding civil dissention, they have advanced at least a century towards order.

BHOOMIA, THE ALLODIAL PROPRIETOR.—It is stated in the historical annals of this country that the ancient clans, prior to Sanga Rana,‡ had ceased, on the rising greatness of the subsequent new division of clans, to hold the higher grades of rank; and had, in fact, merged into the general military landed proprietors of this country under the term '*bhoomia*,' a most expressive and comprehensive name importing absolute identity with the soil: *bhoom* meaning 'land,' and being far more expressive than the new-fangled word, unknown to Hindu India, of *Zemindar*, the 'landholder' of Mahomedan growth. These Bhoomias, the scions of the earliest princes, are to be met with in various parts of Mewar; though only in those of high antiquity, where they defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a footing; as in Komulmeer, the wilds of Chuppun, or plains of Mandalgurrh, long under the kings, and where their agricultural pursuits maintained them.

Their clannish appellations, Kombawut Loonawut, and Ranawut, distinctly shew from what stem and when they branched off; and as they ceased to be of sufficient importance to visit the court on the new and continually extending ramifications they took to the plough. But while they disdained

* "La loi des Lombards oppose les benefices a la propriete. Les historiens, les formules, les codes des differens peuples barbares, tous les monumens qui nous restent, sont unanimes. Enfin, ceux qui ont ecrit le livre des fiefs, nous apprennent, que d'abord les Seigneurs purent lesoter a leur volonte, qu' ensuite ils les assurerent pour un an, et apres les donnerent pour la vie."—*L'Esprit des Loix*, chap. xvi. liv. 30.

† A. D. 1766.

‡ Cotemporary and opponent of Sultan Baber.

not to derive a subsistence from labouring as husbandmen, they never abandoned their arms; and the Bhoomia, amid the crags of the alpine Aravali where he pastures his cattle or cultivates his fields, preserves the erect mien and proud spirit of his ancestors, with more tractability, and less arrogance and folly, than his more courtly but now widely separated brethren, who often make a jest of his industrious but less refined qualifications.* Some of these yet possess entire villages, which are subject to the payment of a small quit-rent: they also constitute a local militia, to be called in by the governor of the district, but for which service they are entitled to rations or *paiti*.† These, the allodial‡ tenantry of our feudal system, form a considerable body in many districts, armed with matchlock, sword, and shield. In Mandalgurh, when their own interests and the prince's unite (though the rapacity of governors, pupils of the Mahratta and other predatory schools, have disgusted these independents), four thousand Bhoomias could be collected. They held and maintained without support the important fortress of that district, during half a century of turmoil, for their prince. Mandalgurh is the largest district of Mewar, and in its three hundred and sixty towns and villages, many specimens of ancient usage may be found. The Solanki held largely here in ancient days, and the descendant of the princes of Puttun still retains his Bhoom and title of Rao.§

All this feudal militia pay a quit-rent to the crown, and perform local but limited service on the frontier garrison; and upon invasion,|| when *Kher* is called out, the whole are at the disposal of the prince on furnishing rations only. They assert that they ought not to pay this quit-rent and perform service also; but this may be doubted, since the sum is so small. To elude it, they often performed service under some powerful chief, where faction or court interest caused in to be winked at. To serve without a *putta* is the great object of ambition. *Ma ca bhoom*, 'my land,' in their Doric tongue, is a favourite phrase.¶

* Many of them taking wives from the degraded but aboriginal races in their neighbouring retreats, have begot a mixed progeny, who, in describing themselves, unite the tribes of father and mother.

† Literally, 'a belly-full.'

‡ Allodial property is defined (Hallam, vol. i. p. 144) as "land which had descended by inheritance, subject to no burthen but public defence. It passed to all the children equally; in failure of children, to the nearest kindred." Thus it is strictly the *Meeras* or *Bhoom* of the Rajpoots: inheritance, patrimony. In Mewar it is divisible to a certain extent; but in Kutch, to infinity: and is liable only to local defence. The holder of bhoom calls it his *Adyapi*, i. e. of old, by prescriptive right; not by written deed.

Montesquieu, describing the conversion of allodial estates into fiefs, says, "these lands were held by Romans or Franks (i. e. freemen) not the king's vassals," viz. lands exterior and anterior to the monarchy. We have Rahtore, Solanki, and other tribes, now holding bhoom in various districts, whose ancestors were conquered by the Sesodias, but left in possession of small portions insufficient to cause jealousy. Some of these may be said to have converted their lands into fiefs, as the Chohan lord of —, who served the Saloombra chief.

§ Amidst ruins overgrown with forest, I discovered on two tables of stone the genealogical history of this branch, which was of considerable use in elucidating that of Anhulwarra, and which corresponded so well with the genealogies of a decayed bard of the family, who travelled the country for a subsistence, that I feel assured they formerly made good use of these marble records.

|| See Appendix, Nos. XVI, and XVII.

¶ It was intimately acquainted with, and much esteemed, many of these Bhoomia chiefs—from my friend Puharjee (the rock), Ranawut of Umurgurh, to the Kombawut, of Sesodia on the highest point, lord of the pass of the Aravali; and even the mountain lion, Doonger Sing, who bore amongst us, from his old raids, the familiar title of Roderic Dhu. In each situation I have had my tents filled with them; and it was one of the greatest pleasures I ever experienced, after I had taken my leave of them, perhaps for ever, crossed the frontiers of Mewar,

Circumstances have concurred to produce a resemblance even to the refined fiction of giving up their allodial property to have it conferred as a fief. But in candour it should be stated that the only instances were caused by the desire of being revenged on the immediate superiors of the vassals. The Rahtore chief of Dabla held of his superior, the Raja of Bunera, three considerable places included in the grant of Bunera. He paid homage, an annual quit-rent, was bound to attend him personally to court, and to furnish thirty-five horse in case of an invasion. During the troubles, though perfectly equal to their performance, he was remiss in all these duties. His chief, with returning peace, desired to enforce the return to ancient customs, and his rights so long withheld; but the Rahtore had felt the sweets of entire independences and refused to attend his summons. To the warrant he replied, "his head and Dabla were together;" and he would neither pay the quit-rent, nor attend his court. This refractory spirit was reported to the Rana; and it ended in Dabla being added to the fisc, and the chief's holding the rest as a vassal of the Rana, but only to perform local service. There are many other petty free proprietors on the Bunera estate, holding from small portions of land to small villages; but the service is limited and local, in order to swell the chief's miniature court. If they accompany him, he must find rations for them and their steeds.

So cherished is this tenure of Bhoom, that the greatest chiefs are always solicitous to obtain it, even in the villages wholly dependent on their authority a decided proof, of its durability above common grants.

The various modes in which it is acquired, and the precise technicalities which distinguished its tenure, as well as the privileges attached to it, are fully developed in translations of different deeds on the subject.*

RAJAS OF BUNERA AND SHAPURA.—We have also, amongst the nobility of Mewar, two who hold the independent title of prince or raja, one of whom is by far too powerful for a subject. These are the Rajas of Bunera and Shapura, both of the blood royal. The ancestor of the first was the twin-brother of Rana Jey Sing; the other, a Runawut, branched off from Rana Udyasing.

They have their grants renewed, and receive the *khelat* of investiture; but they pay no relief, and are exempt from all but personal attendance at their prince's court, and the local service of the district in which their estates are situated. They have hitherto paid but little attention to their duties, but this defect arose out of the times. These lands lying most exposed to the imperial head-quarters at Ajmeer, they were compelled to bend to circumstances, and the kings were glad to confer rank and honour on such near relations of the Rana's house. He bestowed on them the titles of Raja, and added to the Shapura chief's patrimony a large estate in Ajmeer, which he now holds direct of the British Government, on payment of an annual tribute.

FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF GRANT.—To give a proper idea of the

and encamped in the dreary pass between it and Marwar, to find that a body of them had been my guards during the night. This is one of the many pleasing recollections of the past. Fortunately for our happiness, the mind admits their preponderance over opposite feelings. I had much to do in aiding the restoration of their past condition; leaving, I believe, as few traces of error in the mode as could be expected, where so many conflicting interests were to be reconciled.

* See Appendix.

variety of items forming these chartularies, I append several* which exhibit the rights, privileges, and honours, as well as the sources of income, while they also record the terms on which they are granted. Many royalties have been alienated in modern times by the thoughtless prodigality of the princes; even the grand mark of vassalage, the fine of relief, has been forgiven to one or two individuals; portions of transit duties, tolls on ferries, and other seigniorial rights; coining copper currency; exactions of every kind, from the levy of toll for night protection of merchandize and for the repairs of fortifications, to the share of the depredations of the common robber, will sufficiently shew the demoralization of the country.

DIVISION OF PUTTAS, OR SUB-INFEUDATION.—Many years ago, when the similarity of the systems first struck my attention, I took one of the grants or *puttas* of a great vassal of Jeypur, and dissected it in all its minutiae, with the aid of a very competent authority who had resided as one of the managers of the chief. This document, in which the sub-division of the whole clan is detailed, materially aided me in developing the system.

The court and the household economy of a great chieftain is a miniature representation of the sovereign's: the same officers, from the *pradhan*, or minister, to the cup-bearer (*panairie*), as well as the same domestic arrangements. He must have his *sheesh-mahal*,† his *bari-mahal*‡, and his *mandir*§ like his prince. He enters the *durri-sala*, or carpet hall, the minstrel|| preceding him rehearsing the praises of his family; and he takes his seat on his throne, while the assembled retainers, marshalled in lines on the right and left, simultaneously exclaim, "health to our chief!" which salutation he returns by bowing to all as he passes them. When he is seated, at a given signal they all follow the example, and shield rattles against shield as they wedge into their places.

We have neither the kiss nor individual oaths of fidelity administered. It is sufficient, when a chief succeeds to his patrimony, that his '*an'*' is proclaimed within his *seem* or boundary. Allegiance is as hereditary as the land: "I am your child; my head and sword are your's, my service is at your command." It is a rare thing for a Rajpoot to betray his Thacoor, while the instances of self-devotion for him are innumerable: many will be seen interspersed in these papers. Base desertion, to their honour be it said, is little known, and known only to be execrated. Fidelity to the chief, "*Swam Dharma*," is the climax of all the virtues. The Rajpoot is taught from his infancy, in the song of the bard, to regard it as the source of honour here, and of happiness hereafter. The poet Chund abounds with episodes on the duty and beauty of fidelity: nor does it require a very fervid imagination to picture the affections which such a life is calculated to promote, when the chief is possessed of the qualities to call them forth. At the chase his vassals attend him: in the covert of the forest, the ground their social board, they eat their repast together, from the venison or wild boar furnished by the sport

* See Appendix, Nos. IV, V, VI.

† Mirror apartments.

‡ Garden on the terrace within the palace.

§ Private temple of worship.

|| Dholl.

¶ *An'* is the oath of allegiance. Three things in Mewar are royalties a subject cannot repudiate with: 1. *An'*, or oath of allegiance; 2. *Dan*, or transit dues on commerce; 3. *Kan*, or mines of the precious metals.

of the day; nor is the cup neglected. They are familiarly admitted at all times to his presence, and accompany him to the court of their mutual sovereign. In short, they are inseparable.*

Their having retained so much of their ancient manners and customs, during centuries of misery and oppression, is the best evidence that those customs were rivetted to their very souls. The Rajpoot of character is a being of the most acute sensibility; where honour is concerned, the most trivial omission is often ignorantly construed into an affront.

In all the large estates, the chief must provide for his sons or brothers, according to his means and the number of immediate descendants. In an estate of sixty to eighty thousand rupees of annual rent, the second brother might have a village of three to five thousand of rent. This is his patrimony (*bapota*): he besides pushes his fortune at the court of his sovereign or abroad. Juniors share in proportion. Those again subdivide, and have their little circle of dependants. Each new family is known by the name of the founder conjoined to that of his father and tribe: *Man Megsingote Suktawut*; that is, 'Man, family of Megh, tribe Suktawut.' The subdivisions descend to the lowest denomination.

CHURSA.—*Chursa*, a 'hide of land,' or about sufficient to furnish an equipped cavalier. It is a singular coincidence, that the term for the lowest subdivision of land for military service should be the same amongst the Rajpoots as in the English system. Besides being similar in name, it nearly corresponds in actual quantity. From the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon government the land was divided into hides, each comprehending what could be cultivated by a single plough.† Four hides constituted one knight's fee,‡ which is stated to be about forty acres. The *Chursa* may have from twenty-five to thirty beegas; which are equal to about ten acres,—the Saxon hide.

For what these minor vassals held to be their rights on the great puttawuts, the reader is again referred to the letter or protest of the inferior puttawuts of the Deogurh estate—it may aid his judgment; and it is curious to observe how nearly the subject of their prayer to the sovereign corresponded with the edict of Conrad of Italy.§ in the year 1037, which originated in disagreements between the great lords and their vassals on the sub-infeudations.

The extent to which the subdivision before mentioned is carried in some subject of the Rajpoot states, is ruinous to the protection and general welfare of the country. It is pursued in some parts till there is actually nothing left sufficiently large to share, or to furnish subsistence for one individual: consequently a great deprivation of services to the state ensues. But this does not prevail so much in the larger principalities as in the isolated tributary thacoorats or lordships scattered over the country; as amongst the Jharejas of Kutch, the tribes in Cattiwar, and the small independencies of Guzerat bordering

* I rather describe what they were, than what they are. Contentions and poverty have weakened their sympathies and affections; but the mind of philanthropy must hope that they will again become what they have been.

† Millar's Historical View of the English Government, p. 85.

‡ Hume, Hist. of England, Appendix 2nd, vol. ii. p. 291.

§ 1. That no man should be deprived of his fief, whether held of the emperor or meane lord, but by the laws of the empire and judgment of his peers.—2. That from such judgment the vassal might appeal to his sovereign.—3. That fiefs should be inherited by sons and their children, or in their failure by brothers, provided they were *feuda paterna*, such as had descended from the father.—4. That the lord should not alienate the fiefs of his vassal without his consent.

on the greater western Rajpoot states. This error in policy requires to be checked by supreme authority, as it was in England by *Magna Charta*,* when the barons of those days took such precautions to secure their own seigniorial rights.

The system in these countries of minute subdivision of fiefs is termed *bhyad*,† or brotherhood, synonymous to the tenure by frerage of France, but styled only an approximation to sub-infeudation.‡ "Give me my *bhut* (share)," says the Rajpoot, when he attains to man's state, 'the *bhut* of the *bhyad*,' the portion of the frerage; and thus they go on clipping and paring till all are impoverished. The 'customs' of France§ preserved the dignities of families and the indivisibility of a feudal homage, without exposing the younger sons of a gentleman to beggary and dependence. It would be a great national benefit if some means could be found to limit this subdivision, but it is an evil difficult of remedy. The divisibility of the Kutch and Cattiar frerage, carried to the most destructive extent, is productive of litigation, crime, and misery. Where it has proper limits it is useful; but though the idea of each rood supporting its man is very poetical, it does not and cannot answer in practice. Its limit in Mewar we would not undertake to assert, but the vassals are careful not to let it become too small; they send the extra numbers to seek their fortunes abroad. In this custom, and the difficulty of finding *daijas*, or dowers, for their daughters, we have the two chief causes of infanticide amongst the Rajpoots, which horrible practice was not always confined to the female.

The author of the Middle Ages exemplifies ingeniously the advantages of sub-infeudation, by the instance of two persons holding one knight's fee; and as the lord was entitled to the service of one for forty days, he could commute it for the joint service of the two for twenty days each. He even erects as a maxim on it, that "whatever opposition was made to the rights of sub-infeudation or frerage, would indicate decay in the military character, the "living principle of feudal tenure,"|| which remark may be just where proper limitation exists, before it reaches that extent when the impoverished vassal would descend to mend his shoes instead of his shield. Primogeniture is the corner-stone of feudality, but this unrestricted sub-infeudation would soon destroy it.¶ It is strong in these states; its rights were first introduced by the Normans from Scandinavia. But more will appear on this subject and its technicalities, in the personal narrative of the author.

* By the revised statute "*Qui emptores*," of Edw. I., which forbids it in excess, under penalty of forfeiture.—Hallam, vol. i. p. 184.

† *Bhyad*, 'frerage.'

‡ Hallam, vol. i. p. 186.

§ Hallam, *ibid*.

|| Hallam, vol. i. p. 186.

¶ "*Le droit d'aînesse a cause, pendant l'existence du regime feodal, une multitude de guerres et de procès. Notre histoire nous presente, a chaque page, des cadets redits a la mendicite, se livrant a toutes sortes de brigandages pour reparer les torts de la fortune; des aînés, refusant la legitime a leurs freres; des cadets, assassinant leur aîné pour lui succeder, &c.*"—See article, '*Droit d'aînesse*,' Dict. de l'Ancien Regime.

CHAPTER IV.

Rekwalee—Servitude—Bussee—Gola and Das—Private Feuds and Composition—Rajpoot Pradhans or Premiers.

REKWALEE.—I now proceed to another point of striking resemblance between the systems of the east and west, arising from the same causes—the unsettled state of society and the deficiency of paramount protection. It is here called *rekwalee*,* or ‘preservation; the *salvamenta* of Europe.† To a certain degree it always existed in these states; but the interminable predatory warfare of the last half century increased it to so frightful an extent, that superior authority was required to redeem the abuses it had occasioned. It originated in the necessity of protection; and the modes of obtaining it, as well as the compensation when obtained, were various. It often consisted of money or kind on the reaping of each harvest; sometimes in a multiplicity of petty privileges and advantages, but the chief object was to obtain *bhoom*: and here we have one solution of the constituted *bhoomia*,‡ assimilating, as observed, to the allodial proprietor. *Bhoom* thus obtained is irrevocable: and in the eager anxiety for its acquisition, we have another decided proof of every other kind of tenure being deemed resumable by the crown.

It was not unfrequent that application for protection was made to the nearest chief by the tenants of the fisc; a course eventually sanctioned by the government, which could not refuse assent where it could not protect. Here then, we revert to first principles; and ‘seigniorial rights’ may be forfeited when they ceased to yield that which ought to have originated them, *vis. benefit* to the community. Personal service at stated periods, to aid in the agricultural§ economy of the protector, was sometimes stipulated, when the husbandmen were to find implements and cattle,|| and to attend whenever ordered. The protected calls the chief ‘patron;’ and the condition may not unaptly be compared to that of personal commendation,¶ like *salvamenta*, founded on the disturbed state of society. But what originated thus, was often continued and multiplied by avarice and the spirit of rapine, which disgraced the Rajpoot of the last half century, though he had abundance of apologies for ‘scouring the country.’ But all *salvamenta* and other marks of vassalage, obtained during these times of desolation, were annulled in the settlement which took place between the Rana and his chiefs, in A.D. 1818.**

* See Appendix, Nos. VII, VIII, and IX.

† This is the ‘sauvement ou vingtain’ of the French system; there it ceased with the cause. “Les guerres (feudal) cesseraient avec le regime feudal, et les paysans n’eurent plus besoin de la protection du Seigneur; on ne les forca pas moins de reparer son chateau, et de lui payer le droit qui se nommait de sauvement ou vingtain.” Art, ‘Chateau, Dict. de l’Anc. Regime.

‡ The chief might lose his *putta* lands, and he would then dwindle down into the *Bhoomia* proprietor, which title only lawless force could take from him. See Appendix, No. IX.

§ See Appendix, No. X. Art. 2d.

|| This species would come under the distinct term of *Hydages* due by *soccage* vassals, who in return for protection supplied carriages and works.—Hume, vol. ii. 308.

¶ Hallam, vol. i. p. 169.

** In indulging my curiosity on this subject, I collected some hundred engagements, and many of a most singular nature. We see the chieftains stipulating for fees on marriages; for a dish of the good fare at the wedding feast, which he transfers to a relation of his district if

But the crown itself, by some singular proceeding, possesses, or did possess, according to the *Putta Buhae* or Book of Grants, considerable *salvamenta* right, especially in the districts between the new and ancient capitals, in sums of from twenty to one hundred rupees in separate villages.

To such an extent has this *rekwaalee** been carried when protection was desired, that whole communities have ventured their liberty, and become, if not slaves, yet nearly approaching the condition of slaves, to the protector. But no common visitation ever leads to an evil of this magnitude. I mention the fact merely to shew that it does exist; and we may infer that the chief, who has become the arbiter of the lives and fortunes of his followers, must have obtained this power by devoting all to their protection. The term thus originated, and probably now (with many others) written for the first time in English letters in this sense, is *Bussee*.

BUSSEE.—Slavery is to be found in successive stages of society of Europe; but we have no parallel in Rajwarra (at least in name) to the agricultural serfs and *villains* of Europe; nor is there any intermediate term denoting a species of slavery between the *Gola*† of the Hindu chief's household and the free Rajpoot, but the singular one of *busee*, which must be explained; since it cannot be translated. This class approximates closely to the *tributarii* and *coloni*, perhaps to the *servi*, of the Salic Franks, "who were cultivators of the earth, and subject to residence upon their master's estate, though not destitute of property or civil rights."‡ Precisely the condition of the cultivator in Haravati, who now tills for a task-master the fields he formerly owned, degraded to the name of *hallee*§ a ploughman.

"When small proprietors," says Hallam, "lost their lands by mere rapine we may believe their liberty was hardly less endangered." The *hallee* of Haravati knows the bitter truth of his inference, which applies to the subject immediately before us, the *busee*. The portion of liberty the latter has parted with,

unable to attend himself; portions of fuel and provender; and even wherewithal to fill the wassail cup in his days of merriment. The Rajpoot's religious notions are not of so strict a character as to prevent his even exacting his *rekwaalee* dues from the church lands, and the threat of slaughtering the sacred flock of our Indian Apollo has been resorted to, to compel payment when withheld. Nay, by the chiefs it was imposed on things locomotive: on caravans or *Tandas* of merchandise, wherever they halted for the day, *rekwaalee* was demanded. Each petty chief through whose district or patch of territory they travelled, made a demand, till commerce was dreadfully shackled; but it was the only way in which it could be secured. It was astonishing how commerce was carried on at all; yet did the cloths of Dacca and the shawls of Cashmere pass through all such restraints, and were never more in request. Where there is demand no danger will deter enterprise; and commerce flourished more when these predatory armies were rolling like waves over the land, than during the succeeding halcyon days of pacification.

* The method by which the country is brought under this tax is as follows:—"When the people are almost ruined by continual robberies and plunders, the leader of the band of thieves, or some friend of his, proposes that, for a sum of money annually paid, he will keep a number of men in arms to protect such a tract of ground, or as many parishes as submit to the contribution. When the terms are agreed upon he ceases to steal and thereby the contributors are safe; if any one refuse to pay, he is immediately plundered. To colour all this villainy, those concerned in the robberies pay the tax with the rest; and all the neighbourhood must comply or be undone. This is the case (among others) with the whole low country of the shire of Ross."—Extract from Lord Lovat's Memorial to George I. on the State of the Highlands of Scotland, in A. D. 1724.

† In Persian *Golam*, literally 'slave,' evidently a word of the same origin with the Hindu *gola*.

‡ Hallam, vol. i. p. 217.

§ From *hal* 'a plough.' *Sylis* 'a plough' in Saxon. (Turner's Anglo-Saxons.) The *A* and *s* are permutable throughout Rajwarra. In Marwar, *Salim Sing* is pronounced *Helim Sing*.

was not originally lost through compulsion on the part of the protector, but from external violence, which made this desperate remedy necessary. Very different from the *halles* of Kotah, who is servile though without the title—a serf in condition but without the patrimony; compelled to labour for subsistence on the land he once owned; chained to it by the double tie of debt and strict police; and if flight were practicable, the impossibility of bettering his condition from the anarchy around would render it unavailing. This is not the practice under the patriarchal native government, which, with all its faults retains the old links of society, with its redeeming sympathies; but springs from *maire du palais*, who pursued an unfeeling and mistaken policy towards this class of society till of late years. Mistaken ambition was the origin of the evil; he saw his error, and remedied it in time to prevent further mischief to the estate. This octogenarian ruler, Zalim Sing of Kotah, is too much of a philosopher and politician to let passion overcome his interests and reputation; and we owe to the greatest despot a state ever had, the only regular charter which at present exists in Rajasthan, investing a corporate body with the election of their own magistrates and the making of their own laws, subject only to confirmation; with all the privileges which marked in the outset the foundation of the free cities of Europe and that of boroughs in England.

It is true that, in detached documents, we see the spirit of these institutions existing in Mewar, and it is as much a matter of speculation, whether this wise ruler promulgated this novelty as a trap for good opinions, or from policy and foresight alone: aware, when all around him was improving, from the shackles of restraint being cast aside, that his retention of them must be hurtful to himself. Liberality in this exigence answered the previous purpose of extortion. His system, even then, was good by comparison: all around was rapine, save in the little oasis kept verdant by his skill, where he permitted no other oppression than his own.

This charter is appended* as a curiosity in legislation, being given thirty years ago. Another, for the agriculturalists' protection, was set up in A. D. 1821. No human being prompted either; though the latter is modelled from the proceedings in Mewar, and may have been intended, as before observed, to entrap applause.

In every district of Haravati the stone was raised to record this ordinance.

GOLA—DAS—(*Slaves*).—Famine in these regions is the great cause of loss of liberty: thousands were sold in the last great famine. The predatory system of the Pindaries and mountain tribes aided to keep it up. Here, as amongst the Franks, freedom is derived through the mother. The offspring of a *golee*† or *dasi* must be a slave. Hence the great number of *golas* in Rajpoot families, whose illegitimate offspring are still adorned in Mewar, as our Saxon slaves were of old, with a silver ring round the left ankle, instead of the neck. They are well treated, and are often amongst the best of the military retainers;‡ but are generally esteemed in proportion to the quality of the mother, whether Rajpootnee, Moslem, or of the degraded tribes; they hold confidential places about the chiefs of whose blood they are. The great grand-father of the late chief of Deogurh, used to appear at court with three

* See Appendix, No. XI.

† Female slave.

‡ See Appendix, No. XIX.

hundred *golas** on horseback in his train, the sons of Rajpoots, each with a gold ring round his ankle; men whose lives were his own. This chief could then head two thousand retainers, his own vassals.†

Tacitus describes the baneful effects of gambling amongst the German tribes, as involving personal liberty: their becoming slaves, and being subsequently sold by the winner. The Rajpoot's passion for gaming, as remarked in the history of the tribes, is strong; and we can revert to periods long anterior to Tacitus, and perhaps before the woods of Germany were peopled with the worshippers of Tuisto, for the antiquity of this vice amongst the Rajpoot warriors, presenting a highly interesting picture of its pernicious effects. Yudhisthira having staked and lost the throne of India to Duryodhana, to recover it hazarded the beautiful and virtuous Droupadi. By the loaded dice of his foe she became the *golee* of the Coorua, who, triumphing in his pride, would have unveiled her in public; but the deity presiding over female modesty preserved her from the rude gaze of the assembled host; the miraculous scarf lengthened as he withdrew it, till tired, he desisted at the instance of superior interposition. Yudhisthira, not satisfied with this, staked twelve years of his personal liberty, and became an exile from the haunts of Kalindi, a wanderer in the wilds skirting the distant ocean.

The illegitimate sons of the Rana are called *das*, literally 'slave:' they have no rank, though they are liberally provided for. *Bussee* signifies 'acquired slavery;' in contradistinction to *gola*, 'an hereditary slave.' The *gola* can only marry a *golee*: the lowest Rajpoot would refuse his daughter to a son of the Rana of this kind. The *bussee* can redeem† his liberty: the *gola* has no wish to do so, because he could not improve his condition nor overcome his natural defects. To the *bussee* nothing dishonourable attaches: the class retain their employments and caste, and are confined to no occupation, but it must be exercised with the chief's sanction. Individuals reclaimed from captivity, in gratitude have given up their liberty: communities, when this or greater evils threatened, have done the same for protection of their lives, religion, and honour. Instances exist of the population of towns being in this situation. The greater part of the inhabitants of the estate of Bijolli are the *bussee* of its chief, who is of the Pramara tribe: they are his subjects; the Rana, the paramount lord, has no sort of authority over them. Twelve generations have elapsed since his ancestor conducted this little colony into Mewar, and received the highest honours and a large estate on the plateau of its border, in a most interesting country.§

* The reader of Dow's translation of Ferishta may recollect that when Kootub Udin was left the viceroy of the conqueror, he is made to say, "he placed one *Gola* upon the throne of Ajmeer;" mistaking this appellation of the natural brother of the last Hindu sovereign for a proper name. He is mentioned by the bard Chund in his exploits of Prithwiraja.

† I have often received the most confidential messages, from chiefs of the highest rank, through these channels.

‡ The *das* or 'slave' hold a fief in Rajasthan, but he never can rise above the condition in which this defect of birth has placed him. "L'affranchissement consistait à sortir de la classe des serfs, par l'acquisition d'un fief, ou seulement d'un fonds. La necessite ou s'étaient trouves les seigneurs feudaux de vendre une partie de leurs terres, pour faire leurs équipages des croisades, avait rendu ces acquisitions communes; mais le fief n'anoblissait qu'à la troisième generation." Serfs who had twice or thrice been champions, or saved the lives of their masters, were also liberated. "Un eveque d'Auxerre declara qu'il n'affranchirait gratuitement, qui que ce soit, s'il n'avait recu quinze blessures a son service."—See article "Affranchissement," Dict. de l'ancien Regime.

§ I could but indistinctly learn whether this migration, and the species of paternity here existing, arose from rescuing them from Tatar invaders or from the calamity of famine.

The only badge denoting the bussee is a small tuft of hair on the crown of the head. The term interpreted has nothing harsh in it, meaning 'occupant, dweller, or settler.' The numerous towns in India called *Bussee* have this origin: chiefs abandoning their ancient haunts, and settling* with all their retainers and chattels in new abodes. From this, the town of Bussee near Tonk (Rampura), derived its name, when the Solanki prince was compelled to abandon his patrimonial lands in Guzerat: his subjects of all classes accompanying him voluntarily, in preference to submitting to foreign rule. Probably the foundation of Bijolli was similar; though only the name of Bussee now attaches to the inhabitants. It is not uncommon, in the overflowing of gratitude, to be told, "you may sell me, I am your bussee."†

PRIVATE FEUDS,—COMPOSITION.—In a state of society such as these sketches delineate, where all depends on the personal character of the sovereign, the field for the indulgence of the passions, and especially of that most incident to the uncontrollable habits of such races—revenge—must necessarily be great. Private feuds have tended, with the general distraction of the times, to desolate this country. Some account of their mode of prosecution, and the incidents thence arising, cannot fail to throw additional light on the manners of society, which during the last half century were fast receding to a worse than semi-barbarous condition, and, aided by other powerful causes, might have ended in entire annihilation. The period was rapidly advancing, when this fair region of Mewar, the garden of Rajasthan, would have reverted to its primitive sterility. The tiger and the wild boar had already become inmates of the capital, and the bats flitted undisturbed in the palaces of her princes. The ante-courts, where the chieftains and their followers assembled to grace their prince's cavalcade, were overgrown with dank shrubs and grass, through which a mere footpath conducted the 'descendant of a hundred kings to the ruins of his capital.

In these principalities the influence of revenge is universal. Not to prosecute a feud is tantamount to an acknowledgment of self-degradation; and, as in all countries where the laws are insufficient to control individual actions or redress injuries, they have few scruples as to the mode of its gratification. Hence feuds are entailed with the estates from generation to generation. To sheathe the sword till 'a feud is balanced' (their own idiomatic expression), would be a blot never to be effaced from the escutcheon.

In the Hindu word which designates a feud we have another of those striking coincidences in terms to which allusion has already been made: *wer* is 'a feud,' *weere*, 'a foe.' The Saxon term for the composition of a feud, *wergeld*, is familiar to every man. In some of these states the initial vowel is hard, and pronounced *ber*. In Rajasthan *ber* is more common than *wer*, but throughout the south-west *wer* only is used. In these we have the original

* *Bussee*, 'to settle.'

† I had the happiness to be the means of releasing from captivity some young chieftains, who had been languishing in Mahratta fetters as hostages for the payment of a war contribution. One of them, a younger brother of the Poorawut division, had a mother dying to see him; but though he might have taken her house in the way, a strong feeling of honour and gratitude made him forego this anxious visit: "I am your Rajpoot, your gola, your bussee." He was soon sent off to his mother. Such little acts, mingling with public duty, are a compensation for the many drawbacks of solitude, gloom, and vexation, attending such situations. They are no sinecures or beds of roses—ease, comfort, and health, being all subordinate considerations.

Saxon word *war*,* the French *guer*. The Rajpoot *wergeldt* is land or a daughter to wife. In points of honour the Rajpoot is centuries in advance of our Saxon forefathers, who had a legislative remedy for every bodily injury, when each finger and toe had its price,† This might do very well when the injury was committed on a hind, but the Rajpoot must have blood for blood. The monarch must be powerful who can compel acceptance of the compensation, or *moond-kuttie*‡.

The prosecution of a feud is only to be stopped by a process which is next too impracticable; namely, by the party injured volunteering forgiveness, or the aggressor throwing himself as a suppliant unawares on the clemency of his foe within his own domains: a most trying situation for each to be placed in, yet not unexampled, and revenge in such a case would entail infamy. It was reserved for these degenerate days to produce such an instance.

The Raja of Shapura, one of the most powerful of the chiefs of Mewar, and of the Rana's blood, had a feud with the Ranawut chief, the Bhoomia proprietor of Amargurh. Omeda § the chief of Shapura, held two estates: one was the grant of the kings of Delhi, the other of his own sovereign, and each amounting to £10,000|| of annual rent, besides the duties on commerce. His estate in Mewar was in the district of Mandalgurh, where also lay his antagonist's, their bounds were in common and some of the lands were intermixed: this led to disputes, threats, and blows, even in the towns of their fathers between their husbandmen. The Bhoomia Dellil was much powerful; he was lord of only ten villages, not yielding above £1,200 a year; but they were compact and well managed, and he was popular amongst his brethren, whose swords he could always command. His castle was perched on a rock, and on the towers facing the west (the direction of Shapura) were mounted some swivels: moreover a belt of forest surrounded it, through which only two or three roads were cut, so that surprise was impossible. Dellil had therefore little to fear, though his antagonist could bring two thousand of his own followers against him. The feud burned and cooled alternately; but the Raja's exposed villages enabled Dellil to revenge himself with much inferior means. He carried off the cattle, and sometimes the opulent subjects, of his foe, to his donjon-keep in Amargurh for ransom. Meanwhile the husbandmen of both suffered, and agriculture was neglected, till half the villages held by Omeda in Mandalgurh became deserted. The Raja had merited this

* Gilbert on Tenures, art. 'Warranty,' p. 169.

† "The great toe took rank as it should be, and held to double the sum of the others, for "which ten scyllings was the value without the nail, which was thirty scellings to boot."—Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 133.

‡ Appendix, No. XVIII. The laws of composition were carried to a much greater extent amongst the Hindu nations than even amongst those of the Anglo-Saxons, who might have found in Manu all that was ever written on the subject, from the killing of a Brahmin by design to the accidental murder of a dog. The Brahmin is four times the value of the soldier, eight of the merchant, and sixteen times of the Sudra. "If a Brahmin kill one of the soldier "caste (without malice), a bull and one thousand cows is the fine of expiation. If he slays a "merchant, a bull and one hundred cows is the fine. If a Sudra or lowest class, ten white "cows and a bull to the priest is the expiation." Manu legislated also for the protection of the brute creation, and if the priest by chance kills a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he must drink nothing but milk for three days and nights, or walk four miles in the night.—Vide Institutes of Manu, edited by that able orientalist, Professor Haughton.

§ Omeda, 'hope.'

|| Together £20,000, equal to £100,000 of England, if the respective value of the necessities of life be considered.

by his arrogance and attempts to humble Dellil, who had deserved more of the sympathies of his neighbours than his rival, whose tenants were tired of the payments of *birchee-dohae*.*

Omeda was eccentric, if the term be not too weak to characterize acts which, in more civilized regions, would have subjected him to coercion. He has taken his son and suspended him by the cincture to the pinnacle of his little chapel at Shapura, and then called on the mother to come and witness the sight. He would make excursions alone on horseback or on a swift camel, and be missing for days. In one of these moods he and his foe Dellil encountered face to face within the bounds of Amargurh. Dellil only saw a chief high in rank at his mercy. With courtesy he saluted him, invited him to his castle, entertained him, and pledged his health and forgiveness in the *munwar piala*.† they made merry, and in the cup agreed to extinguish the remembrance of the feud.

Both had been summoned to the court of the sovereign. The Raja proposed that they should go together, and invited him to go by Shapura. Dellil accordingly saddled his twenty steeds, moved out his equipage, and providing himself with fitting raiment, and funds to maintain him at the capital, accompanied the Raja to receive the return of his hospitality. They ate from the same platter,‡ drank of the same cup and enjoyed the song and dance. They even went together to their devotions, to swear before their deity what they had pledged in the cup—oblivion of the past. But scarcely had they crossed the threshold of the chapel, when the head of the chief of Amargurh was rolling on the pavement, and the deity and the altar were sprinkled with his blood! To this atrocious and unheard-of breach of the laws of hospitality, the Raja added the baseness of the pilferer, seizing on the effects of his now lifeless foe. He is said, also, with all the barbarity and malignity of long-treasured revenge, to have kicked the head with his foot, apostrophizing it in the pitiful language of resentment. The son of Dellil, armed for revenge, collected all his adherents, and confusion was again commencing its reign. To prevent this, the Raja compelled restitution of the horses and effects; and and five villages from the estate of the Raja were the *moondkuttie* (wer-geldt) or compensation to the son of Dellil. The rest of the estate of the murderer was eventually sequestered by the crown.

The feuds of Arjah and Seogurh are elsewhere detailed, and such statements could be multiplied. Avowal of error and demand of forgiveness, with the offer of a daughter in marriage, often stop the progress of a feud, and might answer better than appearing as a suppliant, which requires great delicacy of contrivance.§

* *Birchee* is 'a lance.' In these marauding days, when there was a riever in every village, they sallied out to 'run the country,' either to stop the passenger on the high-way or the inhabitant of the city. The lance at his breast, he would call out '*dohae*,' an invocation of aid. During harvest time *birchee dohae* used to be exacted.

† 'Cup of invitation.'

‡ This is a favourite expression, and mode of indicating great friendship: "to eat of the same platter (*thali*), and drink of the same cup (*piala*)."

§ The Boondi feud with the Rana is still unappeased, since the predecessor of the former slew the Rana's father. It was an indefensible act, and the Boondi prince was most desirous to terminate it. He had no daughter to offer, and hinted a desire to accompany me *inco*, and thus gain admission to the presence of the Rana. The benevolence and generosity of this prince would have insured him success; but it was a delicate matter, and I feared some exposure from any arrogant hot-headed Rajpoot ere the scene could have been got up. The Raja Bishen Sing of Boondi is since dead; a brave and frank Rajpoot; he has left few worthier be.

Border* disputes are most prolific in the production of feuds, and the Rajpoot lord-marchers have them entailed on them as regularly as their estates.

The Border chiefs of Jessulmeer and Bikaner carry this to such extent, that it often involves both states in hostilities. The *wer* and its composition in Mandalgurb will, however, suffice for the present to exemplify these things.

RAJPOOT PRADHANS or PREMIERS.—It would not be difficult, amongst the *Majores Domus Regiæ* of these principalities, to find parallels to the *Maires du Palais* of France. Imbecility in the chief, whether in the east or west, must have the same consequences: and more than one state in India will present us with the joint appearance of the phantom and the substance of royalty. The details of personal attendance at court will be found elsewhere. When not absent on frontier duties, or by permission at their estates, the chiefs resided with their families at the capital; but a succession of attendants was always secured, to keep up its splendour and perform personal service at the palace. In Mewar, the privileges and exemptions of the higher class are such, as to exhibit few of the marks of vassalage observable of other courts. Here it is only on occasion of particular festivals and solemnities that they ever join the prince's cavalcade, or attend at court. If full attendance is required, on the reception of ambassadors, or in discussing matters of general policy, when they have a right to hear and advise as the hereditary council (*punchaet*) of the state, they are summoned by an officer, with the prince's *johar*,† and his request. On grand festivals the great *nagarras*, or kettle-drums, beat at three stated times: the third is the signal for the chief to quit his abode and mount his steed. Amidst all these privileges, when it were almost difficult to distinguish between the prince and his great chiefs, there are occasions well understood by both, which render the superiority of the former apparent; one occurs in the formalities observed on a lapse; another, when at court in personal service, the chief once a week mounts guard at the palace with his clan. On these occasions the vast distance between them is seen. When the chief arrives in the grand court of the palace with his retainers, he halts under the balcony till intimation is given to the prince, who from thence receives his obeisance and duty. This over, he retires to the great *durrikhana*, or hall of audience, appropriated for these ceremonies, where carpets are spread for him and his retainers. At meals the prince sends his compliments, requesting the chief's attendance at the *rasorah*‡ or 'feasting hall,' where with other favoured chiefs he partakes of dinner with the prince. He sleeps in the hall of audience, and next morning with the same formalities takes his leave. Again, in the summons to the presence from their estates, instant obedience is requisite. But in this, attention to their rank is studiously shewn by *roqqua*, written by the private secretary, with the sign-manual of the prince attached, and sealed with the private finger-ring. For the inferior grades, the usual seal of state entrusted to the minister is used.

kind. His son, yet a minor, promises well. The protective alliance, which is to turn their swords into ploughshares will prevent their becoming foes: but they will remain sulky border-neighbours, to the fostering of disputes and the disquiet of the merchant and cultivator.

* Seem—Kankur.

† A salutation, only sent by a superior to an inferior.

‡ The kitchen is large enough for a fortress, and contains large eating halls. Food for seven hundred of the prince's court is daily dressed. This is not for any of the personal servants of the prince, or female establishments; all these are separate.

But these are general duties. In all these states some great court favourite, from his talents, character, or intrigue, holds the office of premier. His duties are proportioned to his wishes, or the extent of his talents and ambition; but he does not interfere with the civil administration, which has its proper minister. They, however, act together. The Rajpoot Premier is the military minister, with the political government of the fiefs; the civil minister is never of this caste. Local customs have given various appellations to this officer. At Oodipur he is called *bhanjgurh*; at Jodhpur, *pradhan*; at Jeypur (where they have engrafted the term used at the court of Delhi) *moosahib*; at Kotah, *kellador*, and *dewan* or regent. He becomes a most important personage, as dispenser of the favours of the sovereign. Through him chiefly all requests are preferred, this being the surest channel to success. His influence, necessarily, gives him unbounded authority over the military classes, with unlimited power over the inferior officers of the state. With a powerful body of retainers always at his command, it is surprising we have not more frequently our 'mayors of Burgundy and Dagoberts,'* our 'Martels and Pepins,' in Rajasthan.

We have our hereditary Rajpoot premiers in several of these states: but in all, the laws of succession are so regulated, that they could not usurp the throne of their prince, though they might his functions.

When the treaty was formed between Mewar and the British Government, the ambassadors wished to introduce an article of guarantee of the office of *pradhan* to the family of the chief noble of the country the Rawut of Saloombra. The fact was, as stated, that the dignity was hereditary in this family: but though the acquisition was the result of an act of virtue, it had tended much towards the ruin of the country, and to the same cause are to be traced all its rebellions.

The ambassador was one of the elders of the same clan, being the grand uncle of the hereditary *pradhan*. He had taken a most active share in the political events of the last thirty years, and had often controlled the councils of his prince during this period, and actually held the post of premier himself when stipulating for his minor relative. With the ascendancy he exercised over the prince, it may be inferred that he had no intention of renouncing it during his life-time; and as he was educating his adopted heir to all his notions of authority, and initiating him in the intrigues of office, the guaranteed dignity in the head of his family would have become a nonentity,† and the Ranas would have been governed by the deputies of their mayors. From both those evils the times have relieved the prince. The crimes of Ajeet had made his dismissal from office a point of justice, but imbecility and folly will never be without 'mayors.'

* Dagobert commended his wife and son Clovis to the trust of Aëga, with whom she jointly held the care of the palace. On his death, with the aid of more powerful lords, she chose another mayor. He confirmed their grants for life. They made his situation hereditary; but which could only have good from the crowd of imbeciles who succeeded Clovis, until the descendant of this mayor thrust out his children and seized the crown. This change is a natural consequence of unfitness; and if we go back to the genealogies (called sacred) of the Hindus, we see there a succession of dynasties forced from their thrones by their ministers. Seven examples are given in the various dynasties of the race of Chandra. (See *Genealogical Tables*, No. II.)

† So many sudden deaths had occurred in this family, that the branch in question (Ajeet Sing's) were strongly suspected of 'heaping these mortal murders on their crowns,' to push their elders from their seats. The father of Padma, the present chief, is said to have been taken off by poison; and Pahar Sing, one generation anterior, returning grievously wounded

When a Rana of Oodipur leaves the capital, the Saloombra chief is invested with the Government of the city and charge of the palace during his absence. By his hands the sovereign is girt with the sword, and from him he receives the mark of inauguration on his accession to the throne. He leads, by right, the van in battle; and in case of the siege of the capital, his post is the *sooraj-pol*,* and the fortress which crowns it, in which this family had a handsome palace, which is now going fast to decay.

It was the predecessor of the present chief of Saloombra who set up a pretender and the standard of rebellion; but when foreign aid was brought in, he returned to his allegiance and the defence of the capital. Similar sentiments have often been awakened in patriotic breasts, when roused by the interference of foreigners in their internal disputes. The evil entailed on the state by these hereditary offices will appear in its annals.

In Mewar the dignity is hereditary in the house of Ahwa; but the last brave chief who held it became the victim of a revengeful and capricious sovereign,† who was jealous of his exploits; and dying, he bequeathed a curse to his posterity who should again accept the office. It was accordingly transferred to the next in dignity, the house of Ausope. The present chief, wisely distrusting the prince whose reign has been a series of turmoils, has kept aloof from court. When the office was jointly held by the chiefs of Nimaj and Pokurna, the tragic end of the former afforded a fine specimen of the prowess and heroism of the Rahtore Rajpoot. In truth, these *pradhans* of Marwar have always been mill-stones round the necks of their princes; an evil interwoven in their system when the partition of estates took place amidst the sons of Joda in the infancy of this state. It was, no doubt, then deemed politic to unite to the interests of the crown so powerful a branch, which when combined could always control the rest; but this gave to much equality.

Deo Sing, the great-grandfather of the Pokurna chief alluded to, used to sleep in the great hall of the palace with five hundred of his clan around him. "The throne of Marwar is in the sheath of my dagger," was the repeated boast of this arrogant chieftain. It may be anticipated that either he or his sovereign would die a violent death. The lord of Pokurna was entrapped, and instant death commanded; yet with the sword suspended over his head, his undaunted spirit was the same as when seated in the hall, and surrounded by his vassals. "Where, traitor, is now the sheath that holds the fortunes of Marwar?," said the prince. The taunt recoiled with bitterness when he loftily replied, "with my son at Pokurna I have left it." No time was given for further insult; his head rolled at the steps of the palace; but the dagger of Pokurna still haunts the imagination of these princes, and many attempts have been made to get possessed of their strong-hold on the edge of the

from the battle of Oojein, in which the southrons first swept Mewar, was not permitted to recover. The mother of the present young chief of the Thala tribe of the house of Gogoonda, in the west, was afraid to trust him from her sight. She is a woman of great strength of mind and excellent character, but too indulgent to an only son. He is a fine bold youth, and, though impatient of control, may be managed. On horseback with his lance, in chase of the wild boar, a more resolute cavalier could not be seen. His mother, when he left the estate alone for court, which he seldom did without her accompanying him, never failed to send me a long letter, beseeching me to guard the welfare of her son. My house was his great resort: he delighted to pull over my books, or go fishing or riding with me.

* *Surya*, 'sun'; and *pol*, 'gate.' *Polwa*, a porter.

† "The cur can bite," the reply of this chief, either personally, or to the person who reported that his sovereign so designated him, was never forgiven.

desert.* The narrow escape of the present chief will be related hereafter, with the sacrifice of his friend and co-adjutor, the chief of Nimaj.

In Kotah and Jessulmeer the power of the ministers is supreme. We might describe their situation in the words of Mont squieu. "The Pepins kept their princes in a state of imprisonment in the palace, shewing them once a year to the people. On this occasion they made such ordinances as were directed by the mayor; they also answered ambassadors, but the mayor framed the answer."†

Like those of the Merovingian race, these puppets of royalty in the east are brought forth to the *Camp de Mars* once a year, at the grand military festival, the *Dussewa*. On this day, presents provided by the minister are distributed by the prince. Allowances for every branch of expenditure are fixed, nor has the prince the power to exceed them. But at Kotah there is nothing parsimonious, though nothing superfluous. On the festival of the birth of Crishna, and other similar feasts, the prince likewise appears abroad, attended by all the insignia of royalty. Elephants with standards precede; lines of infantry and guns are drawn up; while a numerous cavalcade surrounds his person. The son of the minister sometimes condescends to accompany his prince on horseback; nor is there anything wanting to magnificence but the power to control or alter any part of it. This failing, how humiliating to a proud mind, acquainted with the history of his ancestors and imbued with a portion of their spirit, to be thus muzzled, enchained, and rendered a mere pageant of state! This chain would have been snapped, but that each link has become adamant from the ties this ruler has formed with the British Government. He has well merited our protection; though we never contemplated to what extent the maintenance of these ties would involve our own character. But this subject is connected with the history of an individual who yields to none of the many extraordinary men whom India has produced, and who required but a larger theatre to have drawn the attention of the world. His character will be further elucidated in the *Annals of Haravati*.

* His son, Snbbul Sing, followed in his footsteps, till an accidental cannon-shot relieved the terrors of the prince.

† *L'Esprit des Loix*, chap. vi. liv. 31.

CHAPTER V.

Adoption.—Reflections upon the subjects treated.

ADOPTION.—The hereditary principle, which perpetuates in these estates their virtues and their vices, is also the grand preservative of their political existence and national manners: it is an imperishable principle, which resists time and innovation: it is this which made the laws of the Medes and Persians, as well as those of the Rajpoots, unalterable. A chief of Mewar, like his sovereign, never dies: he disappears to be regenerated. "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*" is a phrase, the precise virtue of which is there well understood. Neither the crown nor the greater fiefs are ever without heirs. Adoption is the preservative of honours and titles; the great fiefs of Rajasthan can never become extinct. But, however valuable this privilege, which the law of custom has made a right, it is often carried to the most hurtful and foolish extent. They have allowed the limit which defined it to be effaced, and each family, of course, maintains a custom, so soothing to vanity, as the prospect of having their names revived in their descendants. This has resulted from the weakness of the prince and the misery of the times. Lands were bestowed liberally which yielded nothing to their master, who, in securing a nominal obedience and servitude, had as much as the times made them worth when given; but with returning prosperity and old customs, these great errors have become too visible. Adoptions are often made during the life of the incumbent when without prospect of issue. The chief and his wife first agitate the subject in private; it is then confided to the little council of the fief, and when propinquity and merit unite, they at once petition the prince to confirm their wishes, which are generally acceded to. So many interests are to be consulted on this occasion, that the blind partiality of the chief to any particular object is always counterpoised by the elders of the clan, who must have a pride in seeing a proper Thacoor* at their head, and who prefer the nearest of kin, to prevent the disputes which would be attendant on neglect in this point.

On sudden lapses, the wife is allowed the privilege, in conjunction with those interested in the fief, of nomination, though the case is seldom left unprovided for; there is always a presumptive heir to the smallest sub-feudation of these estates. The wife of the deceased is the guardian of the minority of the adopted.

The chief of Deogurh, one of the sixteen Omras of Mewar, died without issue. On his death-bed he recommended to his wife and chiefs Nahar Sing for their adoption. This was the son of the independent chieftain of Singramgurh, already mentioned. There were nearer kin, some of the seventh and eighth degrees, and young Nahar was the eleventh. It was never contemplated that the three last gigantic† chieftains of Deogurh would die without issue, or the branches, now claimants from propinquity, would have been educated

* As in Deogurh.

† Gokul Das, the last chief, was one of the finest men I ever beheld in feature and person. He was about six feet perfectly erect, and a Hercules in bulk. His father at twenty was much larger, and must have been nearly seven feet high. It is surprising how few of the chiefs of this family died a natural death. It has produced some noble Rajpoots.

to suit the dignity; but being brought up remote from court, they had been compelled to seek employment where obtainable, or to live on the few acres to which their distant claim of birth restricted them. Two of these, who had but the latter resource to fly to, had become mere boors; and of two who had sought service abroad by arms, one was a cavalier in the retinue of the prince, and the other a hanger-on about court: both dissipated and unfitted, as the frerage asserted, "to be the chieftains of two thousand Rajpoots, the sons of one father."* Much interest and intrigue were carried on for one of these, and he was supported by the young prince and a faction. Some of the senior Puttawuts of Deogurh are men of the highest character, and often lamented the sombre qualities of their chief, which prevented the clan having that interest in the state to which its extent and rank entitled it. While these intrigues were in their infancy, they adopted a decided measure; they brought home young Nahar from his father's residence, and "bound round his head the turban of the deceased." In his name the death of the late chief was announced. It was added, that he hoped to see his friends after the stated days of 'matim' or mourning; and he performed all the duties of the son of Deogurh, and lighted the funeral pyre.

When these proceedings were reported, the Rana was highly and justly incensed. The late chief had been one of the rebels of 1848;† and though pardon had been granted, yet this revived all the collection of the past, and he felt inclined to extinguish the name of Sangawut.‡

In addition to the common sequestration, he sent and pccial one with commands to collect the produce of the harvest then reaping, charging the sub-vassals with the design of overturning his lawful authority. They replied very submissively, and artfully asserted that they had only given a son to Gokul Das, not an heir to Deogurh; that the sovereign alone could do this, and that they trusted to his nominating one who would be an efficient leader of so many Rajpoots in the service of the Rana. They urged the pretensions of young Nahar, at the same time leaving the decision to the sovereign. Their judicious reply was well supported by their ambassador at court, who was the bard of Deogurh, and had recently become, though *ex-officio*, physician to the prince.§ The point was finally adjusted, and Nahar was brought to court and invested with the sword by the hand of the sovereign, and he is now lord of Deogurh Madaria, one of the richest and most powerful fiefs|| of Mewar. Madaria was the ancient name of the estate; and Singramgurh, of which Nahar was the heir, was severed from it, but by some means had reverted to the crown, of which it now holds. The adoption of Nahar by Gokul Das leaves the paternal estate without an immediate heir; and his actual father being mad, if more distant claims are not admitted, it is probable that Singramgurh will eventually revert to the fisc.

* Ek bap ca beta.

† A. D. 1792.

‡ That of the clan of Deogurh.

§ Apollo is the patron both of physicians and poets; and though my friend Umra does not disgrace him in either calling, it was his wit, rather than his medical degree, that maintained him at court. He said it was not fitting that the sovereign of the world should be served by clowns or opium-eaters; and that young Nahar, when educated at court under the Rana's example, would do credit to the country; and what had full as much weight as any of the bard's arguments was, that the fire of relief on the *Tulwar bundai* (or girding on the sword) of a lack of rupees, should be immediately forthwith ming.

|| Putta.

REFLECTIONS.—The system of feuds must have attained considerable maturity amongst the Rajpoots, to have left such traces, notwithstanding the desolation that has swept the land: but without circumspection, these few remaining customs will become a dead letter. Unless we abstain from all internal interference, we must destroy the links which connect the prince and his vassals; and, in lieu of a system decidedly imperfect, we should leave them none at all, or at least not a system of feuds, the only one they can comprehend. Our friendship has rescued them from exterior foes, and time will restore the rest. With the dignity and establishments of the chiefs, ancient usages will revive; and *nuzzerana* (relief), *khurg bundai* (investiture) *dussoond* (aids or benevolence, literally 'the tenth'), and other incidents, will cease to be mere ceremonies. The desire of every liberal mind, as well as the professed wish of the British Government, is to aid in their renovation, and this will be best effected by not meddling with what we but imperfectly understand.*

We have nothing to apprehend from the Rajpoot States if raised to their ancient prosperity. The closest attention to their history proves beyond contradiction, that they were never capable of uniting, even for their own preservation: a breath, a scurrilous stanza of a bard, has severed their closest confederacies. No national head exists amongst them as amongst the Mahrattas; and each chief being master of his own house and followers, they are individually too weak to cause us any alarm.

No feudal government can be dangerous as a neighbour; for defence, it has in all countries been found defective; and for aggression, totally inefficient. Let there exist between us the most perfect understanding and identity of interests; the foundation-step to which is to lessen or remit the galling, and to us contemptible tribute, now exacted, enfranchise them from our espionage and agency, and either unlock them altogether from our dangerous embrace, or let the ties between us be such only as would ensure grand results: such as general commercial freedom and protection, with treaties of friendly alliance. Then, if a Tatar or a Russian invasion threatened our eastern empire, fifty thousand Rajpoots would be no despicable allies.

Let us call to mind what they did when they fought for Aurungzebe: they are still unchanged, if we give them the proper stimulus. Gratitude, honour, and fidelity, are terms which at one time were the foundation of all the virtues of a Rajpoot. Of the theory of these sentiments he is still enamoured; but, unfortunately for his happiness, the times have left him but little scope for the practice of them. Ask a Rajpoot which is the greatest of crimes? he will reply '*goonchor*' 'forgetfulness of favours.' This is his most powerful term for ingratitude. Gratitude with him embraces every obligation of life, and is inseparable from *swamdharna*, 'fidelity to his lord.' He who is wanting in these is not deemed fit to live, and is doomed to eternal pains in Pluto's† realm hereafter,‡

* Such interference, when inconsistent with past usage and the genius of the people, will defeat the very best intentions. On the grounds of policy and justice, it is alike incumbent on the British Government to secure the maintenance of their present form of government, and not to repair, but to advise the repairs of the fabric, and to let their own artists alone be consulted. To employ our's, would be like adding a Corinthian capital to a column of Ælora, or replacing the mutilated statue of Baldeva with a limb from the Hercules Farnese.

† To have a chain of prosperous independent states on our only exposed frontier, the north west, attached to us from benefits, and the moral conviction that we do not seek their overthrow, must be a desirable policy.

‡ Ya-alaca.

† The *goonchor* (ungrateful) and *satchor* (violiator of his faith) are consigned by the au-

"It was a powerful feeling," says an historian* who always identifies his own emotions with his subject, "which could make the bravest of men put up with slights and ill-treatment at the hand of their sovereign, or call forth all the energies of discontented exertion for one whom they never saw, and in whose character there was nothing to esteem. Loyalty has scarcely less tendency to refine and elevate the heart than patriotism itself." That these sentiments were combined, the past history of the Rajpoots will shew;† and to the strength of these ties do they owe their political existence, which has outlived ages of strife. But for these, they would have been converts and vassals to the Tatars, who would still have been enthroned in Delhi. Neglect, oppression, and religious interference, sunk one of the greatest monarchies of the world;‡ made Sevaji a hero, and converted the peaceful husbandman of the Kistna and Godavery into a brave but rapacious soldier.

We have abundant examples, and I trust need not exclaim with the wise minister of Akber, "who so happy as to profit by them?"§

The Rajpoot, with all his turbulence, possesses in an eminent degree both loyalty and patriotism; and though he occasionally exhibits his refractory spirit to his father and sovereign,|| we shall see of what he is capable when his country is threatened with dismemberment, from the history of Mewar and the reign of Ajeet Sing of Marwar. In this last we have one of the noblest examples history can afford of unbounded devotion. A prince, whom not a dozen of his subjects had ever seen, who had been concealed from the period of his birth throughout a tedious minority to avoid the snares of a tyrant,¶ by the mere magic of a name kept the discordant materials of a great feudal association, in subjection, till, able to bear arms, he issued from his concealment to head these devoted adherents, and reconquer what they had so long struggled to maintain. So glorious a contest, of twenty years' duration, requires but an historian to immortalize it. Unfortunately we have only the relation of isolated encounters, which, though exhibiting a prodigality of blood and acts of high devotion, are deficient in those minor details which give unity and interest to the whole.

thority of the bard, to sixty thousand years' residence in hell. Europeans, in all the pride of mastery, accuse the natives of want of gratitude, and say their language has no word for it. They can only know the *nemmul-k-haram* of the Ganges. *Goonchor* is a compound of powerful import, as ingratitude and infidelity are the highest crimes. It means, literally, "abandoner (from *chora*, 'to quit') of virtue (*goon*.)"

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 323.

† Of the effects of loyalty and patriotism combined, we have splendid examples in Hindu history and tradition. A more striking instance could scarcely be given than in the recent civil distractions at Kotah, where a mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, either openly or covertly declared against him, as did the whole feudal body to a man, the moment their young Prince asserted his subverted claims, and in the cause of their rightful lord abandoned all consideration of self, their families and lands, and with their followers offered their lives to redeem his rights or perish in the attempt. No empty boast, as the conclusion testified. God forbid that we should have more such examples of Rajpoot devotion to their sense of fidelity to their lord!

‡ See statement of its revenues during the last emperor, who had preserved the empire of Delhi united.

§ Abul Fazl uses this expression when moralizing on the fall of Shahabudin, king of Ghizni and first established monarch of India, slain by Prithwiraja, the Hindu sovereign of Delhi.

|| The Rajpoot, who possesses but an acre of land, has the proud feeling of common origin with his sovereign, and in styling him *bapjee* (sire), he thinks of him as the common father or representative of the race. What a powerful incentive to action.

¶ Aarungzebe.

Let us take the Rajpoot character from the royal historians themselves, from Akber, Jehangir, Aurungzebe. The most brilliant conquest of these monarchs were by their Rajpoot allies; though the little regard the latter had for opinion alienated the sympathies of a race, who, when rightly managed, encountered at command the Afghan amidst the snows of Caucasus, or made the furthest Chersonese tributary to the empire. Assam, where the British arms were recently engaged, and for the issue of which such anxiety was manifested in the metropolis of Britain, was conquered by a Rajpoot prince,* whose descendant is now an ally of the British Government.

But Englishmen in the east, as elsewhere, undervalue every thing not national. They have been accustomed to conquest, not reverses: though it is only by studying the character of those around them, that the latter can be avoided and this superiority maintained. Superficial observers imagine, that from lengthened predatory spoliation the energy of the Rajpoot has fled: an idea which is at once erroneous and dangerous. The vices now manifest from oppression will disappear with the cause, and with reviving prosperity new feelings will be generated, and each national tie and custom be strengthened. The Rajpoot would glory in putting on his saffron robe† to fight for such a land, and for those who disinterestedly laboured to benefit it.

Let us, then, apply history to its proper use. We need not turn to ancient Rome for illustration of the dangers inseparable from wide dominion and extensive alliances. The twenty-two Satrapies of India, the greater part of which are now the appanage of Britain, exhibited, even a century ago, one of the most splendid monarchies history has made known, too extensive for the genius of any single individual effectually to control. Yet was it held together, till encroachment on their rights, and disregard to their habits and religious opinions, alienated the Rajpoots, and excited the inhabitants of the south to rise against their Mogul oppressors. Then was the throne of Aurunzebe at the mercy of a Brahmin, and the grandson* of a cultivator in the province of Candeish held the descendants of Timoor pensioners on his bounty!

* Raja Mann of Jeypur, who took Aracan, Orissa, and Assam. Raja J-suwnt Sing of Marwar retook Caubul for Aurunzebe, and was rewarded by poison. Raja Ram Sing Hara, of Ko'ah, made several important conquests; and his grandson, Raja Esurree Sing, and his five brothers, were left on one field of battle.

† When a Rajpoot is determined to hold out to the last in fighting, he always puts on a robe dyed in saffron.

* Sindia.

APPENDIX.

PAPERS REFERRED TO IN THE SKETCH OF A FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN,

BEING

LITERAL TRANSLATIONS from INSCRIPTION and ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS,
most of which are in the AUTHOR'S POSSESSION

No. 1.

Translation of a Letter from the expatriated Chiefs of Marwar to the
Political Agent of the British Government,
Western Rajpoot States.*

After compliments.

We have sent to you a confidential person, who will relate what regards us. The Sirkar company are sovereigns of Hindusthan, and you know well all that regards our condition. Although there is nothing which respects either ourselves or our country hid from you, yet is there matter immediately concerning us which it is necessary to make known.

Sri Maharajah and ourselves are of one stock, all Rahtores. He is our head, we his servants: but now anger has seized him, and we are dispossessed of our country. Of the estates, our patrimony and our dwelling, some have been made khalisa,† and those who endeavour to keep aloof, expect the same fate. Some under the most solemn pledge of security have been inveigled and suffered death, and others imprisoned. Mootsuddies,‡ officers of state, men of the soil and those foreign to it, have been seized, and the most unheard of deeds and cruelties inflicted, which we cannot even write. Such a spirit has possessed his mind as never was known to any former prince of Jodhpur. His forefathers have reigned for generations; our forefathers were their ministers and advisers, and whatever was performed was by the collective wisdom of the council of our chiefs. Before the face of his ancestors, our own ancestors have slain and been slain; and in performing services to the kings,§ they made the state of Jodhpur what it is.

* The names omitted to prevent any of them falling a sacrifice to the blind fury of their prince. The brave chief of Nimaj has sold his life, but dearly. In vain do we look in the annals of Europe for such devotion and generous despair as marked his end, and that of his brave clan. He was a perfect gentleman in deportment, modest and mild, and head of a powerful clan.

† Fiscal, that is, sequestrated.

‡ Clerks, and inferior officers of government.

§ Alluding to the sovereigns of Delhi. In the magnificent feudal assemblage at this gorgeous court, where seventy-six princes stood in the Divan. (*Dewan Khwa*) each by a pillar covered with plates of silver, the Marwar prince had the right hand of all. I have an original letter from the great-grandfather of Raja Maun to the Rana, elate with this honour.

Whatever Marwar was concerned, there our fathers were to be found, and with their lives preserved the land. Sometimes our head was a minor; even then, by the wisdom of our fathers and their services, the land was kept firm under our feet, and thus has it descended from generation to generation. Before his eyes (Raja Maun's) we have performed good service: when at that perilous time the host of Jeypur* surrounded Jodhpur, on the field we attacked it; our lives and fortunes were at stake, and God granted us success: the witness is God Almighty. Now, men of no consideration are in our prince's presence; hence this reverse. *When our services are acceptable then he is our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land.*

He desires to dispossess us; but can we let ourselves be dispossessed? The English are masters of all India. The chief of sent his agent to Ajmeer; he was told to go to Delhi. Accordingly Thacoor went there, but no path was pointed out. If the English chiefs will not hear us, who will? The English allow no one's lands to be usurped, and our birth-place is, Marwar—from Marwar we must have bread. A hundred thousand Rahtores—where are they to go to? From respect to the English alone have we been so long patient, and without acquainting your government of our intentions, you might afterwards find fault; therefore we make it known, and we thereby acquit ourselves to you. What we brought with us from Marwar we have consumed, and even what we could get on credit; and now, when want must make us perish, we are ready and can do any thing.†

The English are our rulers, our masters. Sri Maun Sing has seized our lands: by your government interposing these troubles may be settled, but without its guarantee and intervention we can have no confidence whatever. Let us have a reply to our petition. We will wait it in patience; but if we get none, the fault will not be ours, having given every where notice. Hunger will compel man to find a remedy. For such a length of time we have been silent from respect to your government alone: our own Sirkar is deaf to complaint. But to what extreme shall we wait? Let our hopes be attended to. Sumbut 1878, Sawun sood dooj. (August 1821.)

True Translation :

(Signed) JAMES TOD

* In 1806.

† The historian of the Middle Ages justly remarks, that, "the most deadly hatred is that which men, exasperated by prescription and forfeitures, bear their country."

Remonstrance of the Sub-Vassals of Deogurh against their chief, Rawut Gokul Das.

1. He respects not the privileges or customs established of old.
2. To each Rajpoot's house a chursa* or hide of land was attached: this he has resumed.
3. Whoever bribes him is a true man: who does not, is a thief.
4. Ten or twelve villages established by his puttaets† he has resumed and left their families to starve.
5. From time immemorial sanctuary (*sirnah*) has been esteemed sacred: this he has abolished.
6. On emergencies he would pledge his oath to his subjects (*ryots*), and afterwards plunder them.
7. In old times, it was customary when the presence of his chiefs and kindred was required, to invite them by letter: a fine is now the warrant of summons; thus lessening their dignity.
8. Such messengers, in former times, had a tacka‡ for their ration (*bhatta*); now he imposes two rupees.
9. Formerly, when robberies occurred in the mountains within the limits of Deogurh, the loss was made good: now all complaint is useless, for his foudar§ receives a fourth of all such plunder. The Mers|| range at liberty; but before they never committed murder: now they slay as well as rob our kin; nor is there any redress, and such plunder is even sold within the town of Deogurh.
10. Without crime, he resumes the lands of his vassals for the sake of imposition of fines; and after such are paid, he cuts down the green crops, with which he feeds his horses.
11. The cultivators¶ on the lands of the vassals he seizes by force, extorts fines, or sells their cattle to pay them. Thus cultivation is ruined and the inhabitants leave the country.
12. From oppression the town magistrates** of Deogurh have fled to Raepur. He lays in wait to seize and extort money from them.
13. When he summons his vassals for purposes of extortion and they escape his clutches, he seizes on their wives and families. Females, from a sense of honour, have on such occasions thrown themselves into wells.
14. He interferes to recover old debts, distraining the debtor of all he has in the world; half he receives.
15. If any one have a good horse, by fair means or foul, he contrives to get it.

* Hide or skin, from the vassal used in irrigation being made of leather.

† The vassals, or those holding fiefs (*putta*) of Deogurh.

‡ A copper coin, equal to two-pence.

§ Military commander: a kind of inferior *maire du palais*, on every Rajpoot chieftain's estate, and who has the military command of the vassals. He is seldom of the same family, but generally of another tribe.

|| Mountaineers.

¶ Of the Jit and other labouring tribes.

** Chobutias, from *chobut*, 'civil jurisdiction.' In every town there is an unpaid magistracy, of which the head is the Nuggur Seth, or chief citizen, and the four Chotias, tantamount to the lord Mayor and Aldermen, who hold their courts and decide in all civil cases.

16. When Deogurh was established; at the same time were our allotments: as is his patrimony, so is our patrimony.* Thousands have been expended in establishing and improving them, yet our rank, privileges, and rights, he equally disregards.

17. From these villages, founded by our forefathers, he at will, takes four or five skins of land and bestows them on foreigners; and thus the ancient proprietors are reduced to poverty and ruin.

18. From of old, all his Rajpoot kin had daily rations, or portions of grain: for four years these rights have been abolished.

19. From ancient times the puttats formed his council: now he consults only foreigners. What has been the consequence? the whole annual revenue derived from the mountains is lost.

20. From the ancient Bhoom† of the Frerage‡ the mountaineers carry off the cattle, and instead of redeeming them, this foudjar sets the plunderers up to the trick of demanding rekwalet.§

21. Money is justice, and there is none other: whoever has money may be heard. The bankers and merchants have gone abroad for protection, but he asks not where they are.

22. When cattle are driven off to the hills, and we do ourselves justice and recover them, we are fined, and told that the mountaineers have his pledge. Thus our dignity is lessened. Or if we seize one of these marauders, a party is sent to liberate him, for which the foudjar receives a bribe. Then a feud ensues at the instigation of the liberated Mer, and the unsupported Rajpoot is obliged to abandon his patrimony.|| There is neither protection nor support. The chief is supine, and so regardless of honour, that he tells us to make money to the hills and redeem our property. Since this foudjar had power, 'poison has been our fate.' Foreigners are all in all, and the home-bred are set aside. Dekhanis and plunderers enjoy the lands of his brethern. Without fault, the chiefs are deprived of their lands, to bring which into order, time and money have been lavished. Justice there is none.

Our rights and privileges in his family are the same as his in the family of the Presence.¶ Since you** entered Mewar, lands long lost have been recovered. What crimes have we committed, that at this day we should lose ours?

We are in great trouble.††

* Here are the precise sentiments embodied in the remonstrances of the great feudal chiefs of Marwar to their prince; see Appendix, No. I.

† The old allodial allotments.

‡ Bhyad.

§ The *salvamenta* of our feudal writers; black-mail of the north.

|| 'Wutton.'

¶ The Rana.

** The Author.

†† With the articles of complaint of the vassals of Deogurh and the short extorted character, to avoid future cause for such, we may, contract the following:—"Pour avoir une idée du brigandage que les nobles exerçaient à l'époque où les premières chartes furent accordées, il suffit d'en lire quelques-unes, et l'on verra que le seigneur y disait:—'Je promets de ne point voler détourner les biens et les meubles des habitants, de les délivrer des totes ou rapines, et autres mauvaises coutumes, et de ne plus commettre envers eux d'exactions.'—En effet, dans ces temps malheureux, vivres, meubles, chevaux, voitures, dit le savant Abbé de Mable, tout était enlevé par l'insatiable et aveugle avidité des seigneurs." Art. 'Chartes,' Dict. de l'anc. Régime.

No. III.

Maharaja Sri Gokul Das to the four ranks (*char misal*) of Puttaets of Deogurh, commanding. Peruse.

Without crime no vassal shall have his estate or chursas disseized. Should any individual commit an offence, it shall be judged by the *four ranks* (*char misal*) my brethren, and then punished. Without consulting them on all occasions I shal never inflict punishment.* To this I swear by Sri Nathjee. No departure from this agreement shall ever occur. S. 1874; the 6th Paush.

No. IV.

Grant from Maharana Ur Sing, Prince of Mewar to the Sindie Chief Abdool Ruhim Beg.

Ramji †

Guesji ‡

Eklingji §

Sri Maharaja Dheraj Maharana Ur Sing to Mirza Abdool Ruhim Beg Adilbegote, commanding.

Now some of our chiefs having rebelled and set up the impostor Rutna Sing, brought the Dekhany army and erected batteries against Oodipur, in which circumstances your services have been great and tended to the preservation of our sovereignty: therefore, in favour towards you, I have made this grant, which your children and children's children shall continue to enjoy. You will continue to serve faithfully; and whoever of my race shall dispossess you or yours, on him be Eklingji and the sin of the slaughter of Chestore.

Particulars.

- 1st. In estates, 2,00,000 rupees.
- 2nd. In cash annually, 25,000.
- 3rd. Lands outside the Debarri gate, 10,000.
- 4th. As a residence, the dwelling-house called Bharat Sing's.
- 5th. A hundred beegas of land outside the city for a garden.
- 6th. The town of Mittoon in the valley, to supply wood and forage.
- 7th. To keep up the tomb of Ajmeri Beg, who fell in action, one hundred beegas of land.

Privileges and Honours.

- 8th. A seat in Durbar and rank in all respects equal to the chieftain of Sadree. ||
- 9th. Your kettle-drums (Nagarra) to beat to the exterior gate, but with one stick only.
- 10th. Umar Bulaona, † and a dress of honour on the Dusrewat festival.
- 11th. Drums to beat to Ahar. All other privileges and rank like the

* This reply to the remonstrance of his vassals is perfectly similar in point to the 43d article of *Magna Charta*.

† Invocations to Ram, Gunes (god of wisdom), and Ek-linga, the patron divinity of the Seoddia Gehlozes.

‡ The first of foreign vassals of the Rana's house.

§ A horse furnished by the prince, always replaced when he dies, therefore called Umar, or immortal.

|| The grand military festival, when a muster is made of all the Rajpoot quotas.

house of Saloombra.* Like that house, yours shall be from generation to generation; therefore according to the valuation of your grant you will serve.

12th. Your brothers or servants, whom you may dismiss, I shall not entertain or suffer my chiefs to entertain.

13th. The Chaours† and Kirnia‡ you may use at all times when alone, but never in the presence.

14th. Munowur Beg, Unwur Beg, Chumun Beg, are permitted seats in front of the throne; Umr Bulaona, and honorary dresses on Dusrewa, and seats for two or three other relatives who may be found worthy the honour.

15th. Your agent (*Vakeel*) shall remain at court with the privileges due to his rank.

By command:

SAH MOOTIE RAM BOLIA,

S. 1826 (A.D. 1770) Bhadoon (August) sood 11 Somwar (Monday).

No. V.

Grant of the Putta of Bhynsrore to Rawut Lal Sing, one of the sixteen great vassals of Mewar.

Maharaja Juggut Sing to Rawut Lal Sing Kesurisingote§ commanding. Now to you the whole Pergunna of Bhynsrore || is granted as *Gras*, viz.

Town of Bhynsrore.....	3,000	1,500
------------------------	-------	-------

Fifty-two others (names uninteresting),

besides one in the valley of the capital.	Total value...	62,000.	31,000¶
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With two hundred and forty-eight horse and two hundred and forty-eight foot, good horse and good Rajpoots, you will perform service. Of this, forty-eight horse and forty-eight foot are excused for the protection of your fort; therefore with two hundred foot and two hundred horse you will serve when and wherever ordered. The first grant was given in Pos, S. 1798, when the income inserted was over-rated. Understanding this, the presence (thuzoor) ordered sixty thousand of annual value to be attached to Bhynsrore.

* The first of home-chieftains.

† The tail of the wild ox, worn across the saddle-bow.

‡ An umbrella or shade against the sun; from *kirn*, 'a ray.'

§ Clan (gote) of Kesuri Sing, one of the great branches of the Chondawuta.

|| On the left bank of the Chumbul.

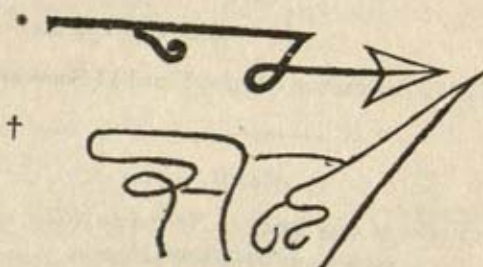
¶ To explain these double *rekhs*, or estimates, one is the full value, the other the deteriorated rate.

Grant from Maharana Singram Sing of Mewar to his Nephew, the Prince Madhu Sing, heir apparent to the principality of Jeypur.

SRI RAMJAYATI.
(Victory to Rama.)

SRI GANES PRASAD,
(By favour of Ganes).

SRI EKLINGA PRASAD,
(By favour of Eklinga).



Maharaja Dheraj Maharana Sri Singram Sing, Adesatoo, commanding. To my nephew, Komar Madhu Sing-ji, *gras* (a fief) has been granted, viz.

The fief (*putta*) of Rampura; therefore, with one thousand horse and two thousand foot, you will perform service during six months annually; and when foreign service is required, three thousand foot and three thousand horse.

While the power of the presence is maintained in these districts you will not be dispossessed.

By command :

PANCHOU LI RAECHUND and MEHTA MUL DAS.

S. 1785. (A. D. 1729); Chiet-sood 7th (); Mungulvar (Tuesday).

Addressed in the Rana's own hand.

To my nephew Madhu Sing-† My child, I have given you Rampura : while mine, you shall not be deprived of it. Done.

* The bhallā, or lance, is the sign-manual of the Saloombra chieftain, as hereditary premier of the state.

† Is a monogram forming the word *Suhaie*, being the sign-manual of the prince.

‡ *Bhanaij* is sister's son; as *Bhatija* is brother's son. It will be seen in the Annals, that to support this prince to the succession of the Jeypur Gadi, both Mewar and Indore were ruined, and the power of the Dekhanis established in both countries.

No. VII.

Grant of Bhoom Rekiwali (Salvamenta) from the villaga of Dongla to Maharaja Khooshial Sing. S. 1806 (A.D. 1750), the first of Sawan (July).

1st. A field of one hundred and fifty one beegas, of which thirty-six are irrigated.

2nd. One hundred and two beegas of waste and unirrigated, viz.

Six beegas cultivated by Govinda the oilman.

Three, under Heera and Tara the oilmen.

Seventeen cultivated by the mason Hunso, and Lal the oilman.

Four beegas of waste and forest land (*purte, aaryana*) which belonged to Govinda and Heera, &c. &c.: and so on, enumerating all the fields composing the above aggregate.

Dues and Privileges.

Pieces of money 12

Grain 24 maunds.

On the festivals of Rakhi, Dewalee, and Hooli, one copper coin from each house.

Seeranol at harvest.

Sookrie from the Brahmins.

Transit duties for protection of merchandize, viz. a pice on every cart-load, and half a pice for each bullock.

Two Platters on every marriage feast.

No. VIII.

Grant of Bhoom by the Inhabitants of Amlee to Rawut Futteh Sing of Amait.—S. 1814 (A. D. 1758).

The Ranawuts Sawunt Sing and Sobagh Sing had Amlee in grant; but they were oppressive to the inhabitants, slew the patels Joda and Bhaggi, and so ill-treated the Brahmins, that Koosul and Nathoo sacrificed themselves on the pyre. The inhabitants demanded the protection of the Rana, and the puttaets were changed; and now the inhabitants grant in rek walee one hundred and twenty-five beegas as bhoom to Futteh Sing.*

* This is a proof of the value attached to *bhoom*, when granted by the inhabitants, as the first act of the new proprietor though holding the whole town from the crown, was to obtain these few beegas as *bhoom*. After having been sixty years in that family, Amlee has been resumed by the crown: the *bhoom* has remained with the chief.

No. IX.

Grant of Bhoom by the Inhabitants of the Town of Dongla to Maharaja Zoorawur Sing, of Bheendir.

To Sri Maharaja Zoorawur Sing, the patels, traders, merchants, brahmins, and united inhabitants of Dongla, make agreement.

Formerly the "runners" in Dongla were numerous; to preserve us from when we granted bhoom to the Maharaja. To wit:

One well, that of Heera the oilman.

One well, that of Deepa the oilman.

One well, that of Dewa the oilman.

In all, three wells, being forty-four beegas of irrigated (*peewal*), and one hundred and ninety-one beegas of unirrigated (*mal*) land. Also a field for joar.

Customs or Dignities (Murjad) attached to the Bhoom.

1st. A dish (*khansa*) on every marriage.

2nd. Six hundred rupees ready cash annually.

3rd. All bhoomias, gralias, the high roads, passes from raids and "runners," and all disturbances whatsoever, the Maharaja must settle.

When the Maharaja is pleased to let the inhabitants of Dongla inhabit their dwellings, then only can they return to them.*

Written by the accountant Kutchia, on the full moon of Jeit, S. 1858, and signed by all the traders, brahmins, and townspeople.

No. X.

Grant of Bhoom by the Prince of Mewar to an inferior Vassal.

Maharana Bheem Sing to Baba Ram Sing, commanding.

Now a field of two hundred and twenty-five beegas in the city of Jehajpur, with the black orchard (*sham bagh*) and a farm-house (*nohara*) for cattle, has been granted you in bhoom.

Your forefathers recovered for me Jehajpur and served with fidelity; on which account this bhoom is renewed. Rest assured no molestation shall be offered, nor shall any puttat interfere with you.

Privileges.

One seeranolh.†

Two hulmohs.‡

Offerings of cocoanuts on the Holi and Dusrewa festivals.

* This shows how *bhoom* was extorted in these periods of turbulence, and that this individual gift was as much to save them from the effects of the Maharaja's violence as to gain protection from that of others.

† A seer on each maund of produce.

‡ The labour of two ploughs (*hul*). *Hulmoh* is the personal service of the husbandman with his plough for such time as is specified. *Hulmoh* is precisely the detested *corvée* of the French regime. "Les *corvées* sont tout ouvrage ou service, soit de corps ou de charrois et "bees, pendent le jour, qui est du a un seigneur. Il y avait deux sortes de *corvées*: les "reelles et les personnelles, &c. Quelquefois le nombre des *corvées* était fixe: mais, le plus "souvent, elles étaient a volente du seigneur, et c'est ce qu'on appelait *corvées a merai*."—Art. "Corvée," Dict. de l'anc. Regime. Almost all the exactions for the last century in Mewar may come under this latter denomination.

From every hundred bullock-loads* or merchandize, twelve annas.
 From every hundred and twenty-five ass-loads, six annas.
 From each horse sold within Jehajpur, two annas.
 From each camel sold, one anna.
 From each oil-mill, one puloh.
 From each iron mine (*Madri*), a quarter rupee.
 From each distillation of spirits, a quarter rupee.
 From each goat slain, one pice.
 On births and marriages,† five platters (*khansa*).
 The handful (*seeh*) from every basket of greens.
 With every other privilege attached to bhoom.

Irrigated land	(<i>peewul</i>)	51	beegas.
Unirrigated do.	(<i>mal</i>)	110	do.
Mountain do.	(<i>mugro</i>)	40	do.
Meadow do.	(<i>beera</i>)	25	do.
			<hr/>
			226 beegas

Asar (June) S. 1853(A.D. 1797).

No. XI.

Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted to the town of Jhalra Patun, engraved on a Pillar in that City.

S. 1853 (A.D. 1797), corresponding with the Saka 1718, the sun being in the south, the season of cold, and the happy month of Kartika‡ the enlightened half of the month, being Monday the full moon.

Maharaja Dheraj Sri Omeid Sing Deo,§ the Foujdar|| Raj Zalim Sing and Komar Madhu Sing, commanding. To all the inhabitants of Jhalra Patun, Patels,¶ Putwarries,** Mahajans,†† and to all the thirty-six castes it is written.

* A great variety of oppressive imposts were levied by the chiefs during these times of trouble, to the destruction of commerce and all facility of travelling. Every thing was subject to tax, and a long train of vexatious dues exacted for "repairs of forts, boats at ferries, "night-guards, guards of passes," and other appellations, all having much in common with "the *Droit de Peage*" in France. "Il n'y avait pas de ponts, de chaussées, d'écluses, de défenses, de portes, &c. ou les seigneurs ne faisaient payer un droit à ceux que leurs affaires ou leur commerce forçaient de voyager,"—Dict. de l'anc. Régime.

† The privileges of our Rajpoot chieftains on the marriages of their vassals and cultivating subjects are confined to the best dishes of the marriage feast or a pecuniary commutation. This is, however, though in a minor degree, one of the vexatious claims of feudality of the French system, known under the term *nocages*, where the seigneur or his deputy presided, and had the right to be placed in front of the bridge, "et de chanter à la fin du repas, une chanson guillerette." But they even carried their insolence further, and "poussèrent leur mepris pour les vilains (the agricultural classes of the Rajpoot system) jusqu'à exiger que leurs chiens eussent leur couvert auprès de la mariée, et qu'on les laissât manger sur la table."—Art. '*Nocages*' Dict. de l'anc. Régime.

‡ December.

§ The Raja of Kotah.

|| Commander of the forces and regent of Kotah.

¶ Officers of the land revenue.

** Land accountants.

†† The mercantile class.

At this period entertain entire confidence, build and dwell.

Within this abode all forced contributions and confiscations are for ever abolished. The taxes called Bulmunsie,* Annie,† and Rek Burrar,‡ and likewise all Bhet-Begar,§ shall cease.

To this intent is this stone erected, to hold good from year to year, now and evermore. There shall be no violence in this territory. This is sworn by the cow to the Hindu and the hog to the Mussulman : in the presence of Captain Dellil Khan, Choudree Saroop Chund, Patel Lallo, the Mahesri Patwarri Balkishen, the architect Kalu Ram, and the stone-mason Balkishen.

Purmoh|| is for ever abolished. Whoever dwells and traffics within the town of Patun, one half of the transit duties usually levied in Haravati are remitted ; and all mauppa (meter's) duties are for ever abolished.

No. XII.

Abolitions, Immunities, Prohibitions, &c. &c. Inscription in the Temple of Latchmi Narayan at Akola.

In former times tobacco was sold in one market only. Rana Raj Sing commanded the monopoly to be abolished. S. 1645.

Rana Juggut Sing prohibited the seizure of the cots and quilts by the officers of his Government from the printers of Akola.

No. XIII.

Privileges and Immunities granted to the Printers of Calico and Inhabitants of the Town of Great Akola in Mewar.

Maharana Bheem Sing, commanding, to the inhabitants of Great Akola.

Whereas the village has been abandoned from the assignments levied by the garrison of Mandalgurh, and it being demanded of its population how it could again be rendered prosperous, they unanimously replied : "not to exact beyond the dues and contributions (*dind dor*) established of yore ; to erect the pillar promising never to exact above half the produce of the crops, or to molest the persons of those who thus paid their dues."

The Presence agreed, and this pillar has been erected. May Eklinga look to him who breaks this command. The hog to the Mussulman and the cow to the Hindu.

Whatever contributions (*dind*) purmoh,¶ poolee,** heretofore levied shall be paid.

All crimes committed within the jurisdiction of Akola to be tried by its inhabitants, who will sit in justice on the offender and fine him according to his faults.

* Literally 'good behaviour.'

† An agricultural tax.

‡ Tax for registering.

§ This includes in one word the forced labour exacted from the working classes : the *corvée* of the French system.

|| Grain thrown on the inhabitants at an arbitrary rate ; often resorted to at Kotah, where the regent is farmer general.

¶ Grain, the property of the Government, thrown on the inhabitants for purchase at an arbitrary valuation.

** The handful from each sheaf at harvest.

On Amavus* no work shall be done at the well† or at the oilmill, nor printer put his dye-pot on the fire.‡

Whoever breaks the foregoing, may the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore be upon him.

This pillar was erected in the presence of Mehta Sirdar Sing, Sawul Das, the Choudries Bhoput Ram and Doulut Ram, and the assembled Punch of Akola.

Written by the Choudrie Bhopji, and engraved by the stone-cutter Bheema.

S. 1856 (A.D. 1800).

No. XIV.

Prohibition against Guests carrying away Provisions from the public Feast.§

Sri Maharana Singram Sing to the inhabitants of Mirmi.

On all feasts of rejoicing, as well as those on the ceremonies for the dead, none shall carry away with them the remains of the feast. Whoever thus transgresses shall pay a fine to the crown of one hundred and one rupees. S. 1769 (A.D. 1713), Cheit Sood 7th.

No. XV.

Maharana Singram Sing to the merchants and bankers of Bakrole.

The custom of furnishing quilts (see-rak)|| of which you complain, is of ancient date. Now when the collectors of duties, their officers, or those of the land revenue stop at Bakrole, the merchants will furnish them with beds and quilts. All other servants will be supplied by the other inhabitants.

Should the dam of the lake be in any way injured, whoever does not aid in its repair shall, as a punishment, feed one hundred and one Brahmins. Asar 1715, or June A.D. 1659.

* A day sacred to the Hindu, being that which divides the month.

† Meaning, they shall not irrigate the fields.

‡ The part of the edict is evidently the instigation of the Jains, to prevent the destruction of life, though only that of insects.

§ The cause of this sumptuary edict was a benevolent motive, and to prevent the expenses on these occasions falling too heavily on the poorer classes. It was customary for the women to carry away under their petticoats (*ghagra*) sufficient sweetmeats for several days' consumption. The great Jey Sing of Ambar had an ordinance restricting the number of guests to fifty-one on these occasions, and prohibited to all but the four wealthy classes the use of sugar-candy: the others were confined to the use of molasses and brown sugar. To the lower vassals and the cultivators these feasts were limited to the coarser fare: to flour, greens and oil. A dyer who on the Hooli feasted his friends with sweetmeats of fine sugar and scattered about balls made of brown sugar, was fined five thousand rupees for setting so pernicious an example. The *sod*, or marriage-present, from the bridegroom to the bride's father, was limited to fifty-one rupees. The great sums previously paid on this score, were preventives of matrimony. Many other wholesome regulations of a much more important kind, especially those for the suppression of infanticide, were instituted by this prince.

|| 'Defence against the cold weather' (*see*). This in the ancient French *regime* came under the denomination of "*Albergie* ou Hebergement, un droit royal. Par exemple, ce ne fut "qu'après le regne de Saint Louis, et moyennant finances, que les habitants de Paris et de "Corbeil s'affranchirent, les premiers de fournir au roi et à sa suite de bons oreillers et d'ex- "cellens lits de plumes, tant qu'il séjourna dans leur ville, et les seconds de le regaler "quand il passait par leur bourg."

No. XVI.

Warrant of the Chief of Bijolli to his Vassal, Gopal Das Suktawut.

Maharaja Mandhata to Suktawut Gopal Das, be it known.

At this time a daily fine of four rupees is in force against you. Eighty are now due: Gunga Ram having petitioned in your favour, forty of this will be remitted. Give a written declaration to this effect—that with a specified quota you will take the field; if not, you will stand the consequences.

Viz: One good horse and one matchlock, with appurtenances complete, to serve at home and abroad (*des purdes*), and to run the country* with the Kher.

When the levy (*kher*) takes the field, Gopal Das must attend in person. Should he be from home, his retainers must attend, and they shall receive rations from the presence.

Sawun sood dos (August 10th) S. 1782.

No. XVII.

Maharaja Odykurn to the Suktawut Simboo Sing. Be it known.

I had annexed Gooroh to fisc, but now from favour, restore it to you. Make it flourish, and serve me at home and abroad, with one horse, and one foot soldier.

When abroad you shall receive rations (*bhatta*) as follow:

Flour	3 lbs.
Pulse	4 ounces.
Butter (<i>ghee</i>)	2 pice weight.
Horses' feed	4 sheers at 22 takas each seer, of daily allowance.

If for defence of the fort you are required, you will attend with all your dependants, and bring your wife, family and chattels; for which, you will be exempted from two years of subsequent service.

Asar 14, S. 1834.

* The '*douracts*' or runners, the term applied to the bands who swept the country with their forays in those periods of general confusion, are analogous to the armed bands of the middle ages, who in a similar manner desolated Europe under the term *routiers*, tantamount to our *robbers* (on the road) the *robbers* of the Pindarries in India. The Rajpoot *douract* has as many epithets as the French *routier*, who were called *escoscheurs*, *tard veneurs*, (of which class Gopal Das appears to have been) *mille-diables*, *Goulleries*, &c.

From the Crusades to the sixteenth century, the nobles of Europe, of whom these bands were composed (like our Rajpoots), abandoned themselves to this sort of life; who, to use the words of the historian, "preferent la vie vagabonde a laquelle ils s'etoient accoutumes dans le camp, a retourner cultiver leurs champs. C'est alors que se formerent ces bandes qu'on vit parcourir le royaume et etendre sur toutes les provinces le fleau de leurs inclinations destructives, repandre partout leffroi, la misere, le deuil et le desespoir; mettre les villes a contribution, piller et incendier les villages, egorger les laboureurs, et se livrer a des actes de cruante qui font fremir."—Dict. de l'ancien regime et des abus feudaux, art. *Routier* p. 422.

We have this apology for the Rajpoot *routiers*, that the nobles of Europe had not; they were driven to it by perpetual aggressions of invaders. I invariably found that the reformed *routier* was one of the best subjects; it secured him from indolence, the parent of all Rajpoot vices.

No. XVIII.

*Bhoom in Moond-kati, or Compensation for Blood, to
Jait Sing Chondawut.*

The Patel's son went to bring home his wife with Jait's Rajpoots as a guard. The party was attacked, the guard killed, and there having been no redress for the murder, twenty-six beegas have been granted in moond-kati* (compensation).

No. XIX.

Rawut Megh Sing to his natural brother, Jumna Das, a putta (*fief*) has been granted, *viz.*

The village of Rajpura, value Rupees 401

A garden of mogra flower..... 11

Rupees 412

Serve at home and abroad with fidelity : contributions and aids pay according to custom, and as do the rest of the vassals. Jait 14th, S. 1874.

No. XX.

*Charter given by the Rana of Mewar, accepted and signed by all his
Chiefs; defining the duties of the contracting
Parties. A.D. 1818.*

Sid Sri Maharaja Dheraj, Maharana Bheem Sing, to all the nobles my brothers and kin, Rajas, Patels, Jhalas, Chohans, Choondawuts, Powars, Sarangdeots, Suktawuts, Rahtores, Ranawuts, &c., &c.

Now, since S. 1822 (A.D. 1776), during the reign of Sri Ur Sing-ji,† when the troubles commenced, laying ancient usages aside, undue usurpations of the land have been made : therefore on this day, Beysak badi 14th, S. 1874 (A.D. 1818), the Maharana assembling all his chiefs, lays down the path of duty in new ordinances.

1st. All lands belonging to the crown obtained since the troubles, and all lands seized by one chief from another, shall be restored.

2nd. All Rekwali,‡ Bhoom, Lagut,§ established since the troubles, shall be renounced.

3rd. Dhan,|| Biswo,¶ the right of the crown alone, shall be renounced.

* Moond ' the head, kati ' cut.'

† The rebellion broke out during the reign of this prince.

‡ Salvamenta.

§ Dues.

|| Transit duty.

¶ R (1)

4th. No chiefs shall commit thefts or violence within the boundaries of their estates. They shall entertain no Thugs,* foreign thieves or thieves of the country, as Mogees,* Baories,* Thories:* but those who shall adopt peaceful habits may remain; but should any return to their old pursuits, their heads shall instantly be taken off. All property stolen shall be made good by the proprietor of the estate within the limits of which it is plundered.

5th. Home or foreign merchants, traders, Kafilas,† Bunjarries,‡ who enter the country, shall be protected. In no wise shall they be molested or injured and whoever breaks this ordinance, his estate shall be confiscated.

6th. According to command, at home or abroad, service must be performed. Four divisions (*choukies*) shall be formed of the chiefs, and each division shall remain three months in attendance at court, when they shall be dismissed to their estates. Once a year, on the festival of the Doserra,§ all the chiefs shall assemble with their quotas ten days previous thereto, and twenty days subsequent they shall be dismissed to their estates. On urgent occasions, and whenever their services are required, they shall repair to the Presence.

7th. Every Puttawut holding a separate putta from the Presence, shall perform separate service. They shall not unite or serve under the greater Puttawuts: and the sub-vassals of all such chiefs shall remain with and serve their immediate Puttawut.

8th. The Maharana shall maintain the dignities due to each chief according to his degree.

9th. The Ryots shall not be oppressed: there shall be no new exactions or arbitrary fines. This is ordained.

10th. What has been executed by Thacoor Ajeet Sing and sanctioned by the Rana, to this all shall agree.

11th. Whosoever shall depart from the foregoing, the Maharana shall punish. In doing so the fault will not be the Rana's. Whoever fails, on him be the oath (*an*) of Eklinga and the Maharana.

[Here follow the signatures of all the chieftains of rank in Mewar, which it is needless to insert.]

* Different descriptions of thieves.

† Caravans of merchandize, whether on camels, bullocks or in carts.

‡ Caravans of bullocks, chiefly for the transport of grain and salt.

§ On this festival the muster of all the feudal retainers is taken by the Rana in person and honorary dresses and dignities are bestowed.

|| This article had become especially necessary, as the inferior chiefs, particularly those of the third class, had amalgamated themselves with the head of their clans, to whom they had become more accountable than to their prince.

¶ This alludes to the treaty which this chief had formed, as the ambassador of the Rana, with the British Government.

ANNALS OF MEWAR.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Gehlote Princes of Mewar.—Authorities.—Kanaksen the founder of the present dynasty.—His descent from Rama.—He emigrates to Saurashtra.—Ballabhipura.—Its sack and destruction by the Huns or Parthians.

WE now proceed to the history of the states of Rajpootana, and shall commence with the annals of Mewar, and its princes.

These are styled *Ranas*, and are the elder branch of the *Suryavansi*, or 'children of the sun.' Another patronymic is *Raghuvansi*, derived from a predecessor of Rama, the local point of each scion of the solar race. To him, the conqueror of Lanka,* the genealogists endeavour to trace the solar lines. The titles of many of these claimants are disputed; but the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the prince of Mewar as the legitimate heir to the throne of Rama, and style him *Hindua Suraj*, or 'Sun of the Hindus.† He is universally allowed to be the first of the 'thirty-six royal tribes,' nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent. Many of these tribes‡ have been swept away by time; and the genealogist, who abhors a vacuum in his mystic page, up their place with others, mere scions of some ancient but forgotten stem.

With the exception *Jessulmeer*, Mewar is the only dynasty of these races which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination, in the same lands where conquest placed them. The Rana still possesses nearly the same extent of territory which his ancestors held when the conqueror from Guzni first crossed the 'blue water' of the Indus to invade India; while the other families now ruling in the north-west of Rajasthan are the relics of ancient dynasties driven from their pristine seats of power, or their Junior branches, who have erected their own fortunes. This circumstance adds to the dignity of the *Ranas*, and is the cause of the general homage which they receive, notwithstanding the diminution of their power. Though we cannot give the princes of Mewar an ancestor in the Persian *Noshirwan* nor assert so confidently as Sir Thomas Roe his claims to descent from the celebrated *Porus*,||

* Said to be Ceylon; an idea scouted by the Hindus, who transfer Lanka to a very distant region.

† This descendant of one hundred kings shews himself in cloudy weather from the *surya-gokra*, or 'balcony of the sun.'

‡ See History of the Tribes.

§ *Nilab*, from Nil 'blue,' and *ab* 'water;' hence the name of the Nile in Egypt and in India. *Sinde* or *Sindhu*, appears to be a Scythian word: *Sin* in the Tatar, *t' sin* in Chinese, 'river.' 'Hence the inhabitants of its higher course termed it *aba sin*, 'parent stream;' and thus, very probably, *Abyssinia* was formed by the Arabians; 'the country on the Nile,' or *aba sin*.

|| See p. 41.

the opponent of Alexander, we can carry him into regions of antiquity more remote than the Persian, and which would satisfy the most fastidious in respect to ancestry.

In every age and clime we observe the same eager desire after distinguished pedigree, proceeding from a feeling which, though often derided, is extremely natural. The Rajapootras are, however, scarcely satisfied with discriminating their ancestors from the herd of mankind. Some plume themselves on a celestial origin, whilst others are content to be demi-celestial; and those who cannot advance such lofty claims, rather than acknowledge the race to have originated in the ordinary course of nature, make their primeval parent of demoniac extraction; accordingly, several of the dynasties who cannot obtain a niche amongst the children of the sun or moon, or trace their descent from some royal saint, are satisfied to be considered the offspring of some Titan (*Datya*). These puerilities are of modern fabrication, in cases where family documents have been lost, or emigration has severed branches from the parent stock; who, increasing in power, but ignorant of their birth, have had recourse to fable to supply the void. Various authors, borrowing from the same source have assigned the seat of Porus to the Rana's family; and coincidence of name has been the cause of the family being alternately elevated and depressed. Thus the incidental circumstance of the word *Phanæ* being found in Ptolemy's geography, in countries bordering on Mewar, furnishes our ablest geographers* with a reason for planting the family there in the second century; while the commentators† on the geography of the Arabian travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries‡ discover sufficient evidence in "the kingdom of Rahmi, always at war with the Balhara sovereign," to consider him (notwithstanding Rahmi is expressly stated "not to be much considered for his birth or the antiquity of his kingdom") as the prince of Cheetore, celebrated in both these points.

The translator of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* following D'Anville,§ makes Ozene (Oojein) the capital of a Porus,|| who sent an embassy to Augustus to regulate their commercial intercourse, and whom he asserts to be the ancestor of the Rana. But to shew how guarded we should be in admitting verbal resemblance to decide such points, the title of Rana is of modern adoption, even so late as the twelfth century; and was assumed in consequence of the victorious issue of a contest with the Purihara prince of Mundore, who bore the title of Rana, and who surrendered it with his life and capital to the prince of Mewar. The latter substituted it for the more ancient appellation of *Rawul*;¶ but it was not till the thirteenth century that the novel distinction was generally recognized by neighbouring powers. Although we cannot for a moment admit the *Rahmi* or even the *Rhana* of Ozene, to be connected with this family, yet Ptolemy appears to

* D'Anville and Rennell.

† Maurice and others.

‡ Relations Anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.

§ D'Anville (*Antiquités de l'Inde*) quotes Nicolas of Damascus as his authority, who says the letter written by Porus, prince of Ozene, was in the Greek character.

|| This *Porus* is a corruption of *Puar*, once the most powerful and conspicuous tribe in India; classically written *Pramara*, the dynasty which ruled at Oojein for ages.

¶ *Rawul*, or *Raoul*, is yet borne as a princely title by the Abarya prince of Dongurpur, and the Yada prince of Jessulmeer, whose ancestors long ruled in the heart of Scythia. *Raoul* seems to have been titular to the Scandinavian chiefs of Scythic origin. The invader of Normandy was *Raoul*, corrupted to *Rollo* or *Relle*.

have given the real ancestor in his *Baleocuri*, the Balhara monarchs of the Arabian travellers, the Ballabhi-raes of Saurashtra, who were the ancestors of the princes of Mewar.*

Before we proceed, it is necessary to specify the sources whence materials were obtained for the Annals of Mewar, and to give some idea of the character they merit as historical data.

For many years previous to sojourning at the court of Oodipur, sketches were obtained of the genealogy of the family from the rolls of the bards. To these was added a chronological sketch, drawn up under the eye of Raja Jey Sing of Ambar, with comments of some value by him, and which served as a ground-work. Free access was also granted to the Rana's library, and permission obtained to make copies of such MSS. as related to his history. The most important of these was the *Khoman Rasa*,† which is evidently a modern work founded upon ancient materials, tracing the genealogy to Rama, and halting at conspicuous beacons in this long line of crowned heads, particularly about the period of the Mahomedan irruption in the tenth century, the sack of Cheetore by Alla-co-din in the thirteenth century, and the wars of Rana Pratap with Akber, during whose reign the work appears to have been recast.

The next in importance were the *Raj Vulas*, in the Vrij Bhakha, by Man Kubeswara,‡ and the *Raj Rutnakur*§ by Sudasheo Bhut; both written in the reign of Rana Raj Sing, the opponent of Aurungzebe: also the *Jey Vulas*, written in the reign of Jey Sing, son of Raj Sing. They all commence with the genealogies of the family, introductory to the military exploits of the princes whose names they bear.

The *Mamadeva Prasista* is a copy of the inscriptions|| in the temple of the Mother of the Gods' at Komulmeer. Genealogical rolls of some antiquity were obtained from the widow of an ancient family bard, who had left neither children nor kindred to follow his profession. Another roll was procured from a priest of the Jains residing in Sanderai, in Marwar, whose ancestry had enjoyed from time immemorial the title of *Gooru*, which they held at the period of the sack of Ballabhipura in the fifth century, whence they emigrated simultaneously with the Rana's ancestors. Others were obtained from Jain priests at Jawud in Malwa. Historical document possessed by several chiefs, were readily furnished, and extracts were made from works, both Sanerit and Persian, which incidentally mention the family. To these were added traditions or biographical anecdotes furnished in conversation by the Rana, or men of intellect amongst his chiefs, ministers, or bards, and inscriptions calculated to reconcile dates; in short, every corroborating circumstance was treasured up which could be obtained by incessant research during sixteen years. The Commentaries of Baber and Jehangir, the Institutes of Akber, original grants, public and autograph letters of the emperors of Delhi

* The Balhara kings, and their capital Nehrwalla, or Anhulwarra Putun, have given rise to much conjecture amongst the learned. We shall, before this work is closed, endeavour to condense what has been said by ancient and modern authorities on the subject; and from manuscripts, ancient inscriptions, and the result of a personal visit to this ancient domain to set the matter completely at rest.

† *Khoman* is an ancient title of the earlier princes, and still used. It was borne by the son of Baypa, the founder, who retired to Transoxiana, and there ruled and died: the very country of the ancient Scythic *Komani*.

‡ Lord of rhyme.

§ See of gems.

|| These inscriptions will be described in the Personal Narrative.

and their ministers, were made to contribute more or less; yet, numerous as are the authorities cited, the result may afford but little gratification to the general reader, partly owing to the unpopularity of the subject, partly to the inartificial mode of treating it.

At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, agree in making Kanaksen the founder of this dynasty; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in S. 201, or A.D. 145. We shall therefore, make this the point of outset; though it may be premised that Jey Sing, the royal historian and astronomer of Ambar, connects the line with Soomitra (the fifty-six descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the cotemporary of Vicramaditya, A.C. 56.

The country of which Ayodhya (now Oude) was the capital, and Rama monarch, is termed, in the geographical writings of the Hindus, *Koshala*; doubtless from the mother of Rama, whose name was *Kaushalya*. The first royal emigrant from the north is styled, in the Rana's archives, *Kaushala-pootra*, 'son of Koshala.'

Rama had two son's Lob and Cush: from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore, the ancient Loh-kote; and the branch from which the princes of Mewar are descended, resided there until Kanaksen emigrated to Dwarica. The difficulty of tracing these races through a long period of years is greatly increased by the custom of changing the appellation of the tribe, from conquest, locality, or personal celebrity. *Sen** seems to have been the martial termination for many generations: this was followed by *Dit* or *Aditya*, a term for the 'sun.' The first change in the name of the tribe was on their expulsion from Saurashtra, when for the generic term of *Suryavansi* was substituted the particular appellation of *Gehlote*. This name was maintained till another event dispersed the family, and when they settled in Ahar,† *Aharya* became the appellative of the branch. This continued till loss of territory and new acquisitions once more transferred the dynasty to Seesoda,‡ a temporary capital in the western mountains. The title of *Ranawut*, borne by all descendants of the blood royal since the eventful change which removed the seat of government from Cheetore to Oodipur, might in time have superseded that of *Seesodia* if continued warfare had not checked the increase of population; but the Gehlote branch of the *Suryavansi* still retain the name of *Seesodia*.

Having premised thus much, we must retrograde to the darker ages, through which we shall endeavour to conduct this celebrated dynasty, though the clue sometimes nearly escapes from our hands in these labyrinths of antiquity.§ When it is recollected to what violence this family has been subjected during the last eight centuries, often dispossessed of all but their native hills and compelled to live on their spontaneous produce, we could scarcely expect that historical records should be preserved. Cheetore was thrice sacked and destroyed, and the existing records are formed from fragments, registers of births and marriages, or from the oral relations of the bards.

* *Sen* 'army': *kenk*, 'war.'

† *Ahar*, or *Ar*, is in the valley of the present capital, Oodipur.

‡ The origin of this name is from the trivial occurrence of the expelled prince of Cheetore having erected a town to commemorate the spot, where after an extraordinary hard chase he killed a hare (*sasa*).

§ The wild fable which envelops or adorns the cradle of every illustrious family is not easily disentangled. The bards weave the web with skill, and it clings like ivy round each

By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Loh-kote, is uncertain; he, however, wrested dominion from a prince of the Pramara race, and founded Birnagara in the second century (A.D. 144). Four generations afterwards, Vijya Sen whom the prince of Ambar calls *Noshirwan*, founded Vijyapur, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of the Saurashtra peninsula. Vidarbha was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to Seehore. But the most celebrated was the capital, Ballabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled condition as Bálbhi, ten miles north-west of Bhownuggur. The existence of this city was confirmed by celebrated Jain work, the *Satroonjya Mahatmya*.† The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the table-land forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory, which appeals to the 'walls of Ballabhi' for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Sing opens with these words: "In the west is Sooratdes,* a country well known: the *barbarians* invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-ca-nath*;† all fell in the sack of Ballabhiara, except the daughter of the Pramara." And the Sanderai rooll thus commences: "When the city of Ballabhi was" sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and Nadole "in Mordur des."‡ These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained which was the chief worship of Ballabhipura when sacked by the '*barbarian*.' The records preserved by the Jains give S.B. 205 (A.D. 524) as the date of this event.

The tract about Ballabhipura and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from the tribe of *Balla* which might have been the designation of the Rana's tribe prior to that of Grahilote; and most probably Moolthan, and all these regions of the Catti, Balli &c. were dependent on Lohkote, whence emigrated Kanaksen; thus strengthening the surmise of the Scythic descent of the Ranas, though now installed in the seat of Rama. The sun was the deity of this northern tribe, as of the Rana's ancestry, and the remains of numerous temples to this grand object of Scythio homage are still to be found scattered over the peninsula; whence its name, *Saurashtra*, the country of the *Sauras*, or *Sun-worshippers*; the *Surostrene* or *Syrastrene* of ancient geographers: its inhabitants, the *Suros* of Strabo.

Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni|| as the last refuge of the family when expelled Saurashtra. One of the poetic chronicles thus commences: "The *barbarians* had captured Gajni. The house of Silladitya was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell: of his seed but the name remained."

modern branch, obscuring the aged stem, in the time-worn branches of which monsters and domigods are perched, whose claims of affinity are held in high estimation by these 'children of the sun,' who would deem it criminal to doubt the *loin-robe* (*dhoti*) of their great founder, Bappa Rawul, was less than five hundred cubits in circumference, that his two-edged sword (*khanda*), the gift of the Hindu Proserpine, weighed an ounce less than sixty-four pounds, or that he was an inch under twenty feet in height.

* Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

† Soorat or Saurashtra.

‡ The Glord of Bhal.

§ Marwar.

|| Gayni, or Gajni, is one of the ancient names of Cambay (the port of Ballabhidura the ruins of which are about three miles from the modern city. Other sources indicate that

These invaders were Scythic, and in all probability a colony from the Parthian kingdom, which was established in sovereignty on the Indus in the second century, having their capital at *Saminagara*, where the ancient *Yadu* ruled for ages: the *Minagara* of Arrian, and the *Mankir* of the Arabian geographers. It was by this route, through the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, that the various hordes of Getes or Jits, Huns, Camari, Catti, Macwahana, Balla and Aswaria, had peopled this peninsula, leaving traces still visible. The period is also remarkable, when these and other Scythic hordes were simultaneously abandoning higher Asia for the cold region of Europe and the warm plains of Hindusthan. From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era, various records exist of these irruptions from the north. Gibbon, quoting De Guignes, mentions one in the second century which fixed permanently in the Saurashtra peninsula; and the latter, from original authorities, describes another of the Getes or Jits, styled by the Chinese *Yu-chi*, in the north of India.* But the authority directly in point is that of Cosmas, surnamed Indopleustes, who was in India during the reign of Justinian, and that of the first monarch of the Chinese dynasty of Leam;† Cosmas had visited Callian, included in the Bahara kingdom; and he mentions *Abtelites*, or white Huns, under their king Golas, as being established on the Indus at the very period of the invasion of Ballabhipura.

Arrian, who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Baroach), describes a Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbudda. Their capital has already been mentioned, *Minagara*. Whether these, the *Abtelites** of Cosmas, were the Parthian dynasty of Arrian, or whether the Parthians were supplanted by the Huns, we must remain in ignorance, but to one or the other we must attribute the sack of Ballabhidura. The legend of this event affords scope for speculation, both as regards the conqueror and the conquered, and gives at least a colour of truth to the reputed Persian ancestry of the Rana; a subject which will be distinctly considered. The solar orb, and its type, fire were the chief objects of adoration of Silladitya of Ballabhipura. Whether to these was added that of the lingam, the symbol of Balnath (the sun), the primary object of worship with his descendants

these princes held possession in the southern continent of India, as well as in the Saurashtra peninsula. Tilatilpur Pattun, on the Godavery is mentioned which tradition asserts to be the city of Deogir; but which, after many years' research, I discovered in Saurashtra, it being one of the ancient names of Kundala. In after times, when succeeding dynasties held the title of Bhal-ca-rae, though the capital was removed inland to Anhilwarra Pattun, they still held possession of the Western shore, and Cambay continued the chief port.

* The position of *Minagara* has occupied the attention of geographers from D'Anville to Pottinger. Scinde being conquered by Omar, general of the caliph Al-Mansoor (Abbas), the name of *Minagara* was changed to *Mansoor*, "une ville celebre sur le rivage droit du Sind ou Mehran." "Ptolemee fait aussi mention de cette ville; mais en la deplaçant," &c. D'Anville places it about 26 degree, but not so high as Ulug Beg, whose tables make it 26 degree 40 I have said elsewhere that I had little doubt that *Minagara*, handed down to us by the author of the *Periplus*, as the *Metropolis Skuthia*, was the *Saminagara* of the *Yadu* *Jharajas*, whose chronicles claim Sowlethan as their ancient possession, and in all probability was the strong hold (*nagara*) of Sambus the opponent of Alexander. On every consideration, I am inclined to place it on the site of Sehwan. The learned Vincent, in his translation of the *Periplus*, enters fully and with great judgement upon this point, citing every authority, Arrian, Ptolemy, Al-Biruni, Edrisi, D'Anville, and De la Rochette. He has a note (26, p. 386, vol. i.) which is conclusive. could he have applied it; "Al-Birun [equi-distant] between Debril and Mansura." D'Anville also says: "de mansora a la ville nommee Biun, la distance est indupce pe quinze paraseanges dans Abulfeda," who fixes it, on the authority of the Abu-Behan (surnamed Al-Biruni from his birth-place), at 26 degree 40.

may be doubted. It was certainly confined to these, and the adoption of "strange gods" by the Suryavansi Gehlote is comparatively of modern invention.*

There was a fountain (*Suryacoonda*) "sacred to the sun" at Ballabhipura, from which arose, at the summons of Silladitya (according to the legend) the seven-headed horse Saptaswa, which draws the car of Surya, to bear him to battle. With such an auxiliary no foe could prevail; but a wicked minister revealed to the enemy the secret of annulling this aid, by polluting the sacred fountain with blood. This accomplished, in vain did the prince call on Saptaswa to save him from the strange and barbarous foe: the charm was broken, and with it sunk the dynasty of Ballabhi. Who the 'barbarian' was that defiled with blood of kine the fountain of the sun,† whether Gete, Parthian, or Hun, we are left to conjecture. The Persian, though he venerated the bull, yet sacrificed him on the altar of Mithras;‡ and though the ancient Guebre purifies with the urine§ of the cow, he will not refuse to eat beef: and the iniquity of Cambyzes, who thrust his lance into the flank of the Egyptian Apis, is a proof that the bull was abstractedly no object of worship. It would be indulging a legitimate curiosity, could we by any means discover how these 'strange' tribes obtained a footing amongst the Hindu races; for so late as seven centuries ago we find Getes, Huns, Catti, Ariaspas, Dahæ, definitively settled, and enumerated amongst the Chhatees rajcula.¶ How much earlier the admission, no authority states; but mention is made of several of them aiding in the defence of Cheitore, on the first appearance of the Faith of Islam, upwards of eleven hundred years ago.

* Ferishta in the early part of his history, observes that, some centuries prior to Vicramaditya, the Hindus abandoned the simple religion of their ancestors, made idols, and worshipped the host of heaven, which faith they had from Cashmere, the foundry of magic superstition.

† Divested of allegory, it means simply that the supply of water was rendered impure, and consequently useless to the Hindus, which compelled them to abandon their defences and meet death in the open field. Alla-o-din practised the same ruse against the celebrated Achil, the Kheechie prince of Gagrown, which caused the surrender of this impregnable fortress. "It matters not," observes an historian whose name I do not recollect, "whether such things are true, it is sufficient that they were believed. We may smile at the mention of the ghost, the evil genius of Brutus, appearing to him before the battle of Pharsalia; yet it never would have been stated, had it not assimilated with the opinions and prejudices of the age." And we may deduce a simple moral from 'the parent orb refusing the aid of his steed to his terrestrial offspring,' viz. that he was deserted by the deity. Fountains sacred to the sun and other deities were common to the Persians, Scythians, and Hindus, and both the last offered steeds to him in sacrifice. *Vide* History of the Tribes, article *Aswamedha*, page 58.

‡ The Bul-dan, or sacrifice of the bull to Bal-nath, is on record, though now discontinued amongst the Hindus.

§ Pinkerton, who is most happy to strengthen his aversion for the Celt, seizes on a passage in Stabo, who describes him as having recourse to the same mode of purification as the Guebre. Unconscious that it may have had a religious origin, he adduces it as a strong proof of the uncleanness of their habits.

¶ See table, p. 63.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Goha.—He acquires Edur.—Derivation of the term 'Gehlote.'—Birth of Bappa.—Early religion of the Gehlotes.—Bappa's history.—Oguna Panora.—Bappa's initiation into the worship of Siva.—He gains possession of Cheetore.—Remarkable end of Bappa.—Four epochs established, from the second to the eleventh century.

OF the prince's family, the queen Pushpavati alone escaped the sack of Ballabhi, as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Silladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara prince of Chandravati, and had visited the shrine of the universal mother, Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown. Excessive grief closed her pilgrimage. Taking refuge in a cave in the mountains of Mallia, she was delivered of a son. Having confided the infant to a Brahminee of Birnuggur named Camalavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahmin, but to marry him to a Rajpootnee, she mounted the funeral pile to join her lord. Camalavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother, and she performed the tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha, or 'cave-born.' The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors: he associated with Rajpoot children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, "how should they hide the ray of the sun."

At this period Edur was governed by a chief of the savage race of Bhil; his name, Mandalica. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with the Bhils, whose habits better assimilated with his daring nature than those of the Brahmins. He became a favourite with the Vana-pootras, or "children of the forest," who resigned to him Edur with its woods and mountains. The fact is mentioned by Abul Fuzil, and is still repeated by the bards, with a characteristic version of the incident, of which doubtless there were many. The Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha; and one of the young savages, cutting his finger, applied the blood as the teeka of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chief. The sequel fixes on Goha the stain of ingratitude, for he slew his benefactor, and no motive is assigned in the legend for the deed. Goha's name became the patronymic of his descendants, who were styled *Gohilote*, classically *Grahilote*, in time softened to *Gehlote*.

We know very little concerning these early princes, but that they dwelt in this mountainous region for eight generations; when the Bhils, tired of a foreign rule, assailed Nagadit, eighth prince, while hunting, and deprived him of life and Edur. The descendants of Camalavati (the Birnuggur Brahmin), who retained the office of priest in the family, were again the preservers of the line of Ballabhi. The infant Bappa, son of Nagadit, then only

three years old, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandere,* where he was protected by a Bhil of Yadu descent. Thence he was removed for greater security to the wilds of Parassur. Within its impervious recesses rose the three-peaked (*tri-cuta*) mountain, at whose base was the town of Nagindra,* the abode of Brahmins, who performed the rites of the 'great God.' In this retreat passed the early years of Bappa, wandering through these alpine valleys, amidst the groves of Bal and the shrines of the brazen calf.

The most antique temples are to be seen in those spots—within the dark gorge of the mountain, or on its rugged summit,—in the depths of the forest, and at the sources of streams, were sites of seclusion, beauty, and sublimity alternately exalt the mind's devotion. In these regions the creative power appears to have been the earliest, and at one time the sole object of adoration, whose symbols, the serpent-wreathed phallus (*lingam*), and its companion, the bull, were held sacred even by the "children of the forest." In these silent retreats Mahadeva continued to rule triumphant, and the most brilliant festivities of Oodipur were those where his rites are celebrated in the nine days sacred to him, when the Jains and Vaishnabs mix with the most zealous of his votaries: but the strange gods from the plains of the Yamuna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the zeal of the Gehlotes from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose dewan,† or vicegerent, is the Rana. The temple of Eklinga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital, is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble most elaborately carved and embellished; but lying in the route of a bigotted foe, it has undergone many dilapidations. The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hollow flank in search of treasure.§

Tradition has preserved numerous details of Bappa's|| infancy, which resemble the adventures of every hero or founder of a race. The young prince attended the sacred kine, an occupation which was honourable even to the 'children of the sun,' and which they still pursue: possibly a remnant of their primitive Scythic habits. The pranks of the royal shepherd are the theme of many a tale. On the Jul Jhoolni, when swinging is the amusement of the youth of both sexes, the daughter of the Solanki chief of Nagda and the village maidens had gone to the groves to enjoy this festivity, but they were unprovided with ropes. Bappa happened to be at hand, and was called by the Rajpoot damsels to forward their sport. He promised to procure a rope if they would first have a game at marriage. One frolic was as good

* Fifteen miles south-west of Jarrole, in the wildest region of India.

† Or Nagda, still a place of religious resort, about ten miles north of Oodipur. Here in found several very old inscriptions relative to the family, which preserve the ancient denomination *Gohil* instead of *Gehlote*. One of these is about nine centuries old.

‡ Eklinga-dewan is the common title of Rana.

§ Amongst the many temples where the brazen calf forms part of the establishment of Bal-Cesar, there is one sacred to Nanda alone, at Naen in the valley. This lordly bull has his shrine attended as devoutly as was that of Apis at Memphis; nor will Eklinga yield to his brother Serapis. The changes of positions of the Apis at Naen are received as indications of the fruitfulness of the season, though it is not apparent how such are contrived.

|| Bappa is not a proper name, it signifies merely a 'child.' He is frequently styled *Syesel*, and in inscriptions *Syesel Adhes*, 'the mountain lord.'

as another, and the scarf of the Solankini was united to the garment of Bappa, the whole of the village lasses joining hands with his as the connecting link; and thus they performed the mystical number of revolutions round an aged tree. This frolic caused his flight from Nagda, and originated his greatness, but at the same time burthened him with all these damsels; and hence a heterogeneous issue, whose descendants still ascribe their origin to the prank of Bappa round the old mango-tree of Nagda. A suitable offer being shortly after made for the young Solankini's hand, the family priests of the bridegroom, whose duty it was, by his knowledge of palmistry, to investigate the fortunes of the bride, discovered that she was already married: intelligence which threw the family into the greatest consternation. Though Bappa's power over his brother shepherds was too strong to create any dread of disclosure as to his being the principal in this affair, yet was it too much to expect that a secret, in which no less than six hundred of the daughters of Eve were concerned, could long remain such. Bappa's mode of swearing his companions to secrecy is preserved. Digging a small pit, and taking a pebble in his hand, "Swear," cried he, "secrecy and obedience to me in good and in evil; that you will reveal to me all that you hear, and failing, desire that the good deeds of your forefathers may, like this pebble (dropping it "into the pit) fall into the Washerman's well."* They took the oath. The Solanki chief, however, heard that Bappa was the offender, who, receiving from his faithful scouts intimation of his danger, sought refuge in one of the retreats which abound in these mountains, and which in after-times proved the preservation of his race. The companions of his flight were two Bhils: one of Oondree, in the valley of the present capital; the other of Solanki descent, from Oguna Panora, in the western wilds. Their names, Baleo and Dewa, have been handed down with Bappa's; and the former had the honour of drawing the teeka of sovereignty with his own blood on the forehead of the prince, on the occasion of his taking the crown from the Mori.

It is pleasing to trace, through a series of ages, the knowledge of a custom still 'honoured in the observance.' The descendants of Baleo of Oguna and the Oondree Bhil still claim the privilege of performing the teeka on the inauguration of the descendants of Bappa.

OGUNA PANORA is the sole spot in India which enjoys a state of natural freedom. Attached to no state, having no foreign communications, living under its own patriarchal head, its chief, with the title of Rana, whom one thousand hamlets scattered over the forest-crowned valleys obey, can, if requisite, appear at 'the head of five thousand bows.' He is a Bhoomia Bhil of mixed blood, from the Solanki Rajpoot, on the old stock of pure (*oojla*) Bhils, the autoschthones (if such there be of any country) of Mewar. Besides making the teeka of blood from an incision in the thumb, the Oguna chief takes the prince by the arm and seats him on the throne, while the Oondree Bhil holds the salver of spices and sacred grains of rice† used in making the teeka.

But the solemnity of being seated on the throne of Mewar is so expensive, that many of these rites have fallen into disuse. Juggut Sing was the

* Deemed in the East, the most impure of all receptacles. These wells are dug at the sides of streams, and give a supply of pure water filtering through the sand.

† Hence, perhaps, the *kushka* for teeka. Grains of ground rice in curds is the material to the primitive teeka, which the author has had applied to him by a lady in Goojargar, one of the most savage spots in India, amidst the *levy en masse*, assembled hostilely against him, but separated amicably.

last prince whose coronation was conducted with the ancient magnificence of this princely house. It costs the sum of ninety lacks of rupees (£1,125,000), nearly one entire year's revenue of the state in the days of its prosperity, and which, taking into consideration the comparative value of money, would amount to upwards of *four millions sterling*.*

To resume the narrative: though the flight of Bappa and its cause are perfectly natural, we have another episode; when the bard assuming a higher strain has recourse to celestial machinery for the *denouement* of this simple incident: but "an illustrious race must always be crowned with its proper, mythology." Bappa, who was the founder of a line of a 'hundred kings,' feared as a monarch, adored as more than mortal, and, according to the legend 'still living (*chiranjiva*),' deserves to have the source of his pre-eminent fortune disclosed, which, in Mewar, it were sacrilege to doubt. While he pastured the sacred kine in the valleys of Nagindra, the princely shepherd was suspected of appropriating the milk of a favourite cow to his own use. He was distrusted and watched, and although indignant, the youth admitted that they had reason to suspect him, from the habitual dryness of the brown cow when she entered the pens at even.† He watched, and traced her to a narrow dell, when he beheld the udder spontaneously pouring its stores amidst the shrubs. Under a thicket of cane a hermit was reposing in a state of abstraction, from which the impetuosity of the shepherd soon roused him. The mystery was revealed in the phallic symbol of the 'great God,' which daily received the lacteal shower, and raised such doubts of the veracity of Bappa.

No eye had hitherto penetrated into this natural sanctuary of the rites of the Hindu Creator, except the sages and hermits of ancient days (of whom this was the celebrated Harita),‡ whom this bounteous cow also fed.

Bappa related to the sage all he knew of himself, received his blessing, and retired; but he went daily to visit him, to wash his feet, carry milk to him, and gather such wild flowers as were acceptable offerings to the deity. In return he received lessons of morality, and was initiated into the mysterious rites of Siva; and at length he was invested with the triple cordon of faith (*teen purwa zinar*) by the hands of the sage, who became his spiritual guide, and bestowed on his pupil the title of 'Regent (Dewan) of Eklinga. Bappa had proofs that his attentions to the saint and his devotions to Eklinga, were acceptable, by a visit from his consort, 'the lion-born goddess.' From her hand he received the panoply of celestial fabrication, the work of Viswacarma (the Vulcan of Eastern mythology), which outvies all the arms ever forged for Greek or Trojan. The lance, bow, quiver, and arrows; a shield and sword (more famed than Balisarda) which the goddess girded on him with her

* Such the pride of these small kingdoms in days of yore, and such their resources, till reduced by constant oppression! But their public works speak what they could do, and have done; witness the stupendous work of marble, and its adjacent causeway, which dams the lake of Rajsumund at Kankerowli, and which cost upwards of a million. When the spectator views this expanse of water, this 'royal sea' (*rajsamund*) on the borders of the plain; the pillar of victory towering over the plains of Malwa, erected on the summit of Cheetore by Rana Mokul; their palaces and temples in this ancient abode; the regal residence erected by these princes when ejected, must fill the observer with astonishment at the resources of the state. They are such as to explain the metaphor of my ancient friend Zalin Sing, who knew better than we the value of this country: 'every pinch of the soil of Mewar contains gold.'

† *Gaada-luk*, the time when the cows come home.

‡ On this spot the celebrated temple of Eklinga was erected, and the present high priest traces sixty-six descents from Harita to himself. To him (through the Rana) I was indebted for the copy of the *Shesha* (Siva) Puran presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

own hand: the oath of fidelity and devotion was the 'relief' of this celestial investiture. Thus initiated into the mysteries of 'the first' (*ad*), admitted under the banners of Bhavani, Harita resolved to leave his pupil to his fortunes, and to quit the worship of the symbol for the presence of the deity in the mansions above. He informed Bappa of his design, and commanded him to be at the sacred spot early on the following morn; but Bappa shewed his materiality by oversleeping himself, and on reaching the spot the sage had already made some progress in his car, borne by the Apsaras, or celestial messengers. He checked his aerial ascent to give a last token of affection to his pupil; and desiring him to reach up to receive his blessing, Bappa's stature was extended to twenty cubits; but as he did not reach the car, he was commanded to open his mouth, when the sage did what was recorded as performed, about the same period, by Mahomed, who spat into the mouth of his favourite nephew, Hussein, the son of Ali. Bappa shewed his disgust and aversion by blinking, and the projected blessing fell on his foot, by which squeamishness he obtained only invulnerability by weapons instead of immortality; the saint was soon lost in the cerulean space. Thus marked as the favourite of heaven, and having learned from his mother that he was nephew to the Mori prince of Cheetore, he 'disdained a shepherd's slothful life,' and with some companions from these wilds quitted his retreat, and for the first time emerged into the plains. But, as if the brand of Bhavani was insufficient, he met with another hermit in the forest of Tiger Mount,* the famed Goruknath, who presented to him the double-edged sword,† which, with the proper incantation could 'sever rocks.' With this he opened the road to fortune leading to the throne of Cheetore.

Cheetore was at this period held by the Mori prince of the Pramara race, the ancient lords of Malwa, then paramount sovereigns of Hindusthan; but whether this city was then the chief seat of power is not known. Various public works, reservoirs, and bastions, yet retain the name of this race.

Bappa's connection with the Mori obtained him a good reception; he was enrolled amongst the samunts or leaders, and suitable estate conferred upon him. The inscription, of the Mori prince's reign, so often alluded to, affords a good idea of his power, and of the feudal manners of his court. He was surrounded by a numerous nobility, holding estates on the tenure of military service, but whom he had disgusted by his neglect, and whose jealousy he had provoked by the superior regard shown to Bappa. A foreign foe appearing at this time, instead of obeying the summons to attend, they threw up their grants, and tauntingly desired him to call on his favourite.‡

Bappa undertook the conduct of the war, and the chiefs, though dispossessed of their estates, accompanied him from a feeling of shame. The foe

* The *Nakra Muga*, seven miles from the eastern pass leading to the capital, where the prince has a hunting seat surrounded by several others belonging to the nobles, but all going to decay. The tiger and wild boar now prowl unmolested, as none of the 'unlicensed' dare shoot in these royal preserves.

† They surmise that this is the individual blade which is yet annually worshipped by the sovereign and chiefs on its appropriate day, one of the nine sacred to the god of war; a rite completely Scythic. I had this relation from the chief genealogists of the family, who gravely repeated the incantation: "By the preceptor Goruknath, and the great god, Eklinga; by Takahac the serpent, and the sage Harita; by Bhavani (Pallas), strike."

‡ Bappa's mother was a Pramara, probably from Abou or Chandravati, near to Edur; and consequently Bappa was nephew to every Pramara in existence.

§ We are furnished with a catalogue of the tribes which served the Mori prince, which is extremely valuable, from its acquainting us with the names of tribes no longer existing.

was defeated and driven out of the country; but instead of returning to Cheetore, Bappa continued his course to the ancient seat of his family, Gajni, expelled the 'barbarian' called Selim, placed on the throne a chief of the Chawura tribe, and returned with the discontented nobles. Bappa, on this occasion, is said to have married the daughter of his enemy. The nobles quitted Cheetore, leaving their defiance with their prince. In vain were the spiritual preceptor (*Gooru*) and foster-brother (*Dabhae*) sent as ambassadors; their only reply was, that as they had 'eaten his salt,' they would forbear their vengeance for twelve months. The noble deportment of Bappa won their esteem, and they transferred to him their service and homage. With the temptation of a crown, the gratitude of the Grahilote was given to the winds. On return they assaulted and carried Cheetore, and, in the words of the chronicle, "Bappa took Cheetore from the Mori and became himself the mor (crown) of the land: he obtained by universal consent the title of 'sun of the Hindus (*Hindua suraj*), preceptor of princes (*Rai Gooru*), and universal lord (*Chukwa*)."

He had a numerous progeny, some of whom returned to their ancient seats in Saurashtra, whose descendants were powerful chieftains in that tract so late as Akber's reign.* Five sons went to Marwar, and the ancient Gohils† 'of the land of Kheir,' expelled and driven to Gohilwal, have lost sight of their ancestry, and by a singular fatality are in possession of the wreck of Ballabhipura, ignorant of its history and their connection with it, mixing with Arabs and following marine and mercantile pursuits; and the office of the bard having fallen into disrepute, they cannot trace their forefathers beyond Kheirdhur.‡

The close of Bappa's career is the strangest part of the legend, and which it might be expected they would be solicitous to suppress. Advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorasan, and there established himself, and married new wives from among the 'barbarians,' by whom he had a numerous offspring.§

Bappa had reached the patriarchal age of one hundred when he died. An old volume of historical anecdotes, belonging to the chief of Dailwara, states that he became an ascetic at the foot of Meru, where he was buried alive after having overcome all the kings of the west, as in Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmere, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cafferisthan; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called the Nosheyra Pathans. Each of these founded a tribe, bearing the name of the mother. His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number, and were called *Agni-upasi Suryavasi*, or 'sunborn fire-worshippers.' The chronicles also record that (in like manner as did the objects of the Bactrian king Menander though from a different motive) the subjects of Bappa quarrelled for the disposal of his remains. The Hindu wished the fire to consume them; the barbarian, to commit them to earth; but on raising the pall while the dispute was raging, innumerable flowers of the lotus were found in the place of the

* See *Ayen Akbari*, who states fifty thousand Gehlotes in Sorat.

† *Peparra Gohilotes*.

‡ The 'land of Kheir,' on the south-west frontier of Marwar, near the Loony river.

§ The reigning prince told the author that there was no doubt of Bappa having ended his days among 'the Turks,' a term now applied to all Mahomedans by the Hindu, but at that time confined to the inhabitants of Turkistan, the Turushka of the Purans, and the Takshac of early inscriptions.

remains of mortality: these were conveyed and planted in the lake. This is precisely what is related of the end of the Persian Noshirwan.

Having thus briefly sketched the history of the founder of the Gehlota dynasty of Mewar, we must now endeavour to establish the epoch of this important event in its annals. Although Bappa Rawal was nine generations after the sack of Ballabhipura, the domestic annals give S. 191 (A. D. 135) for his birth; which the bards implicitly following, have vitiated the whole chronology. An important inscription* in a character little known, establishes the fact of the Mori dynasty being in possession of Cheetore in S. 770 (A. D. 714). Now the annals of the Rana's house expressly state Bappa Rawal to be nephew of the Mori prince of Cheetore; that at the age of fifteen he was enrolled among the chieftains of his uncle, and that the vassals (before alluded to), in revenge for the resumption of their grants by the Mori, dethroned him and elevated as their sovereign the youthful Bappa. Notwithstanding this apparently irreconcilable anachronism, the family traditions accord with the inscription, except in date. Amidst such contradictions the development of the truth seemed impossible. Another valuable inscription of S. 1024 (A. D. 968), though giving the genealogy from Bappa to Sacti Komar and corroborating that from Cheetore, and which furnished convincing evidence, was not sanctioned by the prince or his chroniclers, who would admit nothing as valid that militated against their established era 191 for the birth of their founder. After six years' residency and unremitting search amid ruins, archives, inscriptions, traditions, and whatever could throw light upon this point, the author quitted Oodipur with all these doubts in his mind, for Saurashtra, to prosecute his enquiries in the pristine abodes of the race. Then it was that he was rewarded, beyond his most sanguine expectations, by the discovery of an inscription which reconciled these conflicting authorities and removed every difficulty. This marble, found in the celebrated temple of Somnath,† made mention of a distinct era viz. the *Ballabhi Samvat*, as being used in Saurashtra; which era was three hundred and seventy-five years subsequent to Vicramaditya.

On the sack of Ballabhi thirty thousand families abandoned this 'city of a hundred temples,' and led by their priests found a retreat for themselves and their faith in Mordur-des (Marwar), where they erected the towns of Sanderai and Balhi, in which latter we recognize the name of the city whence they were expelled. The religion of Ballabhi, and consequently of the colonists was the Jain; and it was by a priest descended from the survivors of this catastrophe, and still with their descendants inhabiting those town, that these most important documents were furnished to the author. The Sanderai roll assigns the year 305 (Ballabhi era) for the destruction of Ballabhi; another, also from Jain authority, gives 205; and as there were but nine princes from Vijaya Sen, the founder, to its fall, we can readily believe the first a numerical error. Therefore $205 + 375 = 580$ S. Vicrama (A. D. 524) for the invasion of Saurashtra by 'the barbarians from the north,' and sack, of Ballabhipura.

Now if from 770, the date of the Mori tablet, we deduct 580, there remains 190; justifying the pertinacity with which the chroniclers of Mewar adhered to the date given in their annals for the birth of Bappa, viz. 191:

* Vide Appendix, Translation No. II.

† See Translation No. III.

though they were ignorant that this period was dated from the flight from Ballabhipur.

Bappa, when he succeeded to the Mori prince, is said to have been fifteen years old; and his birth being one year anterior to the Mori inscription of $770 + 14 =$ S. V. 784 (A. D. 728),* is the period for the foundation of the Gehlote dynasty in Mewar: since which, during a space of eleven hundred years, fifty-nine princes lineally descended from Bappa have sat on the throne of Cheetore.

Though the bards and chroniclers will never forgive the temerity which thus curtails the antiquity of their founder, he is yet placed in the dawn of chivalry, when the Carovingian dynasty was established in the west, and when Walid, whose bands planted 'the green standard' on the Ebro, was 'commander of the faithful.'

From the deserted and now forgotten 'city of the sun,' Aitpur, the abode of wild beasts and savage Bhils, another memorial† of the princes of Mewar was obtained. It relates to the prince Sacti Kumar. Its date is S. 1024 (A. D. 968), and it contains the names of fourteen of his ancestors in regular succession. Amongst these is Bappa, or Syeel. When compared with the chronicles and family archives, it was highly gratifying to find that with the exception of one superfluous name and the transposition of others, they were in perfect accordance.

Hume says, "Poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by 'their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth, when they are the sole 'historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations.'" The remark is applicable here; for the names which had been mouldering for nine centuries, far from the abode of man, are the same they had worked into their poetical legends. It was at this exact epoch that the arms of Islam, for the first time, crossed the Indus. In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira,‡ Mahomed Bin Kasim, the general of the Kaliph Walid, conquered Sind, and penetrated (according to early Arabian authors) to the Ganges; and although Elmacin mentions only Sind, yet other Hindu states were at this period convulsed from the same cause: witness the overthrow of Manik-rae of Ajmeer, in the middle of the eighth century, by a foe 'coming in ships,' Anjar specified as the point where they landed. If any doubt existed that it was Kasim who advanced to Cheetore§ and was defeated by Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore, Dahir,|| the Prince of Debeil. Abul Fuzil records, from Arabian authorities, that Dahir was lord of Sind, and resided at his capital, Debeil, the first place captured by Kasim in 95. His miserable end, and the

* This will make Bappa's attainment of Cheetore fifteen years posterior to Kasim's invasion. I have observed generally a discrepancy of ten years between the Samvat and Hegira; the Hegira reckoned from the sixteenth year of Mohamed's mission, and would if employed reconcile this difficulty.

† See Translation of Inscription No. IV.

‡ A.D. 713, or S. 769: the Inscription 770 of Maun Mori, against whom came the 'barbarian.'

§ I was informed by a friend, who had seen the papers of Captain Macmurdo, that he had a notice of Kasim's having penetrated to Dongerpur. Had this gentleman lived, he would have thrown much light on these western antiquities.

|| By an orthographical error, the modern Hindu, ignorant of Debeil, has written Delhi. But there was no lord of Delhi at this time: he is styled Dahir, Desput (lord) of Debeil, from *des*, 'a country,' and *put*, 'the head.'

destruction of his house, are mentioned by the historian, and account for the son being found with the Mori prince of Cheetore.

Nine princes intervened between Bappa and Sacti Kumar, in two centuries, (twenty-two years to each reign): just the time which should elapse from the founder, who 'abandoned his country for Iran,' in S. 820, or A. D. 764. Having thus established four epochs in the earlier history of the family, viz. 1st Kanaksen, A. D. 144; 2nd. Silladitya, and sack of Ballabhi A.D. 524; 3rd, establishment in Cheetore and Mewar, A. D. 720; 4th Sacti Kumar, A. D. 1068; we may endeavour to relieve this narrative by the notices which regard their Persian descent.

the Gor-ind, and Gardha-bin. There is much of truth in this; nor is it to be doubted that many of the Rajpoot tribes entered India from the north-west regions about this period. *Gor* and *Gardha* have the same signification: the first is Persian, the second its version in Hindi, meaning the 'wild ass,' an appellation of the Persian monarch Bahram, surnamed *Gor* from his partiality to hunting that animal. Various authorities state Byramgor being in India in the fifth century, and his having there left progeny by a princess of Kanouj. A passage extracted by the author from an ancient Jain MS., indicates that in "S. 523, Raja Gardha-bhela, of Cacustha, "or Suryavansa, ruled in Ballabhipura." It has been surmised that Gardha-bhela was the son of Byramgor, a son of whom is stated to have obtained dominion at Puttun; which may be borne in mind when the authorities for the Persian extraction of the Rana's family are given.

The Hindus, when conquered by the Mahomedans, naturally wished to gild the chains they could not break. To trace a common, though distant, origin with the conquerors, was to remove some portion of the taint of dishonour which arose from giving their daughters in marriage to the Tatar emperors of Delhi; and a degree of satisfaction was derived from assuming that the blood thus corrupted once flowed from a common fountain.

Further to develop these claims of Persian descent, we shall commence with an extract from the *Oopodes Presad*, a collection of historic fragments in the Magadhi dialect. "In Goojur-des (Guzerat) there are eighty-four cities. "In one of these, Kaira, resided the Brahmin Devadit, the expounder of the "Vedas. He had an only child, Soobhagoo (of good fortune) by name, at "once a maiden and a widow. Having learned from her preceptor the solar "incantation, incautiously repeating it, the sun appeared and embraced her "and she thence became pregnant. The affliction of her father was diminished when he discovered the parent; nevertheless, [as other might be less "charitable,] he sent her with a female attendant to Ballabhipur where she "was delivered of twins, male and female. When grown up the boy was sent "to school; but being eternally plagued about his mysterious birth, whence he "received the nickname of *Gybie* ('concealed'), in a fit of irritation he one day "threatened to kill his mother if she refused to disclose the author of his "existence. At this moment the sun revealed himself: he gave the youth "a pebble, with which it was sufficient to touch his companions in order to, "overcome them. Being carried before the Balhara prince, who menaced "Gybie, the latter slew him with the pebble, and became himself sovereign of

Sagala, either belong to these princes or the Parthian kings of Minagara on the Indus. The legends are in Greek on one side, and in the Sassanian character on the reverse. Hitherto I have not deciphered the names of any but those of Apollodotus and Menander; but the titles of 'Great King,' 'Saviour,' and other epithets adopted by the Arsacids, are perfectly legible. The devices, however, all incline me to pronounce them Parthian. It would be curious to ascertain how these Greeks and Parthians gradually merged into the Hindu population.

* The Hindu genealogist, in ignorance of the existence of Oguz Khan, the Tatar patriarch, could not connect the chain of Chaghtai with Chandra. The Brahmin, better read, supplied the defect, and with his doctrine of the metempsychosis animated the material frame of the beneficent Akber with the 'good genius' of a Hindu; and that of their mortal foe, Aurungzebe, with one of evil destiny, being that of Kal-jumun, the foe of Crishna. They gravely assert that Akber visited his ancient hermitage at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, and excavated the implements of penance used by him in his former shape, as one of the ages of ancient times; while such is their aversion to Aurungzebe, that they declare the final avatar, Time (Kal), on his white steed, will appear in his person.

The Jeeamloer annals affirm that the whole Turkish (*Turshka*) race of Chaghtai are of Yada stock; while the Jam Jhareja of Kutch traces his descent from the Persian Jamahid, cotemporary with Solomon. These are curious claims, but the Rana's family would consider such vanity criminal.

"Saurashtra, taking the name of Silladitya* (from *silta* 'a stone or pebble, "and *aditya*, 'the sun'): his sister was married to the Rajah of Baroach."

Such is the literal translation of a fragment totally unconnected with the history of the Rana's family, though evidently bearing upon it. The father of Silladitya, according to the Sanderaï roll and other authorities of that period, is Suraj (the sun) Rao, though two others make a Somaditya intervene.†

Let us see what Abul Fuzil says of the descent of the Ranas from Noshirwan: "The Rana's family consider themselves to be descendants of Noshirwan. "They came to Berar (Berat), and became chiefs of Pernalla, which city "being plundered eight hundred years prior to the writing of this book,‡ his "mother fled to Mewar, and was protected by Mandalica Bhil, whom the "infant Bappa slew, and seized his territory."§

The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Mewar princes is the *Maaser-al-Omra*, or that (in the author's possession) founded on it, entitled *Bisat-al-Ganaem*, or 'Display of the Foe,' written in A.H. 1204.¶ The writer of this work styles himself *Latchmi Narrain Shufiek Arungabadi*, 'or the rhymor of Arungabad.' He professes to give an account of Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire; for which purpose he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Mewar from whom Sevaji was descended,‡ quoting at length the *Maaser-al-Omra*, from which the following is a literal translation: "It is well known that the "Rajahs of Oodipur are exalted over all the princes of Hind. Other Hindu "princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive "the khushka, or tiluk of regality and investiture, from them. This type of "sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these "princes is made with human blood: their title is Rana, and they deduce their

* This is probably the Silladitya of the Satrunjya Mahatmya, who repaired the temple on Satrunjya in S. 477 (A.D. 421).

† In perusing this fragment we are struck by the similarity of production of these Hindu Heliads and that of the celebrated Tatar dynasty from which Jungheez Khan was descended. The *Nuranyon*, or 'children of light,' were from an amour of the sun with Elaucua, from which Jungheez was the ninth in descent. Authorities quoted by Petis de la Croix, in his life of this conqueror, and likewise by Marigny, in his History of the Saracens, affirm Jungheez Khan to be a descendant of Yezdegird, the last Sassanian prince. Jungheez was an idolater, and hated the very name of Mahomedan.

A courtier telling Aurungzebe of his celestial ancestry, gravely quoting the affair of the mother of the race of Timoor with the sun, the bigotted monarch coarsely replied, "Mama caba bood," which we will not translate.

‡ Akber commenced his reign A.D. 1555 and had been forty years on the throne when the 'Institutes' were composed by Abul Fuzil.

§ Orme was acquainted with this passage, and shews his knowledge of the Hindu character by observing, that it was a strange pedigree to assign a Hindu prince, for Khusr, of the religion of Zoroaster, though compelled to many abstinences, was not restrained from eating beef: and Anquetil du Perron says of the Parsees, their descendants, that they have refrained since their emigration from slaying the cow merely to please the Hindu.

¶ The cryptographic date is contained in the numerical value of the letters which compose the title:

B. S. A. T. a. 1. G. N. A. E. M. }	As the total is only 1183, either the date
2. 60. 1. 9. 1. 9. 1000. 60 1. 10. 40. }	is wrong, or a deficient value given to the numerals.

‡ Wilford, who by his indefatigable research and knowledge of Sanscrit had accumulated extensive materials, unhappily deteriorated by a too credulous imagination, yet containing much valuable matter available to those sufficiently familiar with the subject to select with safety, has touched on this, and almost on every other point in the circle of Hindu antiquities. Ali Ibrahim, a learned native of Benares, was Wilford's authority for asserting the Rana's Persian descent, who stated to him that he had seen the original history, which was entitled

"origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (i.e. the Just), who conquered the countries of ———,* and many parts of Hindusthan. During his life-time his son Noshizad, whose mother was the daughter of Kesar of Room,† quitted the "ancient worship and embraced the 'faith‡ of the Christians,' and with numerous followers entered Hindusthan. Thence he marched a great army towards Iran, against his father Noshirwan; who despatched his general, Rambarzeen§ with numerous forces to oppose him. An action ensued, in "which Noshizad was slain; but his issue remained in Hindusthan, from "whom are descended the Ranas of Oodipur. Noshirwan had a wife from "the Khakhan|| of China, by whom he had a son called Hormuz, declared heir "to the throne shortly before his death. As according to the faith of the fire- "worshippers¶ it is not customary either to bury or to burn the dead, but to "leave the corpse exposed to the rays of the sun, so it is said the body of Noshirwan has to this day suffered no decay, but is still fresh."

I now come to the account of Yezd, "the son of Shariar, the son of Khoosru Purves, the son of Hormuz, the son of Noshirwan.

"Yezd was the last king of Ajim. It is well known he fought many battles with the Mahomedans. In the fifteenth year of the caliphate, Roostum, son of Feroch, a great chief, was slain in battle by Said-ul-kas, who "commanded for Omar, which was the death-blow to the fortunes of the house "of Sassan: so that a remnant of it did not remain in A.H. 31, when Iran "was seized by the Mahomedans. This battle had lasted four days when "Roostum Feroch Zad was slain by the hand of Hilla the son of I, Kamnla, "at Said's command; though Ferdusi asserts by Said himself. Thirty thousand Moslems were slain, and the same number of the men of Ajim. To "count the spoils was a torment. During this year (the thirty-first), the "sixteenth of the prophet,** the era of the Hegira was introduced. In A.H.

"Origin of the Peishwas from the Ranas of Mewar." (Ibrahim must have meant the Satara princes, whose ministers were the Peishwas.) From this authority three distinct emigrations of the Guebres, or ancient Persians, are recorded, from Persia into Guzerat. The first in the time of Abu Bekr, A.D. 631; the second on the defeat of Yezdegird, A.D. 651; and the third when the descendants of Abbas began to prevail, A.D. 749. Also that a son of Noshirwan landed near Surat with eighteen thousand of his subjects, from Lariathan, and were well received by the prince of the country.

Abul Fazl confirms this account by saying, "the followers of Zerdeht (Zoroaster), when they fled from Persia, settled in 'Surat,' the contracted term from the peninsula of Saurashtra, as well as the city of this name."

* The names are obliterated in the original. Feriastha informs us that Ramdeo Rahtore, sovereign of Kanonj, was made tributary by Feroz 'Sassan' and that Pratap Chand, who usurped the throne of Ramdeo, neglecting to pay this tribute, Noshirwan marched into India to recover it, and in his progress subdued Cabul and the Panjab. From the striking coincidence of these original and decisive authorities, we may rest assured that they had recourse to ancient records, both of the Guebres and the Hindus, for the basis of their histories, which research may yet discover.

† Maurice, emperor of Byzantium.

‡ Deen-i-Tesar. See Ebn Haukal. art. *Serir*, or Russia; whose king, a son of Byram Chassin, whom he styles a *Tesar* or Christian, first possessed it about the end of the sixth century.

§ The *Veranes* of western historians.

|| Khakhan was the title of the kings of Chinese Tartary. It was held by the leader of the Huns, who at this period held power on the Caspian: it was also held by the Oorocs, Khoor, Bulgar, Sorir, all terms for Russia, before its *Kesar* was also cut down into *Csar*, for the original of which, the kings of Rome, as of Russia, were indebted to the Sanscrit *Kesar*, a lion.—Vide Ebn Haukal. art. *Khoor*.

¶ Deen-i-Majnoon; literally, 'faith of the Magi.'

** Mahomed, born A.D. 678: the Hegira, or flight, A.D. 622.

"17, Abu Musa of Ashur seized Hormuz, the son of the uncle of Yezdegird, whom he sent with Yezdegird's daughter to Iman Hosein, and another daughter to Abubeker.

"Thus far have I* extracted from the history of the fire-worshippers. He who has a mind to examine these, let him do so. The people of the religion of Zerdusht have a full knowledge of all these events, with their dates: for the pleasure of their lives is the obtaining accounts of antiquity and astronomical knowledge, and their books contain information of two and three thousand years. It is also told, that when the fortunes of Yezdegird were on the wane, his family dispersed to different regions. The second daughter, Shehr Banoo, was married to Imam Hosein, who when he fell a martyr (*shuheed*), an angel carried her to heaven. The third daughter, Banoo, was seized by a plundering Arab and carried into the wilds of Chichik, thirty coss from Yezd. Praying to God for deliverance, she instantly disappeared and the spot is still held sacred by the Parsees, and named 'the secret abode of perfect purity.' Hither, on the twenty-sixth of the month Bahman, the Parsees yet repair to pass a month in pilgrimage, living in huts under indigenous vines skirting the rock, out of whose fissures water falls into a fountain below: but if the unclean approach the spring, it ceases to flow.

"Of the eldest daughter of Yezdegird, Maha Banoo, the Parsees have no accounts; but the books of Hindu give evidence to her arrival in that country, and that from her issue is the tribe Sesodia. *But, at all events, this race is either of the seed of Noshizad, the son of Noshirwan, or of that of the daughter of Yezdegird.*"†

Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all the points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana's family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Noshizad, who mounted the throne A. D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Ballabhi A. D. 524. The army he collected in Laristan to depose his father might have been from the Parthians, Getes, Huns, and other Scythic races then on the Indus, though it is unlikely, with such an object in view as the throne of Persia, that he would waste his strength in Saurashtra. Khusru Purves, grand-son of Noshirwan the great, and who assumed this title according to Ferdusi, married Marian, the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him *Shirooeh* (the *Siroes* of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It is difficult to separate the actions of the two Noshir wans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of *adil*, or 'just.'

According to the 'Tables' in Moreri,‡ Noshizad, son of Khusru the great, reigned from A. D. 531 to 591. This is opposed to the *Maaser-al-Omra*, which asserts that he was slain during his rebellion. Siroes son of Khusru (the second Noshirwan) by his wife Marian, alternately called the friend and foe of the Christians, did raise the standard of revolt, and met the fate attributed to Noshizad; on which Yezdegird, his nephew, was proclaimed. The crown was intended for Shirooeh's younger brother, which caused the revolt, during which the elder sought refuge in India.

* It must be borne in mind that it is the author of the '*Maaser-al-Omra*,' not the rhymers of Aurangabad, who is speaking.

† For the extract from "the Annals of Princes (*Maaser-al-Omra*)" let us laud the memory of the rhymers of Aurangabad. An original copy, which I in vain attempted to procure in India, is stated by Sir William Ouseley to be in the British Museum. We owe that country a large debt, for we have robbed her of all literary treasures, leaving them to sleep on the shelves of our public institutions.

‡ Vide '*Grand Dictionnaire Historique*.'

These revolutions in the Sassanian house were certainly simultaneous with those which occurred in the Rana's, and no barrier existed to the political intercourse at least between the princely worshippers of Surya and Mithras. It is, therefore, curious to speculate even on the possibility of such a pedigree to a family whose ancestry is lost in the mists of time; and it becomes interesting when, from so many authentic sources, we can raise testimonies which would furnish, to one even uninitiated with the love of hypothesis, grounds for giving ancestors to the Ranas in Maurice of Byzantium, and Cyrus (Khusru) of Persia. We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Ballabhi a city called Byzantium, which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Noshirwan who captured Ballabhi and Gajni, and destroyed the family of Silladitya; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had birth. Whichever of the propositions we adopt at the command of the author of "the Annals of Princes," namely, that the Sesodia race is of the seed of "Noshizad, son of Noshirwan, or of that of Maha-Banoo, daughter of "Yezdegird," we arrived at a singular and startling conclusion, viz. that the "Hindu Suraj, descendant of a hundred kings," the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rama, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess: that the chief prince amongst the nation of Hindu can claim affinity with the emperors of 'the mistress of the world,' though at a time when her glory had waned, and her crown had been transferred from the Tiber to the Bosphorus.

But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any *male* branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Maha-Banoo, the fugitive daughter of Yezdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra; and she may be the Soobhaga (mother of Silladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun' compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The son of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grand child should there seek protection in the reverses of her family.

The Salic law is here in full force, and honours, though never acquired by the female, may be stained by her; yet a daughter of the noble house of Sassan might be permitted to perpetuate the line of Rama without the reproach of taint.†

* It will be recollected that the various authorities given, state Raja Sooraj (*sun*), of Cacutha race, to be the father of Silladitya. *Cacutha* is a term used synonymously with *Suryavansha*, according to the Solar genealogists. Those who may be inclined to the Persian descent may trace it from *Kai-casus*, a well-known epithet in the Persian dynasties. I am unacquainted with the etymology of *Cacutha*; but it may possibly be from *ca*, 'of or belonging to,' *Cush* (Cush), the second son of Rama. I have already hinted, that the Assyrian Medes might be descendants of Hyaspas, a branch of the Indu-Mede of the family of Yayati, which bore the name of *Cacutha*.

† "The moral consequence of a pedigree," says Hume, "is differently marked by the influence of law and custom. The male sex is deemed more noble than the female. The association of our ideas pursues the regular descent of honours and estates from father to son, and their wives, however essential, are considered only in the light of foreign auxiliaries." (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 192.) Not unlike the Rajpoot axiom, though more coarsely expressed: "It is, who planted the tree, not where did it grow," that marks his idea of the comparative value of the side whence honours originate; though parity of blood in both lines is essential.

We shall now abandon this point to the reader, and take leave of Yezdegird,* the last of the house of Sassan, in the words of the historian of Rome: "avec lui, on voit perir pour jamais la gloire et l'empire des Perses. Les rochers du Mazendaran et les sables du Kerman, furent les seuls† asiles "que les vainqueurs laisserent aux sectateurs de Zoroastre."‡

* A new era had commenced, not of Yezdegird's accession, as is supposed, which would have been vain indeed, when the throne was tottering under him, but consequent to the completion of the grand cycle of 1410 years. He was slain at Murve in A.D. 651, the 31st of the Hegira; on the eleventh year of which, or A.D. 632 (according to Moreri), he commenced his reign.

† Gibbon was wrong. India afforded them an asylum, and their issue constitutes, the most wealthy, the most respected, and the most enlightened part of the native community of Bombay and the chief towns of that presidency.

‡ Gibbon, "Miscellaneous Works," *Sur la Monarchie des Medes*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER IV.

Intervening Sovereigns between Bappa and Samarsi.—Bappa's descendants.—Irruptions of the Arabians into India.—Catalogue of Hindu Princes who defended Cheetore.

HAVING established Bappa on the throne of Cheetore S. 784 (A. D. 728), we will proceed to glean from the annals, from the period of his departure for Iran, S. 820 (A. D. 764) to another halting point—the reign of Samarsi, S. 1249 (A. D. 1193); an important epoch, not only in the history of Mewar, but to the whole Hindu race; when the diadem of sovereignty was torn from the brow of the Hindu to adorn that of the Tatar. We shall not, however, overleap the four intervening centuries, though we may not be able to fill up the reigns of the eighteen princes* whose “banner at this time was a golden sun on a crimson field,†” and several of whose names yet live recorded “with an iron pen on the rock” of their native abodes.

An intermediate period, from Bappa to Samarsi, that of *Sacti Kumar*, is fixed by the Aitpur inscription in S. 1024 (A. D. 968); and from the more perishable yet excellent authority of an ancient Jain MS. the era of Ullut, the ancestor of Sacti Kumar, was S. 922 (A. D. 866), four generations anterior. From Bappa's departure for Iran in A. D. 764, to the subversion of Hindu dominion in the reign of Samarsi, in A. D. 1193, we find recorded an intermediate Islamic invasion. This was during the reign of Khoman, between A. D. 812 and 836, which event forms the chief subject of the *Khoman-Rasa*, the most ancient of the poetic chronicles of Mewar.

As the history of India at this period is totally dark, we gladly take advantage of the lights thus afforded. By combining these facts with what is received as authentic though scarcely less obscure or more exact than these native legends, we may furnish materials for the future historian. With this view, let us take a rapid sketch of the irruptions of the Arabians into India from the rise of Islamism to the foundation of the Gaznavid empire, which sealed the fate of the Hindus. The materials are but scanty. El-Makin, in his history of the Caliphs, passes over such intercourse almost without notice. Abul Fuzil, though not diffuse, is minute in what he does say, and we can confide in his veracity. Ferishta has a chapter devoted to this subject, which merits a better translation than yet exists.‡ We shall, however, in the first place, touch on Bappa's descendants, till we arrive at the point proper for the introduction of the intended sketch.

* See Genealogical Table.

† This, according to the roll, was the standard of Bappa.

‡ Amongst the passages which Dow has slurred over in his translation, is the interesting account of the origin of the Afghans; who, when they first came in contact with those of the new faith, in A. H. 62, dwelt around the Koh-i-Sooliman. Ferishta, quoting authority, says: “the Afghans were Copts, ruled by Pharaoh, many of whom were converted to the laws and religion of Moses; but others, who were stubborn in their worship to their gods, fled towards Hindustan, and took possession of the country adjoining the Koh-i-Sooliman. They were visited by Kaxim from Sindh, and in the 143d year of the Hegira had possessed themselves of the provinces of Kirman, Peshawur, and all within their bounds, (*sinoran*), which Dow has converted into a province. The whole geographical description of the Kohistan, the etymology of the term *Rohilla*, and other important matter, is omitted by him.

Of the twenty-four tribes of Gahlote, several issued from the founder. Bappa. Shortly after the conquest of Cheetore, Bappa proceeded to Saurashtra and married the daughter of Esupgole, prince of the island of Bunderdhiva.* With his bride he conveyed to Cheetore the statue of Vyan-mata, the tutelary goddess of her race, who still divides with Eklinga the devotion of the Gahlote princes. The temple in which he enshrined this islandic goddess yet stands on the summit of Cheetore, with many other monuments assigned by tradition to Bappa. This prince bore him Aprajeet, who from being born in Cheetore was nominated successor to the throne, to the exclusion of his less fortunate elder brother, Asil (born of the daughter of the Kaba (Pramara) prince of Kalibao near Dwarica), who, however, obtained possession in Saurashtra, and founded a race called the *Asia Gahlotes*,† whose descendants were so numerous even in Akber's reign, as to be supposed able to bring into the field fifty thousand men at arms. We have nothing important to record of the actions of Aprajeet, who had two sons, Khalbhøj and Nundkumar. Khalbhøj succeeded Aprajeet, and his warlike qualities are extolled in an inscription discovered by the author in the valley of Nagda. Nundkumar slew Bhimsen Dor (*Doda*), and possessed himself of Deogurh in the Dekhan.

Khoman succeeded Khalbhøj. His name is remarkable in the history of Mewar. He came to the throne at the beginning of the ninth century, when Cheetore was assailed by another formidably invasion of Mahomedans. The chief object of the *Khoman Rasa* is to celebrate the defence made on this occasion, and the value of this *rasa* consists in the catalogue of the princes who aided in defending this bulwark of the Hindu faith. The bard in an animated strain, makes his sovereign on this occasion successfully defend the 'crimson standard' of Mewar, treat with contempt the demand for tribute, and after a violent assault, in which the barbarian is driven back, follow and discomfit him in the plain, carrying back the hostile leader, Mahmood, captive. With this event, which introduces the name of Mahmood two centuries before the conqueror of Gazni, we will pause, and resume the promised sketch of the intercourse of Arabia and Hindusthan at this period.

The first intimation of the Moslems attempting the invasion of India is during the caliphate of Omar, who built the port of Bassorah at the mouth of the Tigris, chiefly to secure the trade of Guzerat and Scind; into which latter country a powerful army penetrated under Abul Aas, who was killed in battle at Arore. The Caliph Oosman, who succeeded Omar, sent to explore

* Esupgole is stated to have held Chowal on the main land. He was most probably the father of Venraj Chawura, the founder of Patun Anbulwara, whose ancestors, on the authority of the *Komarpal Charitra*, were princes of Bunderdhiva, held by the Portuguese since the time of Albuquerque, who changed its name to Deo.

† The ancient roll from which this is taken mentions Asil giving his name to a fortress, called Asilgurh. His son, Beej Pal, was slain in attempting to wrest Khumtayet (Cambay) from Singram Dabi. One of his wives, from a violent death, was prematurely delivered of a boy, called Setoo; and as, in such cases, the Hindu supposes the deceased to become a discontented spirit (*choorail*), Chooraila became the name of the tribe. Beeja, the twelfth from his maternal uncle, Khengar Dabi, prince of Giraar, but was slain by Jey Sing Desai, prince of Surat. From these names compounded, Dabi and Chooraila, we may have the *Dabialima* of Mahmood.

‡ Also called Kurna. He it was who excavated the Boralla lake, and erected the great temple of Eklinga on the site of the hermitage of Harina, whose descendant, the present officiating priest, reckons sixty-six descents, while the princes of Mewar amount to ~~about~~ two in the same period.

the state of India, while he prepared an army to invade it in person: a design which he never fulfilled. The generals of the Caliph Ali made conquests in Scind, which they abandoned at Ali's death. While Yezid was governor of Khorassan several attempts were made on India, as also during the caliphate of Abdool Melek, but without any lasting results. It was not till the reign of Walid* that any successful invasion took place. He not only finally conquered Scind and the adjoining continent of India, but rendered tributary all that part of India on this side of the Ganges.* What an exalted idea must we not form of the energy and rapidity of such conquests, when we find the arms of Islam at once on the Ganges and the Ebro, and two regal dynasties simultaneously cut off, that of Roderic, the last of the Goths of Andaloos, and Dahir Despati in the valley of the Indus. It was in A.H. 99 (A.D. 718, S. 777) that Mahomed bin Kasim vanquished and slew Dahir prince of Scind, after numerous conflicts. Amongst the spoils of victory sent to the caliph on this occasion were the daughters of the subjugated monarch, who were the cause of Kasim's destruction,† when he was on the eve of carrying the war against Raja Harchund of Kanouj. Some authorities state that he actually prosecuted it: and as Scind remained a dependency of the caliphate during several successive reigns, the successor of Kasim may have executed his plans. Little is said of India from this period to the reign of Al-Mansoor, except in regard to the rebellion of Yezid in Khorassan, and the flight of his son to Scind. The eight sovereigns, who rapidly followed, were too much engaged with the Christians of the west and the Huns on the Caspian to think of India. Their armies were then in the heart of France, which was only saved from the Koran by their overthrow at Tours by Charles Martel.

Al-Mansoor, when only the lieutenant of the Caliph Abbas, held the government of Scind and of India, and made the island of Bekher on the Indus, and the adjacent Arore,‡ the ancient capital, his residence, naming it Mansoorah; and it was during his government that Bappa Rawul abandoned Cheetore for Iran.

The celebrated Haroon al Rashid, cotemporary of Charlemagne, in apportioning his immense empire amongst his sons, gave to the second, Al-Mamoon, Khorassan, Zabulistan, Cabulistan, Scind, and Hindustan.§ Al-Mamoon on the death of Haroon, deposed his brother, and became caliph in A.H. 198 or A.D. 813, and ruled to 833, the exact period of the reign of Khoman, prince of Cheetore. The domestic history brings the enemy assailant of Cheetore from Zabulistan: and as the leader's name is given '*Mahmood Khorasan Put*,' there can be little doubt that it is an error arising from ignorance of the copyist, and should be *Mahmood*.

Within twenty years after this event, the sword of conquest and conversion was withdrawn from India, and Scind was the only province left to Motawekel (A.D. 850), the grandson of Haroon, for a century after whom the

* Marigny (quoting El-Makin) Hist. of the Arabians, vol. ii. p. 283. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 47.

† "The two young princesses, in order to revenge the death of their father, represented falsely to the Khalif that Mahomed Kasim had been connected with them. The Khalif, in a rage, gave order for Mahomed Kasim to be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to court. When the mandate arrived at Tatta, Kasim was prepared to carry an expedition against Harchand, monarch of Kanouj. When he arrived at court, the Khalif shewed him to the daughters of Dahir, who expressed their joy upon beholding their father's murderer in such a condition." Ayeen Akbary, vol. ii. p. 116.

‡ Arore is seven miles east of Bekher.

§ Marigny, vol. iii. p. 83. Univ. Hist. vol. ii, p. 162.

• GEHLOTE AND COTEMPORARY PRINCES.

GEHLOTE PRINCES.	Eras.		CALIPH OF BAGDAD and KINGS OF GAENL.	Eras.		REMARKS.
	Samvat.	Christia.		A.H.	A.D.	
Rappa, born	769	713	<i>Caliph's of Bagdad.</i> Walid (11th Caliph)	86 to 96	705 to 715	Conquered India to the Gauges.
— obtained Cheetore	784	728	Omar II. (13th do.)	99 to 102	718 to 721	{ Scind conquered. The Mori Prince of Cheetore attacked by Mahomed (son of Kasim), the General of Omar.
— governs Mewar..	—	—	Husham (15th do.)	104 to 125	723 to 742	{ Battle of Toura, A.D. 732, and defeat of the Caliph's army, under Abdul Rahman, by Charles Martel.
— abandons Cheetore	820	764	Al-Mansoor (21st do.)	136 to 158	754 to 775	{ Final conquest of Scind, and the name of its capital, Arora, changed to Mansoor.
Aprajeet.	—	—	Haroon al Rashid (24th do.)	170 to 193	786 to 809	{ Rappa, founder of the Gehlote race in Mewar, retires to Iran.
Khalibhoj.....	—	—	Al-Mamoon (26th do.)	198 to 218	813 to 833	{ Partition of the caliphate amongst Haroon's sons. The second, Al-Mamoon, obtains Zainulithan, Scind, and India, and ruled, them till A. D. 813, when he became Caliph.
Khoman	808 to 892	812 to 836				{ Invasion and attack on Cheetore from Zabulistan.
Bharatphas.						
Sing-j.						
Ullat.						
Kurbahan.			<i>Kings of Gaeni.</i>			
Salsaban.						
Sacti Kumar	1024	968	Aleptegia.....	360	957	Inscription of Sacti-Kumar from ruins of Altpur.
Umba Pusao.	—	—	Soochokegin.....	367	977	Invasion of India.
Narvaga	—	—	Mahmood.....	387 to 418	997 to 1027	Invasions of India, destruction of Altpur.
Jussoravama	—	—				

throne of Bagdad, like that of ancient Rome, was sold by her prætorians to the highest bidder. From this time we find no mention whatever of Hindusthan, or even of Scind, until Soobektegin,* governor of Khorassan, hoisted the standard of independent sovereignty at Gazni. In A.H. 365 (A.D. 975) he carried his arms across the Indus, forcing the inhabitants to abandon the religion of their ancestors, and to read the Koran from the altars of Bal and Crishna. Towards the close of this century he made his last invasion, accompanied by his son, the celebrated Mahmood, destined to be the scourge of the Hindu race, who early imbibed the paternal lesson inculcating the extirpation of infidels. Twelve several visitations did Mahmood make with his Tatar hordes, sweeping India of her riches, destroying her temples and architectural remains, and leaving the country plunged in poverty and ignorance. From the effect of these incursions she never recovered; for though she had a respite of a century between Mahmood and the final conquest, it was too short to repair what it had cost ages to rear: the temples of Somnath, of Cheetore, and Girnar are but types of the magnificence of past times. The memorial of Sacti Kumar proves him to have been the cotemporary of Soobektegin, and to one of his son's visitations is attributed the destruction of the 'city of the sun' (Aitpur),† his capital.

Having thus condensed the little information afforded by Mahomedan historians of the connection between the caliphs of Bagdad and princes of Hind, from the first to the end of the fourth century of the Hegira, we shall revert to the first recorded attack on the Mori prince of Cheetore, which brought Bappa into notice. This was either by Yezid or Mahomed bin Kasim from Scind. Though in the histories of the caliphs we can only expect to find recorded those expeditions which were successful, or had some lasting results, there are inroads of their revolted lieutenants or their frontier deputies which frequently, though indistinctly, alluded to in Hindu annals, have no place in Mahomedan records. Throughout the period mentioned there was a stir amongst the Hindu nations, in which we find confusion and dethronement from an unknown invader, who is described as coming sometimes by Scind, sometimes by sea, and not unfrequently as a demon and magician: but invariably as *mleetcha*, or 'barbarian.'‡ From S. 750 to S. 780 (A.D. 694 to 724), the annals of the Yadus, the Chohans the Chawuras, and the Gehlotes bear evidence to simultaneous convulsions, in their respective houses at this period. In S. 750 (A.H. 75), the Yadu Bhatti was driven from his capital Salpura in the Punjab, across the Sutledge into the Indian desert; the invader named Ferid. At the same period, Manika Rae, the Chohan prince of Ajmeer, was assailed, and slain.

* His father's name was Aleptegin, termed a slave by Ferishta and his authorities; though El-Makin gives him an ancestor in Yezdegird.

† Ait contracted from *Aditya*: hence *Ait-war*, 'Sun-day.'

‡ Even from the puerilities of Hindu legends something may be extracted. A Mendicant dervish, called Roshun Ali (i. e. the light of Ali*), had found his way to Gurh Be-tli (the ancient name of the Ajmeer fortress), and having thrust his hand into a vessel of curds destined for the Rajah, had his finger cut off. The disjoined member flew to Mecca, and was recognized as belonging to the saint. An army was equipped in the disguise of horse-merchants, which invaded Ajmeer, whose prince was slain. May we not gather from this incident, that an insult to the first Islamite missionary in the person of Roshun Ali, brought upon the prince the arms of the Caliph? The same Chohan legends state that Ajpal was prince of Ajmeer at this time; that in this invasion by sea he hastened to Anjar (on the coast of Cutch), where he held the 'guard of the ocean' (*Samoodra ka Chouky*), where he fell in opposing the landing. An altar was erected on the spot, on which was sculptured the figure of the prince on horseback, with his lance at rest, and which still annually attracts multitudes at the 'fair (Mela) of Ajpal.'

The first of the Keechle princes who occupied the Do-abeh of Scind-sagur in the Punjab, as well as the ancestor of the Haras established in Golconda, was expelled at the same time. The invader is treated in the genuine Hindu style as a danoo, or demon, and is named 'Gyramam' (i. e. restless) from *Gujlibund*,* a term geographically given to a portion of the Himalaya mountains about the glaciers of the Ganges. The ancestor of the founder of Putun was expelled from his petty islandic dominion on the coast of Saurashtra at the same time. This is the period when Yezid was the caliph's lieutenant in Khorassan, and when the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges; nor is there a doubt that Yezid or Kasim was the author of all these revolutions in the Hindu dynasties. We are supported in this by the names of the princes contained in the catalogue, who aided to defend Cheetore and the Mori prince on this occasion. It is evident that Cheetore was, alternately with Oojein, the seat of sovereignty of the Pramara at this period, and, as it become the rallying point of the Hindus, that this race was the first in consequence.† We find the prince of Ajmeer, and the quotas of Saurashtra and Guzerat; Ungutsi, lord of the Huns; Boosa, the lord of the North; Seo the prince of the Jharejas; the lord of Junguldes; the Aswuria, the Seput, Koolhur, the Malun, the Ohir, the Hool, and many others, having nothing of the Hindu in name, now extinct. But the most conspicuous is "Dahir Despati from Deweil." This is erroneously written Delhi the seat of the Tuars; whereas we recognize the name of the prince of Scind, slain by Kasim, whose expatriated son doubtless found refuge in Cheetore.

The subsequent invasion alluded to in the text, of S. 750 (A.D. 694), is marked by a curious anecdote. When the 'Assors' had blockaded Ajmeer, Lot, the infant son of Manika Rae, was playing on the battlements, when an arrow from the foe killed the heir of Ajmeer who has ever since been worshipped amongst the lares and penates of the Chohans; and as the had on a silver chain anklet at the time, this ornament is forbid to the children of the race. In all these Rajpoot families there is a protra (adolescent) amongst the penates, always one who has come to an untimely end, and chiefly worshipped by females; having a strong resemblance to the rites in honour of Adonis. We have traced several Roman and Grecian terms to Sanscrit origin; may we add that of *lares*, from *larle*, 'dear' or 'beloved'?

* Signifying 'Elephant forests,' and described in a Hindu map (stamped on cloth and painted) of India from Gujlibund to Lanka, and the provinces west of the Indus to Calcutta; presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society.

† The list of the vassal princes at the court of the Mori confirms the statement of the bard Chund, of the supremacy of Ram Pramara, and the partition of the dominion, as described (see p. 40, note) amongst the princes who founded separate dynasties at this period; hitherto in vassalage or subordinate to the Pramara. We can scarcely suppose the faculty to have suffered any decay since their ancestor, Chandragupta, connected by marriage with as well as the ally of the Grecian Seleucus, and who held Greeks in his pay. From such connection, the arts of sculpture and architecture may have derived a character hitherto unnoticed. Amidst the ruins of Barolli are seen sculptured the Grecian helmet; and the elegant ornament, the *Cameo* or 'vessel of desire,' on the temple of Anno-purna (i. e. 'giver of food'), the Hindu Ceres, has much affinity to the Grecian device.

From the inscription (see N. 2.) it is evident that Cheetore was an appanage of Oojein, the seat of the Pramara empire. Its monarch, Chandragupta (Mori), degraded into the barber (maurya) tribe, was the descendant of Srenika, prince of Rygraba, who according to the Jain work *Calvodrum Aolka*, flourished in the year 477 before Vicramajitya, and from whom Chandragupta was the thirteenth in descent. The names as follows: Konika, Oodsen, a d nine in succession of the name of Nanda, thence called the *Na-nanda*. These, at twenty-two years to a reign (see p. 0), would give 286 years, which—477—191 S.V. × 56=247 A. C. Now it was in A.C. 260, according to Bayer, that the treaty was formed between Seleucus and Chandragupta; so that this scrap of Jain history may be regarded as authentic and valuable. Asoka (a name of weight in Jain annals) succeeded Chandragupta. He by Kernal, whose son was Sumprii, with whose name ends the line of Srenika, according to the authority from which I made the extract. The name of Sumprii is well known from Ajmeer to Saurashtra, and his era is given in a valuable chronogrammatic catalogue in an ancient Jain manuscript from

This attack on the Mori prince was defeated chiefly through the bravery of the youthful Gehlote. The foe from Gujlubund, though stated to have advanced by Mathura, retreated by Saurashtra and Scind, pursued by Bappa. He found the ancient seat of his ancestors, Gajni,* still in the possession of "the Assoor," a term as well as *metcha*, or 'barbarian,' always given to the Islamite at this period. Selim, who held Gajni, was attacked and forced to surrender, and Bappa inducted into this stronghold of his ancestors a nephew of his own. It is no less singular than honourable to their veracity, that the annals should record the fact, so contrary to their religion, of Bappa having married the daughter of the conquered Selim; and we have a right to infer that it was from the influence acquired by this union, that he ultimately abandoned the sovereignty of Mewar and the title of 'Hindua Sooraj,' to become the founder of the 'one hundred and thirty tribes of Nosheyra Pathans' of the west. It is fair to conclude from all these notices regarding the founder of the Gehlote race in Cheetore, that he must have abjured his faith for that of Islam; and it is probable (though the surmise must ever remain unproved), that under some new title applicable to such change, we may have, in one of the early distinguished leaders of the faith, the ancestor of Gehlotes.

Let us now proceed to the next irruption of the Islamite invaders in the reign of Khoman, from A. D. 812 to 836. Though the leader of this "attack is styled 'Mahmood Khorasan Put,' it is evident from the catalogue of Hindu princes who came to defend Cheetore, that this lord of Khorassan' was at least two centuries before the son of Soobektegin; and as the the period is in perfect accordance with the partition of the caliphate by Haroon amongst his sons, we can have no hesitation in assigning such invasion to Mahmood, to whose share was allotted Khorassan, Scind, and the Indian dependencies. The records of this period are too scanty to admit of our passing over in silence even a barren catalogue of names, which, as texts, with the aid of collateral information, may prove of some benefit to the future antiquarian and historian.

"From Gajuni came the Gehlote; the Tak from Aser; from Nadolaye "the Chohan: the Chalook from Rahirgurh; from Set Bunder the Jirkera; "from Mundore the Khairavi; from Mangrole the Macwahana; from Jeitgurh "the Joria; from Taragurh the Rewur; the Cutchwaha from Nirwur; from "Sanchores the Kalum; from Joengurh the Dussanoh; from Ajmeer the Gor; "from Lohadurgurh the Chundano; from Kasooni the Dor; from Delhi the "Tuar; from Patun the Chawura, preserver of royalty (*Rijdhur*) from "Jhalore the Sonigurra; from Sirohi the Deora from Gagrown the Keechie; "the Jadoo from Joonagurh; the Jhala from Patri; from Kanouj the Rah- "tore; from Chotiala the Balla; from Perungurh the Gohil from Jesulgurh "the Bhatti; the Boosa from Lahore; the Sankla from Roneja; the Sehut from

the temple of Nadole, at 202 of the Virat Samvat. He is mentioned both traditionally and by books, as the great supporter of the Jain faith, and the remains of temples dedicated to Mahavira, erected by this prince, yet exist at Ajmeer, on Abco, Komulmeer, and Giraar. See *Plates*.

* It has already been stated that the ancient name of Cambay was Gayni, or Gajni, whose ruins are three miles from the present city. There is also a Gajni on the estuary of the Myhis, and Abul Fuzli incidently mentions a *Gujnagar* as one of the most important fortresses of Guzerat, belonging to Ahmed Shah; in attempting to obtain which by stratagem, his antagonist, Hoshung, king of Malwa, was made prisoner. I am unaware of the site of this place, though there are remains of an extensive fortress near the capital, founded by Ahmed, and which preserves no name. It may be the ancient Gujnagar.

"Kherligurh; from Mandelgurh the Nacoompa; the Birgoojur from Rajore; "from Kurrungurh the Chundail; from Sikur the Sikurwal; from Omergurh "the Jaitwa; from Palli the Birgota; from Khunturgurh the Jareja; from "Jirgah the Kherwur; from Cashmere the Purihara."

Of the Gehlote from Gajuni we have said enough; nor shall we comment on the Tak, or his capital, Aser, which now belongs to the British government. The Chohan, who came from Nadolaye, was a celebrated branch of the Ajmeer house, and claims the honour of being the parent of the Sonigurra of Jhalore and the Deoras of Sirohi. Nadole* is mentioned by Ferishta as falling a prey to one of Mahmood's invasions, who destroyed its ancient temples; but from erroneous punctuation it is lost in the translation as Bazule. Of Rahirgurh and the Jirkhera from Setbunder (on the Malabar coast) nothing is known. Of the Kheiravi from Mundore we can only say that it appears to be a branch of the Pramara (who reckoned Mundore one of the nine strongholds, 'No-kote,' under its dominion), established anterior to the Puriharas, who at this period had sovereignty in Cashmere. Both the Dor and his capital, Dussoondi, are described in ancient books as situated on the Ganges below Kanouj.

It is a subject of regret that the annals do not mention the name of the Tuar prince of Delhi, which city could not have been re-founded above a century, when this call was made upon its aid. Abul Fuzil, Ferishta, their translators, and those who have followed them, have been corrected by the *Edinburgh Review*, whose critical judgment on this portion of ancient history is eminently good. I possess the original Hindu record used by Abul Fuzil, which gives S. 829 for the first Anungpal, instead of S. 429; and as there were but nineteen princes who intervened until his dynasty was set aside by the Chohan, it requires argument to support the *four* instead of *eight* centuries. The former will give the just average of twenty-one years to a reign. The name of Anungpal was titular in the family, and the epithet was applied to the last as to the first of the race.

The name of the Chawura prince of Putun (Anhulwara) being recorded amongst the auxiliaries of Khoman, is another satisfactory proof of the antiquity of this invasion; for this dynasty was extinct, and succeeded by the Solankis, in S. 993 (A.D. 942), fifty years prior to Mahmood of Gazni, who captured Putun during the reign of Chaond, the second Solanki prince.

The Sonigurra, who came from Jhalore, is a celebrated branch of the Chohan race, but we are ignorant of the extent of time that it held this fortress: and as nothing can invalidate the testimonies afforded by the names of the Chawura of Putun, the Cutchwaha of Nirwur, the Tuar of Delhi, and the Rahtore from Kanouj, there can be no hesitation at pointing out the anachronisms of the chronicle which states the Deora from Sirohi, the Keechie from Gagrown, or the Bhatti from Jessulgarh, amongst the levies on this occasion; and which we must affirm to be decided interpolations, the two first being at that period in possession of the Pramara, and the latter not erected for three centuries later. That the Deoras, the Keechies, and the Bhattis, came

* I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one dated S. 1024, the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Putun, and levied tribute from the prince of Cheetore. He was the cotemporary of Mahmood, who devastated Nadole. I also discovered inscriptions of the twelfth century relative to this celebrated Chohan family, in passing from Oodipur to Jathpur.

to the aid of Khoman, we cannot doubt; but the copyist, ignorant even of the names of the ancient capitals of these tribes, Chotun, Sind-Sagur, and Tan-note, substituted those which they subsequently founded.

The Jadu (Yadu) from Joonagurh (Girnar), was of the race of Crishna, and appeared long to have held possession of this territory; and the names of the Khengars, of this tribe, will remain as long as the stupendous monuments they reared on this sacred hill. Besides the Jadu, we find Saurashtra sending forth the Jhalas, the Ballas, and the Gohils, to the aid of the descendant of the lord of Ballabhipura, whose paramount authority they once all acknowledged, and who appeared to have long maintained influence in that distant region.

Of the tribe of Boosa, who left their capital, Lahore, to succour Cheetore, we have no mention, further than the name being enumerated amongst the unassigned tribes of Rajpoots.* Ferishta frequently notices the prince of Lahore in the early progress of Islamism, though he does not tell us the name of the tribe. In the reign of the caliph Al-Mansoor, A.H. 143 (A.D. 761), the Afghans of Kirman and Peshawur, who according to this authority were a Coptic colony expelled from Egypt, had increased in such numbers as to abandon their residence about the 'hill of Suliman,' and crossing the Indus, wrested possessions from the Hindu princes of Lahore. This frontier warfare with a tribe which, though it had certainly not then embraced the faith of Islam, brought to their succour the forces of the caliph in Zabulistan, so that in five months, seventy battles were fought with varied success; but the last, in which the Lahore prince carried his arms to Peshawur,† produced a peace. Hence arose an union of interests between them and the hill tribe of Ghiker, and all the Kohistan west of the Indus was ceded to them, on the condition of guarding this barrier into Hindusthan against invasion. For this purpose the fortress of Khyber was erected in the chief pass of the Koh-i-Damaun. For two centuries after this event Ferishta is silent on this frontier warfare, stating that henceforth Hindusthan was only accessible through Scind. When Aliptegin first crossed the Indus, the prince of Lahore and the Afghans still maintained this alliance and united to oppose him. Jeipal was then prince of Lahore; and it is on this event that Ferishta, for the first time, mentions the tribe of Bhatti;‡ "at the advice of whose prince" he conferred the command of the united forces on an Afghan chief, to whom he assigned the provinces of Mootlan and Limgham. From this junction of interests the princes of Lahore enjoyed comparative security, until Soobektegin and Mahmood compelled the Afghans to serve them: then Lahore was captured. The territory dependent upon Lahore, at this period, extended from Sirhind to Limgham, and from Cashmere to Mooltan. Bhatinda divided with Lahore the residence of its princes. Their first encounter was at Limgham, on which occasion young Mahmood first distinguished himself, and as the historian says, "the eyes of the heavens were obscured at seeing his deeds."§ A tributary engagement was the result, which Jeipal soon broke; and being aided by levies from all the princes of Hindusthan, marched an army of one hundred thousand men against Soobektegin, and was again defeated on the banks of the Indus. He was at length invested and taken in Bhattinda

* See page 92.

† The scene of action was between Peshawur and Kirman, the latter lying ninety miles south-west of the former.

‡ Dow omits this in his translation.

§ The sense of this passage has been quite perverted by Dow.

by Mahmood, when he put himself to death. The successors of Jeipal are mentioned merely as fugitives, and always distinct from the princes of Delhi. It is most probable that they were of the tribe termed Boosa in the annals of Mewar, possibly a subdivision of another; though Ferishta calls the prince of Lahore a Brahmin.

The Sankla from Roneja. Both tribe and abode are well known; it is a subdivision of the Pramara. Hurba Sankla was the Paladin of Marwar, in which Roneja was situated.

The Sehat from Kherligurh was a northern tribe dwelling about the Indus, and though entirely unknown to the modern genealogists of India, is frequently mentioned in the early history of the Bhattis, when their possessions extended on both sides of the Hyphasis. As intermarriages between the Bhattis and Sehats are often spoken of, it must have been Rajpoot. It most probably occupied the province of Sewad, the *Suvat* of D'Anville, a division of the province of Ash-nagar, where dwelt the Assacani of Alexander; concerning which this celebrated geographer says, "Il est mention de Suwat comme d'un canton du pays d'Ash-nagar dans la meme geographie Turque." (Ecl. page 25.) The whole of this ground was sacred to the Jadu tribe from the most remote antiquity, from Mooltan, the hills of Joud, to Aswini-kote (the *Tshekin-kote* of D'Anville) which, built on the point of confluence of the Choaspes of the Greeks with the Indus, marks the spot where dwelt the Asaseni, corroborated by the Puranas, which mention the partition of all these territories amongst the sons of Baj-aswa, the lord of Kampilnagara, the grand subdivision of the Yadu race. In all likelihood, the Sehat, who came to the aid of Khoman of Cheetore, was a branch of these Asaseni, the opponents of Alexander. The modern town of Deenkote appears to occupy the site of Aswini-kote, though D'Anville feels inclined to carry it into the heart of Bijore and place it on the rock (*silla*) Aornus. Such the Sehat; not improbably the *Soha*, one of the eight subdivisions of the Yadu.* When, in S. 785, the Bhatti chief Rao Tannoo was driven across the Sutledge, the Sehats are mentioned with other tribes as forming the army of Hussein Shah, with the Burahas, the Joudis, and Johyas (the Juds and Jinjohyas of Baber), the Bootas, and the 'men of Doode.'

The Chundail, from Kurrungurh, occupied the tracts now termed Boon-delkhund.

We shall pass over the other auxiliary tribes and conclude with the Purihar, who came from Cashmere on this occasion: a circumstance entirely overlooked in the dissertation on this tribe;† nor does this isolated fact afford room for further discussion on a race which expelled the Pramaras from Mundora.

Such aids, who preserved Khoman when assailed by the 'Khorasan Put,' fully demonstrate the antiquity of the annals, which is further attested by inscriptions. Khoman fought twenty-four great battles, and his name, like that of Caesar, became a family distinction. At Oodipur, if you make a false step, or even sneeze, you hear the ejaculation of 'Khoman aid you!' Khoman, by the advice of the Brahmins, resigned the Gadi to his younger son, Jograz; but again resumed it, slaying his advisers and execrating the name of Brahmin, which he almost exterminated in his own dominions. Khoman was at

* See page 67.

length slain by his own son, Mangul; but the chiefs expelled the parriolde, who seized upon Lodurwa in the northern desert, and there established the Mangulia Gehlotes.

Bhartribhut (familiarly Bhatto) succeeded. In his reign, and in that of his successor, the territory dependent on Cheetore was greatly increased. All the forest tribes, from the banks of the Myhie to Aboe, were subjugated, and strongholds erected, of which Dhorungurh and Ujargurh still remain to maintain them. He established no less than thirteen* of his sons in independent possessions in Malwa and Guzerat, and these were distinguished as the Bhatewra Gehlotes.

We shall now leap over fifteen generations; which, though affording a few interesting facts to the antiquarian, would not amuse the general reader. We will rest satisfied with stating, that the Chohans of Ajmeer and the Gehlotes of Cheetore were alternately friends and foes: that Doorlub Chohan was slain by Bersi Raoul in a grand battle fought at Kowario, of which the Chohan annals state 'that their princes were now so powerful as to oppose the chief of Cheetore.' Again, in the next reign, we find the renowned Beesuldeo, son of Doorlub, combining with Raoul Tejsi of Cheetore to oppose the progress of Islamite invasion: facts recorded by inscriptions as well as by the annals. We may close these remarks on the fifteen princes, from Khoman to Samarsi, with the words of Gibbon on the dark period of Guelphic annals: "It may be presumed that they were illiterate and valiant; that they plundered in their youth, and reared churches in old age; that they were fond of arms, horses, and hunting;" and, we may add, continued "bickering with their vassals within, when left unemployed by the enemy from without.

* By name, Koolanuggor, Champanair, Choreta, Uhojpur, Loonara, Neemthore, Sodaru, Jodghur, Sandpur, Aetpur, and Gungabheva. The remaining two are not mentioned.

CHAPTER V.

Historical facts furnished by the bird Chund.—Anungpal.—Prithwi Raj.—Samarsi.—Overthrow of the Chohan monarch by the Tatars.—Posterity of Samarsi.—Rahup.—Changes in the title and the tribe of its princes.—Successors of Rahup.

ALTHOUGH the whole of this chain of ancestry, from Kanaksen in the second, Vijya the founder of Ballabhi in the fourth, to Samarsi in the thirteenth century, cannot be discriminated with perfect accuracy, we may affirm to borrow a metaphor, that "the two extremities of it are rivetted in truth:" and some links have at intervals been recognized as equally valid. We will now extend the chain to the nineteenth century.

Samarsi was born in S. 1206. Though the domestic annals are not silent on his acts, we shall recur chiefly to the bard of Delhi* for his character and actions, and the history of the period. Before we proceed, however, a sketch of the political condition of Hindusthan during the last of the Tuar sovereigns of Delhi, derived from this authority and in the bard's own words, may not be unacceptable. "In Putun is Bhola Bheem the Chalook, of iron frame. On the mountain Aboo, Jeit Pramara, in battle immoveable as the star of the north. In Mewar is Samar Sing, who takes tribute from the mighty, awe of iron in the path of Delhi's foe. In the midst of all, strong in his own strength, Mundore's prince, the arrogant Nahar Rao, the might of Maroo, fearing none. In Delhi the chief of all Anunga, at whose summons attended the princes of Mundore, Nagore, Scind, Julwut† and others on its confines, Peshawur, Lahore, Kangra and its mountain chiefs, with Kasi,‡ Prayag,§ and Gurh Deogir. The lords of Seemar¶ were in constant danger of his power." The Bhatti, since their expulsion from Zabulishthan, had successively occupied as capitals, Salbahana in the Punjab, Tannote, Derawul, which last they founded, and the ancient Lodurwa, which they conquered in the desert; and at the period in question were constructing their present residence, Jessulmeer. In this nook they had been fighting for centuries with

* The work of Chund is a universal history of the period in which he wrote. In the sixty-nine books, comprizing one hundred thousand stanzas, relating to the exploits of Prithwi Raj, every noble family of Rajasthan will find some record of their ancestors. It is accordingly treasured amongst the archives of each race having any pretensions to the name of Rapaet. From this he can trace his martial forefathers who 'drank of the wave of battle' in the passes of Kirman, when 'the cloud of war rolled from Himachal' to the plains of Hindusthan. The wars of Prithwi Raj, his alliances, his numerous and powerful tributaries, their abodes and pedigrees, make the works of Chund invaluable as historic and geographical memoranda, besides being treasures in mythology, manners, and the annals of the mind. To read this poet well is a sure road to honour, and my own *Gooru* was allowed, even by the professional bards, to excel therein. As he read I rapidly translated about thirty thousand stanzas. Familiar with the dialects in which it is written, I have fancied that I seized occasionally the poet's spirit; but it were presumption to suppose that I embodied all his brilliancy, or fully comprehended the depth of his allusions. But I know for whom he wrote. The most familiar of his images and sentiments I heard daily from the mouths of those around me, the descendants of the men whose deeds he rehearses. I was enabled thus to seize his meaning, where one more skilled in poetic lore might have failed, and to make my prosaic version of some value.

† Unknown, unless the country on the 'waters' (jwl) of Scind.

‡ Bejaves.

§ Allahabad.

¶ The cold regions (see, 'cold').

the Lieutenants of the Caliph at Arore, occasionally redeeming their ancient possessions as far as the city of the Tak on the Indus. Their situation gave them little political interest in the affairs of Hindusthan until the period of Prithwi-Raj, one of whose principal leaders, Achilles, was the brother of the Bhatti prince. Anungapal, from this description, was justly entitled to be termed the paramount sovereign of Hindusthan; but he was the last of a dynasty of nineteen princes, who had occupied Delhi nearly four hundred years, from the time of the founder Beelum Deo, who, according to a manuscript in the author's possession, was only an opulent Thacoor when he assumed the ensigns of royalty in the then deserted Indraprastha, taking the name of Anungapal,* ever after titular in the family. The Chohans of Ajmeer owed at least homage to Delhi at this time, although Beesuldeo had rendered it almost nominal; and to Someswar, the fourth in descent, Anungapal was indebted for the preservation of this supremacy against the attempts of Kanouj, for which service he obtained the Tuar's daughter in marriage, the issue of which was Prithwi Raj, who when only eight years of age was proclaimed successor to the Delhi throne. Jeychund of Kanouj and Prithwi Raj bore the same relative situation to Anungapal; Beejipal, the father of the former, as well as Someswar, having had a daughter of the Tuar to wife. This originated the rivalry between the Chohans and Rahtores which ended in the destruction of both. When Prithwi Raj mounted the throne of Delhi, Jeychund not only refused to acknowledge his supremacy, but set forth his own claims to this distinction. In these he was supported by the prince of Putun Anhulwara (the eternal foe of the Chohans), and likewise by the Purihars of Mundore. But the affront given by the latter, in refusing to fulfil the contract of bestowing his daughter on the young Chohan, brought on a warfare, in which this first essay was but the presage of his future fame. Kanouj and Putun had recourse to the dangerous expedient of entertaining bands of Tatars through whom the sovereign of Gazni was enabled to take advantage of their internal broils.

Samarsi, prince of Cheetore, had married the sister of Prithwi Raj, and their personal characters, as well as this tie, bound them to each other throughout all these commotions, until the last fatal battle on the Caggar. From these feuds Hindusthan never was free. But unrelenting enmity was not a part of their character: having displayed the valour of the tribe, the bard or Nestor of the day would step in, and a marriage would conciliate and maintain in friendship such foes for two generations. From time immemorial such has been the political state of India, as represented by their own epics, or in Arabian or Persian histories: thus always the prey of foreigners, and destined to remain so. Samarsi had to contend both with the princes of Putun and Kanouj; and although the bard says, "he washed his blade in the Jumna," the domestic annals slur over the circumstance of Sid Rae Jey Sing having actually made a conquest of Cheetore; for it is not only included in the eighteen capitals enumerated as appertaining to this prince, but the author discovered a tablet in Cheetore, placed there by his successor, Komarpal bearing the date S. 1206, the period of Samarsi's birth. The first occasion of Samarsi's aid being called in by the Chohan emperor was on the discovery of treasure at Nagore, amounting to seven millions of gold, the deposit of ancient

* Anunga is a poetical epithet of the Hindu Cupid, literally 'incorporeal'; but, according to good authority, applicable to the founder of the desolate abode, *palsa* being 'to support' and *anga*, with the primitive an, 'without body'.

days. The princes of Kanouj and Putun, dreading the influence which such sinews of war would afford their antagonist, invited Shabudin to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan, who in this emergency sent an embassy to Samarsi. The envoy was Chund Poondir, the vassal chief of Lahore, and guardian of that frontier. He is conspicuous from this time to the hour when he planted his lance at the ford of the Ravee,* and fell in opposing the passage of Shabudin. The presents he carries, the speech with which he greets the Cheetore prince, his reception, reply, and dismissal, are all preserved by Chund. The style of address and the apparel of Samarsi betoken that he had not laid aside the office and ensigns of 'Regent of Mahadeva.' A simple necklace of the seeds of the lotus adorned his neck; his hair was braided, and he is addressed as Jogindra, or chief of ascetics. Samarsi proceeded to Delhi; and it was arranged, as he was connected by marriage with the prince of Putun, that Prithwi Raj should march against this prince, while he should oppose the army from Gazni. He (Samarsi) accordingly fought several indecisive battles, which gave time to the Chohan to terminate the war in Guzerat and rejoin him. United, they completely discomfited the invaders, making their leader prisoner. Samarsi declined any share of the discovered treasure, but permitted his chiefs to accept the gifts offered by the Chohan. Many years elapsed in such subordinate warfare, when the prince of Cheetore was again constrained to use his buckler in defence of Delhi and its prince, whose arrogance and successful ambition, followed by disgraceful inactivity, invited invasion with every presage of success. Jealousy and revenge rendered the princes of Putun, Kanouj, Dhar, and the minor courts, indifferent spectators of a contest destined to overthrow them all.

The bard gives a good description of the preparations for his departure from Cheetore, which he was destined never to see again. The charge of the city was entrusted to a favourite and younger son, Kurna: which disgusted the elder brother, who went to the Dekhan to Biedur, where he was well received by an Abyssinian chief,* who had there established himself in sovereignty. Another son, either on this occasion or on the subsequent fall of Cheetore, fled to the mountains of Nepal, and there spread the Gehlote line. It is in this, the last of the books of Chund, termed "the Great Fight," that we have the character of Samarsi fully delineated. His arrival at Delhi is hailed with songs of joy as a day of deliverance. Prithwi Raj and his court advance seven miles to meet him, and the description of the greeting of the king of Delhi and his sister, and the chiefs on either side who recognize ancient friendships, is most animated. Samarsi reads his brother-in-law an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity, and throughout the book divides attention with him.

In the planning of the campaign, and march towards the Caggar to meet the foe, Samarsi is consulted, and his opinions are recorded. The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host: brave, cool, and skilful in the fight; prudent, wise, and eloquent in council; pious and decorous on all occasions; beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chohan. In the line of march no augur or bard could better explain the omens, none in the field better dress the squadrons for battle, none guide his steed or use his lance with more address. His tent is the principal resort of the leaders after the march or in the intervals of battle, who were delighted by his eloquence or instructed by his knowledge. The bard confesses that his precepts of go-

* Styled Hubshee Pad-ha.

vernment are chiefly from the lips of Khoman;* and of his best episodes and allegories, whether on morals, rules for the guidance of ambassadors, choice of ministers, religious or social duties (but especially those of the Rajpoot to the sovereign), the wise prince of Cheetore is the general organ.

On the last of three day's desperate fighting Samarsi was slain, together with his son Calian, and thirteen thousand of his house-hold troops and most renowned chieftains. His beloved Pritha, on hearing the fatal issue, her husband slain, her brother captive, the heroes of Delhi and Cheetore "asleep on the banks of the Caggar, in "the wave of the steel," joined her lord through the flame, nor waited the advanced of the Tatar king, when Delhi was carried by storm, and the last stay of the Chohans, prince Rainsi, met death in the assault. The capture of Delhi and its monarch, the death of his ally of Cheetore, with the bravest and best of their troops, speedily ensured the further and final success of the Tatar arms; and when Kanouj fell, and the traitor to his nation met his fate in the waves of the Ganges, none were left to contend with Shabudin the possession of the regal seat of the Chohan. Scenes of devastation, plunder, and massacre commenced, which lasted through ages; during which nearly all that was sacred in religion or celebrated in art was destroyed by these ruthless and barbarous invaders. The noble Rajpoot, with a spirit of constancy and enduring courage, seized every opportunity to turn upon his oppressor. By his perseverance and valour he wore out entire dynasties of foes, alternately yielding 'to his fate,' or restricting the circle of conquest. Every road in Rajasthan was moistened with torrents of blood of the spoiled and the spoiler. But all was of no avail; fresh supplies were ever pouring in, and dynasty succeeded dynasty, heir to the same remorseless feeling which sanctified murder, legalized spoliation, and deified destruction. In these desperate conflicts entire tribes were swept away, whose names are the only memento of their former existence and celebrity.

What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rajpoot? Though ardent and reckless, he can, when required, subside into forbearance and apparent apathy, and reserve himself for the opportunity of revenge. Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict, or human nature sustain, from a foe whose religion commands annihilation, and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure, and making calamity a whetstone to courage. How did the Britons at once sink under the Romans, and in vain strive to save their groves, their druids, or the altars of Bal from destruction! To the Saxons they alike succumbed; they, again, to the Danes; and this heterogeneous breed to the Normans. Empire was lost and gained by a single battle, and the laws and religion of the conquered merged in those of the conquerors. Contrast with these the Rajpoots: not an iota of their religion or customs have they lost, though many a foot of land. Some of their states have been expunged from the map of dominion; and, as a punishment of national infidelity, the pride of the Rahtore, and the glory of the Chalook, the overgrown Kanouj and gorgeous Anbulwarra, are forgotten names! Mewar alone, the sacred bulwark of religion, never compromised her

* I have already mentioned, that Khoman became a patronymic and title amongst the princes of Cheetore.

honour for her safety, and still survives her ancient limits; and since the brave Samarsi gave up his life, the blood of her princes has flowed in copious streams for the maintenance of this honour, religion, and independence.

Samarsi had several sons;* but Kurna was his heir, and during his minority his mother, Karmudevi, a princess of Putun, nobly maintained what his father left. She headed her Rajpoots and gave battle† in person to Kootub-oo-din, near Ambar, when the viceroy was defeated and wounded. Nine Rajas, and eleven chiefs of inferior dignity with the title of Rawut, followed the mother of their prince.

Kurna (the radiant) succeeded in S. 1249 (A.D. 1163); but he was not destined to be the founder of a line in Mewar.‡ The annals are at variance with each other on an event which gave the sovereignty of Cheetore to a younger branch, and sent the elder into the inhospitable wilds of the west, to found a city§ and perpetuate a line. It is stated generally that Kurna had two sons, Mahup and Rahup; but this is an error: Samarsi and Soorajmul were brothers: Kurna was the son of the former and Mahup was his son, whose mother was a Chohan of Bhagur. Soorajmul had a son named Bharut, who was driven from Cheetore by a conspiracy. He proceeded to Scind, obtained Arore from its prince, a Moosulman, and married the daughter of the Bhatti chief of Poogul, by whom he had a son named Rahup. Kurna died of grief for the loss of Bharut and the unworthiness of Mahup, who abandoned him to live entirely with his maternal relations, the Chohans.

The Sonigurra chief of Jhalore had married the daughter of Kurna, by whom he had a child named Rindhole,|| whom by treachery he placed on the throne of Cheetore, slaying the chief Gehlotes. Mahup being unable to recover his rights, and unwilling to make any exertion, the chair of Bappa Rawul would have passed to the Chohans but for an ancient bard of the house. He pursued his way to Arore, held by old Bharut as a fief of Cabul. With the levies of Scind he marched to claim the right abandoned by Mahup and at Pally encountered and defeated the Sonigurras. The retainers of Mewar flocked to his standard, and by their aid he enthroned himself in Cheetore. He sent for his father and mother, Rangadevi, whose dwelling on the Indus was made over to a younger brother, who bartered his faith for Arore, and held it as a vassal of Cabul.

Rahup obtained Cheetore in S. 1257 (A. D. 1201), and shortly after sustained the attack of Shemsudin, whom he met and overcame in a battle at Nagore. Two great changes were introduced by this prince; the first in the title of the tribe, to Sesodia; the other in that of its prince, from Rawul to Rana. The puerile reason for the former has already been noticed;¶ the cause of the latter is deserving of more attention. Amongst the foes of Rahup was the Purihar prince of Mundore: his name Mokul with the title of Rana. Rahup seized him in his capital and brought him to Sesodis, making him renounce the rich district of Godwar, and his title of Rana, which he assumed himself, to denote the completion of his feud. He ruled thirty-eight years in

* Cali-nrae, slain with his father: Koomkurna, who went to Biedur; a third, the founder of the Gorkas.

† This must be the battle mentioned by Ferishta. See Dow, p. 169, vol. ii.

‡ He had a son, Sirwan, who took to commerce. Hence the mercantile Sesodia caste, Sirwanas.

§ Dongurpoor, so named from *dongra*, 'a mountain.'

|| So pronounced, but properly written Rin-dhaval, 'the standard of the field.'

¶ See note, page 165.

a period of great distraction, and appears to have been well calculated, not only to uphold the fallen fortunes of the state, but to rescue them from utter ruin. His reign is the more remarkable by contrast with his successors, nine of whom are "pushed from their stools" in the same or even a shorter period than that during which he upheld the dignity.

From Rahup to Lakumsi, in the short space of half a century, nine princes of Cheetore were crowned, and at nearly equal intervals of time followed each other to 'the mansions of the snn.' Of these nine, six fell in battle. Nor did they meet their fate at home, but in a chivalrous enterprize to redeem the sacred Gya from the pollution of the barbarian. For this object these princes successively fell, but such devotion inspired fear, if not pity or conviction, and the bigot renounced the impiety which Pirthimull purchased with this blood, and until Alla-oo-din's reign, this outrage to their prejudices was renounced. But in this interval they had lost their capital, for it is stated as the only occurrence in Bhonsi's* reign, that he "recovered Cheetor" and made the name of Rana be acknowledged by all. Two memorials are preserved of the nine princes from Rahup to Lakumsi, and of the same character: confusion and strife within and without. We will, therefore, pass over these to another grand event in the vicissitudes of this house, which possesses more of romance than of history, though the facts are undoubted.

* His second son. Chandra, obtained an appanage on the Chumbul, and his issue, well known as Chauderawuts, constituted one of the most powerful vassal clans of Mewar. Ram-pura (Bhanpura) was their residence, yielding a revenue of nine lacks (£110,000), held on the tenure of service, which from an original grant in my possession from Rana Jaggut Sing to his nephew Madhu Sing, afterwards prince of Ambar, was two thousand horse and foot (see p. 154), and the fine of investiture was seventy-five thousand rupees. Madhu Sing, when prince of Ambar, did what was invalid as well as ungrateful; he made over this domain, granted during his misfortunes, to Holkar, the first limb lopped off Mewar. The Chauderawut proprietor continued, however, to possess a portion of the original estate with the fortress of Amud, which it maintained throughout all the troubles of Rajwarra till A. D. 1821. It shows the attachment to custom, that the young Rao applied and received 'the sword' of investiture from his old lord paramount, the Rana, though dependent on Holkar's forbearance. But a minority is proverbially dangerous in India. Disorder from party plots made Amud troublesome to Holkar's government, which as his ally and preserver of tranquility we suppressed by blowing up the walls of the fortress. This is one of many instances of the harsh, uncompromising nature of our power, and the anomalous description of our alliances with the Rajpoots. However necessary to repress the disorder arising from the claims of ancient proprietors and the recent rights of Holkar, or the new proprietor, Guffoor Khan, yet surrounding princes and the general population, who know the history of past times, lament to see a name of five hundred years' duration thus summarily extinguished, which chiefly benefits an upstart Pathan. Such the vortex of the ambiguous, irregular, and unsystematic policy which marks many of our alliances, which protect too often but to injury, and gives to our office of general arbitrator and high constable of Rajasthan a harsh and unfeeling character. Much of this arises from ignorance of the past history; much from disregard of the peculiar usages of the people; or from that expediency which too often comes in contact with moral fitness, which will go on until the day predicted by the Nestor of India, when "one *sikka* (seal) alone will be used in Hindusthan."

CHAPTER VI.

Rana Lakumsi.—Attack of Cheetore by Alla-o-din.—Treachery of Alla.—Rise of the Cheetore chiefs to recover Bheemsi.—Devotion of the Rana and his sons.—Sack of Cheetore by the Tatars.—Its destruction.—Rana Ajeyssi.—Hamir.—He gains possession of Cheetore.—Renown and prosperity of Mewar.—Khaitsi.—Lakha.

LAKUMSI succeeded his father in S. 1331 (A.D. 1275), a memorable era in the annals, when Cheetore, the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts of India, was stormed, sacked, and treated with remorseless barbarity, by the Pathan emperor, Alla-o-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders: that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

Bheemsi was the uncle of the young prince, the Protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chohan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Pudmini, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair, and transmitted with renown to posterity by tradition and the song of the bard. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, with other incidental circumstances constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra. The Hindu bard recognizes the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alla-o-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Pudmini; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajpoot, he entered Cheetore slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajpoot, unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress, amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Alla risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush; Bheemsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp, and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmini.

Despair reigned in Cheetore when this fatal event was known, and it was debated whether Pudmini should be resigned as a ransom for their defender. Of this she was informed, and expressed her acquiescence. Having provided wherewithal to secure her from dishonour, she communed with two chiefs of her own kin and clan of Ceylon, her uncle Gorah and his nephew Badul, who devised a scheme for the liberation of their prince without hazarding her life or fame. Intimation was despatched to Alla, that on the day he withdrew from his trenches the fair Pudmini would be sent, but in a manner befitting her own and his high station, surrounded by her females and handmaids; not only those who would accompany her to Delhi, but many others who desired to pay her this last mark of reverence. Strict commands were to be issued to prevent curiosity from violating the sanctity of female decorum and privacy. No less than seven-hundred covered litters proceeded

to the royal camp. In each was placed one of the bravest of the defenders of Cheetore, borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters. They reached the camp. The royal tents were enclosed with *kanats* (walls of cloth); the litters were deposited, and half an hour was granted for a parting interview between the Hindu prince and his bride. They then placed their prince in a litter and returned with him, while the greater number (the supposed damsels) remained to accompany the fair to Delhi. But Alla had no intention to permit Bheemsi's return, and was becoming jealous of the long interview he enjoyed, when, instead of the prince and Pudmini, the devoted band issued from their litters: but Alla was too well guarded. Pursuit ordered, while these covered the retreat till they perished to a man. A fleet horse was in reserve for Bheemsi, on which he was placed, and in safety ascended the fort, at whose outer gate the host of Alla was encountered. The choicest of the heroes of Cheetore met the assault. With Gorah and Badul at their head, animated by the noblest sentiments, the deliverance of their chief and honour of their queen, they devoted themselves to destruction, and few were the survivors of this slaughter of the flower of Mewar. For a time Alla was defeated in his object, and the havoc they had made in his ranks, joined to the dread of their determined resistance, obliged him to desist from the enterprize.

Mention has already been made of the adjuration, "by the sin of the sack of Cheetore." Of these sacks they enumerate *three and a half*. This is the 'half': for though the city was not stormed, the best and bravest were cut off (*saka*). It is described with great animation in the *Khoman Rasa*. Badul was but a stripling of twelve, but the Rajpoot expects wonders from this early age. He escaped, though wounded, and a dialogue ensues between him and his uncle's wife, who desires him to relate how her lord conducted himself ere she joins him. The stripling replies: "He was the reaper of the 'harvest of battle; I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. 'On the gory bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain; a barbarian prince 'his pillow, he laid him down, and sleeps surrounded by the foe.' Again she said: 'tell me, Badul, how did my love (*peerar*) behave?'—'Oh! mother, 'how further describe his deeds, when he left no foe to dread or admire him?' She smiled farewell to the boy, and adding, 'my lord will chide my delay,' sprung into the flame.

Alla-o-din, having recruited his strength, returned to his object, Cheetore. The annals state this to have been in S. 1346 (A.D. 1290), but Ferishta gives at date thirteen years later. They had not yet recovered the loss of so many valiant men who had sacrificed themselves for their prince's safety, and Alla carried on his attacks more closely, and at length obtained the hill at the southern point, where he entrenched himself. They still pretend to point out his trenches; but so many have been formed by subsequent attacks that we cannot credit the assertion. The poet has found in the disastrous issue of this seize admirable materials for his song. He represents the Rana, after an arduous day, stretched on his pallet, and during a night of watchful anxiety, pondering on the means by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons; when a voice broke on his solitude, exclaiming "*Myn bhooka ho*;"* and raising his eyes, he saw, by the dim glare of the cheragh,† advancing between the granite columns, the

* I am hungry.

† Lamp.

majestic form of the guardian goddess of Cheetore. "Not satiated," exclaimed the Rana, "though eight thousand of my kin were late an offering to thee?"—"I must have regal victims; and if twelve who wear the diadem bleed not for Cheetore, the land will pass from the line." This said, she vanished.

On the morn he convened a council of his chiefs, to whom he revealed the vision of the night, which they treated as the dream of a disordered fancy. He commanded their attendance at midnight; when again the form appeared, and repeated the terms on which alone she would remain amongst them. "Though thousands of barbarians strew the earth, what are they to me? On each day enthrone a prince. Let the *kirnia*,* the *ohhatra*,* and the *chamara*,* proclaim his sovereignty, and for three days let his decrees be supreme: on the fourth let him meet the foe and his fate. Then only may I remain."

Whether we have merely the fiction of the poet, or whether the scene was got up to animate the spirit of resistance, matters but little, it is consistent with the belief of the tribe; and that the goddess should openly manifest her wish to retain as her tiara the battlements of Cheetore on conditions so congenial to the warlike and superstitious Rajpoot, was a gage readily taken up and fully answering the end. A generous contention arose amongst the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. Ursi urged his priority of birth: he was proclaimed, the umbrella waved o'er his head, and on the fourth day he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life. Ajeysi, the next in birth, demanded to follow: but he was the favourite son of his father, and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, and but one victim remained to the salvation of the city, when the Rana, calling his chiefs around him, said, "now I devote myself for Cheetore." But another awful sacrifice was to precede this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite, the *Johur*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat,' in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Cheetore beheld in procession the queen, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Pudmini closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.

A contest now arose between the Rana and his surviving son; but the father prevailed, and Ajeysi, in obedience to his commands, with a small band passed through the enemy's lines, and reached Kailwarra in safety. The Rana, satisfied that his line was not extinct, now prepared to follow his brave sons; and calling around him his devoted clans, for whom life had no longer any charms, they threw open the portals and descended to the plain and with a reckless despair carried death, or met it, in the crowded ranks of Alla. The Tatar conqueror took possession of an inanimate capital, strewn with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire; and since this devoted day the cavern has been sacred: no

* These are the insignia of royalty. The *kirnia* is a parasol, from *keren*, 'a ray'; the *ohhatra* is the umbrella, always red: the *chamara*, the flowing tail of the wildcat, set in a gold handle, and used to drive away the flies.

eye has penetrated its gloom, and superstition has placed as its guardian a huge serpent, whose "venomous breath" extinguishes the light which might guide intruders* to "the place of sacrifice."

Thus fell, in A.D. 1303, this celebrated capital, in the round of conquest of Alla-o-din, one of the most vigorous and warlike sovereigns who have occupied the throne of India. In success, and in one of the means of attainment, a bigotted hypocrisy, he bore a striking resemblance to Aorungzebe; and the title of 'Secunder Sani,' or the second Alexander, which he assumed and impressed on his coins, was no idle vaunt. The proud Anhulwara, the ancient Dhar and Avanti, Mundore and Deogir, the seats of the Solankis, the Pramaras, the Puriharas and Taks, the entire Agnicula race, were overturned for ever by Alla. Jessulmeer, Gagrown, Boondi, the abodes of the Bhatti, the Keechee, and the Hara, with many of minor importance, suffered all the horrors of assault from this foe of the race, though destined again to raise their heads. The Rahtores of Marwar and the Cutchwahs of Ambar were yet in a state of insignificance: the former were slowly creeping into notice as the vassals of the Puriharas, while the latter could scarcely withstand the attacks of the original Meena population. Alla remained in Cheetore some days, admiring the grandeur of his conquest; and having committed every act of barbarity and wanton dilapidation which a bigotted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art, he delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalore, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals. The palace of Bheem and the fair Pudmini alone appears to have escaped the wrath of Alla; it would be pleasing could we suppose any kinder sentiment suggested the exception, which enables the author of these annals to exhibit the abode of the fair of Ceylon.

The survivor of Cheetore, Rana Ajeysi, was now in security at Kailwarra, a town situated in the heart of the Aravali mountains, the western boundary, of Mewar, to which its princes had been indebted for twelve centuries of dominion. Kailwarra is at the highest part of one of its most extensive valleys termed the Shero Nalla, the richest district of this alpine region. Guarded by faithful adherents, Ajeysi cherished for future occasion the wrecks of Mewar. It was the last behest of his father, that when he attained 'one hundred years' (a figurative expression for dying), the son of Ursi, the elder brother, should succeed him. This injunction, from the deficiency of the quality requisite at such a juncture in his own sons, met a ready compliance. Hamir was this son, destined to redeem the promise of the genius of Cheetore and the lost honours of his race, and whose birth and early history fill many a page of their annals. His father, Ursi, being out on a hunting excursion in the forest of Ondwa with some young chiefs of the court, in pursuit of the boar entered a field of maize, when a female offered to drive out the game. Pulling one of the stalks of maize, which grows to the height of ten or twelve feet, she pointed it, and mounting the platform made to watch the corn, impaled the hog, dragged him before the hunters, and departed. Though accustomed to feats of strength and heroism from the nervous arms of their country-women, the act surprised them. They descended to the stream at hand, and prepared

* The author has been at the entrance of this retreat, which, according to the Khoman Rase, conducts to a subterranean palace, but the mephitic vapours and venomous reptiles did not invite to adventure, even had official situation permitted such slight to these prejudices. The author is the only Englishman admitted to Cheetore since the days of Herbert, who appears to have described what he saw.

the repast, as is usual, on the spot. The feast was held, and comments were passing on the fair arm which had transfixed the boar, when a ball of clay from a sling fractured a limb of the prince's steed. Looking in the direction whence it came, they observed the same damsel, from her elevated stand,* preserving her field from aerial depredators; but seeing the mischief she had occasioned she descended to express her regret, and then returned to her pursuit. As they were proceeding homewards after the sports of the day, they again encountered the damsel, with a vessel of milk on her head, and leading in either hand a young buffalo. It was proposed, in frolic, to overturn her milk, and one of the companions of the prince dashed rudely by her; but without being disconcerted, she entangled one of her charges with the horse's limbs, and brought the rider to the ground. On inquiry the prince discovered that she was the daughter of a poor Rajpoot of the Chundano tribe.† He returned the next day to the same quarter and sent for her father, who came and took his seat with perfect independence close to the prince, to the merriment of his companions, which was checked by Ursi asking his daughter to wife. They were yet more surprised by the demand being refused. The Rajpoot, on going home, told the more prudent mother, who scolded him heartily, made him recall the refusal, and seek the prince. They were married, and Hamir was the son of the Chundano Rajpootnee. He remained little noticed at the maternal abode till the catastrophe of Cheetore. At this period he was twelve years of age, and had led a rustic life, from which the necessity of the times recalled him.

Mewar was now occupied by the garrisons of Delhi, and Ajeysi had besides to contend with the mountain chiefs, amongst whom Moonja Balaitcha was the most formidable, who had, on a recent occasion, invaded the Shero Nalla, and personally encountered the Rana, whom he wounded on the head with a lance. The Rana's sons, Sujunsi and Ajimsi, though fourteen and fifteen, an age at which a Rajpoot ought to indicate his future character, proved of little aid in the emergency. Hamir was summoned, and accepted the feud against Moonja, promising to return successful or not at all. In a few days he was seen entering the pass of Kailwarra with Moonja's head at his saddle-bow. Modestly placing the trophy at his uncle's feet, he exclaimed: "recognize the head of your foe!" Ajeysi "kissed his beard,"* and observing that fate had stampt empire on his forehead, impressed it with a teeka of blood from the head of the Balaitcha. This decided the fate of the sons of Ajeysi; one of whom died at Kailwarra, and the other, Sujunsi, who might have excited a civil war, was sent from the country.† He departed for the Dekhan, where his issue was destined to avenge some of the wrongs the parent country had sustained, and eventually to overturn the monarchy of Hindusthan; for Sujunsi was the ancestor of Sevaji, the founder of the Satara throne, whose lineage‡ is given in the chronicles of Mewar.

* A stand is fixed upon four poles in the middle of a field, on which a guard is placed armed with a sling and clay balls, to drive away the ravens, peacocks, and other birds that destroy the corn.

† One of the branches of the Chohan.

* This is an idiomatic phrase; Hamir could have had no beard.

† Des desc.

‡ Ajeysi, Sujunsi, Daleepji, Seoji, Bhoraji, Deoraj, Oogursen, Mahoolji, Khalooji, Junkoji, Suttooji, Sambaji, Sevaji, (the founder of the Mahratta nation), Sambaji, Ramraja, usurpation of the Peishwas. The Satara throne, but for the jealousies of Oodipur, might on the imbecility of Ramraja have been replenished from Mewar. It was offered to Nathji, the grandfather of the

Hamir succeeded in S. 1357 (A.D. 1301), and had sixty-four years granted to him to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century, which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes. The day on which he assumed the ensigns of rule he gave, in the *teeka dowl*, an earnest of his future energy, which he signalized by a rapid inroad in the heart of the country of the predatory Balaitcha, and captured their stronghold Possalio. We may here explain the nature of this custom of a barbaric chivalry. The *teeka dowl* signifies the foray of inauguration, which obtained from time immemorial on such events, and is yet maintained where any semblance of hostility will allow its execution. On the morning of installation, having previously received the *teeka* of sovereignty, the prince at the head of his retainers makes a foray into the territory of any one with whom he may have a feud, or with whom he may be indifferent as to exciting one; he captures a stronghold or plunders a town, and return with the trophies. If amity should prevail with all around, which the prince cares not to disturb, they have still a mock representation of the custom. For many reigns after the Jeipur princes united their fortunes to the throne of Delhi, their frontier town, Malpura, was the object of the *teeka dowl* of the princes of Mewar.

"When Ajmal* went another road," as the bard figuratively describes the demise of Rana Ajyeysi, "the son of Ursi unsheathed the sword, thence "never stanger to his hand." Maldeo remained with the royal garrison in Cheetore, but Hamir desolated their plains, and left to his enemies only the fortified towns which could safely be inhabited. He commanded all who owned his sovereignty either to quit their abodes, and retire with their families to the shelter of the hills on the eastern and western frontiers, or share the fate of the public enemy. The roads were rendered impassable from his parties, who issued from their retreats in the Aravali, the security of which baffled pursuit. This destructive policy of laying waste the resources of their own country, and from this asylum attacking their foes as opportunity offered, has obtained from the time of Mahmood of Gazni in the tenth, to Mehomed, the last who merited the name of Emperor of Delhi, in the eighteenth century.

Hamir made Kailwarra† his residence, which soon became the chief retreat of the emigrants from the plains. The situation was admirably chosen, being covered by several ranges, guarded by intricate defiles, and situated at the foot of a pass leading over the mountain into a still more inaccessible retreat (where Komulmeer now stands),‡ well watered and wooded, with abundance of pastures and excellent indigenous fruits and roots. This tract, above fifty miles in breadth, is twelve hundred feet above the level of the plains and three thousand above the sea, with a considerable quantity of arable land, and free communication to obtain supplies by the passes of the western declivity from Marwar, Guzerat, or the friendly Bhi's of the west, to whom this house owes a large debt of gratitude. On various occasions, the

present chief Sheodan Sing, presumptive heir to Cheetore. Two noble lines were reared from princes of Cheetore expelled on similar occasions; those of Sevaji and the Ghorkas of Nepal.

* This is a poetical version of the name of Ajyeysi; a liberty frequently taken by the bards for the sake of rhyme.

† The lake he excavated here, the '*Hamir-talao*,' and the temple of the protecting goddess on its bank, still bear witness of his acts while confined to this retreat.

‡ See Plate, view of Komulmeer.

communities of Gguna and Panora furnished the princes of Mewar with five thousand bowmen, supplied them with provisions, or guarded the safety of their families when they had to oppose the foe in the field. The elevated plateau of the eastern frontier presented in its forests and dells many places of security; but Alla* traversed these in person, destroying as he went: neither did they possess the advantages of climate and natural productions arising from the elevation of the other. Such was the state of Mewar: its places of strength occupied by the foe, cultivation and peaceful objects neglected from the persevering hostility of Hamir, when a proposal of marriage came from the Hindu governor of Cheetore, which was immediately accepted, contrary to the wishes of the prince's advisers. Whether this was intended as a snare to entrap him, or merely as an insult, every danger was scouted by Hamir which gave a chance to the recovery of Cheetore. He desired that 'the cocoa-nut† might be retained,' coolly remarking on the dangers pointed out, "my feet shall at least tread in the rocky steps in which my ancestors have moved. A Rajpoot should always be prepared for reverses; one day to abandon his abode covered with wounds, and the next to re-ascend with the "mor (crown) on his head." It was stipulated that only five hundred horse should form his suit. As he approached Cheetore, the five sons of the Chohan advanced to meet him, but on the portal of the city no torun,‡ or nuptial emblem, was suspended. He however accepted the unsatisfactory reply to his remark on this indication of treachery, and ascended for the first time the ramp of Cheetore. He was received in the ancient halls of his ancestors by Rao Maldeo, his son Bunbeer, and other chiefs, 'with folded hands.' The bride was brought forth, and presented by her father without any of the solemnities practised on such occasions; 'the knot of their garments tied and their hands united,' and thus they were left. The family priest recommended patience, and Hamir retired with his bride to the apartments allotted for them. Her kindness and vows of fidelity overcame his sadness upon learning that he had married a widow. She had been wedded to a chief of the Bhatti tribe, shortly afterwards slain, and when she was so young as not to recollect even his appearance. He ceased to lament the insult when she herself taught him how it might be avenged, and that it might even lead to the recovery of Cheetore. It is a privilege possessed by the bridegroom to have one specific favour complied with as a part of the dower (*daaja*), and Hamir was instructed by his bride to ask for Jal, one of the civil officers of Cheetore, and of the

* I have an inscription, and in Sanscrit, set up by an apostate chief or bard in his train, which I found in this tract.

† This is the symbol of an offer of marriage.

‡ The torun is the symbol of marriage. It consists of three wooden bars, forming an equilateral triangle; mystic in shape and number, and having the apex crowned with the effigies of a peacock, it is placed over the portal of the bride's abode. At Oodipar, when the princes of Jessulmeer, Eikaneer, and Kishengurh simultaneously married the two daughters and grand-daughter of the Rana, the toruns were suspended from the battlements of the tripolis, or three-arched portal, leading to the palace. The bridegroom on horseback, lance in hand, proceeds to break the torun (*torun toorna*), which is defended by the damsels of the bride, who from the parapet assail him with missiles of various kinds, especially with a crimson powder made from the flowers of the palasa, at the same time singing songs fitted to the occasion, replete with double-entendres. At length the torun is broken amidst the shouts of the retainers; when the fair defenders retire.

The similitude of these ceremonies in the north of Europe and in Asia increases the list of common affinities, and indicates the violence of rude times to obtain the object of affection; and the lance, with which the Rajpoot chieftain breaks the torun, has the same emblematic import as the spear, which, at the marriage of the nobles in Sweden, was a necessary implement in the furniture of the marriage chamber, Vide "Northern Antiquities."

Mehta tribe. With his wife so obtained, and the scribe whose talents remained for trial, he returned in a fortnight to Kailwarra. Kaitsi was the fruit of this marriage, on which occasion Maldeo made over all the hill tracts to Hamir. Kaitsi was a year old when one of the penates (Kaitr Pal) was found at fault, on which she wrote to her parents to invite her to Cheetore, that the infant might be placed before the shrine of the deity. Escorted by a party from Cheetore, with her child she entered its walls; and instructed by the Mehta, she gained over the troops who were left, for the Rao had gone with his chief adherents against the Mers of Madaria. Hamir was at hand. Notice that all was ready reached him at Bagore. Still he met opposition that had nearly defeated the scheme; but having forced admission, his sword overcame every obstacle, and the oath of allegiance (*an*) was proclaimed from the palace of his fathers.

The Sonigurra on his return was met with 'a salute of arabas,* and Maldeo himself carried the account of his loss to the Ghilji king Mahmood, who had succeeded Alla. The 'standard of the sun' once more shone refulgent from the wall of Cheetore, and was the signal for return to their ancient abodes from their hills and hiding-places to the adherents of Hamir. The valleys of Komulmeer and the western highlands poured forth their 'streams of men,' while every chief of true Hindu blood rejoiced at the prospect of once more throwing off the barbarian yoke. So powerful was this feeling, and with such activity and skill did Hamir follow up this favour of fortune, that he marched to meet Mahmood, who was advancing to recover his lost possession. The king unwisely directed his march by the eastern plateau, where numbers were rendered useless by the intricacies of the country. Of the three steppes which mark the physiognomy of this tract, from the first ascent from the plain of Mewar to the descent at the Chumbul, the king had encamped on the central, at Singolli where he was attacked, defeated, and made prisoner by Hamir, who slew Hari Sing, brother of Bunbeer, in single combat. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Cheetore, nor was liberated till he had surrendered Ajmeer, Rinthumbore, Nagore, and Spoe Sopur, besides paying fifty lacks of rupees and one hundred elephants. Hamir would exact no promise of cessation from further inroads, but contented himself with assuring him that from such he should be prepared to defend Cheetore, not within, but without the walls.†

Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeerun, Ruttunpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity; and as he gave the grant he remarked: "eat, serve, and be faithful. You were once the servant of a Toork, but now "of a Hindu of your own faith; for I have but taken back my own, the rock "moistened by the blood of my ancestors, the gift of the deity I adore, and "who will maintain me in it; nor shall I endanger it by the worship of a fair "face, as did my predecessor." Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewar. The Chieftains of Rajasthan rejoiced once more to see a Hindu take the lead, paid willing homage, and aided him with service when required.

Hamir was the sole Hindu prince of power now left in India: all the ancient dynasties were crushed, and the ancestors of the present princes

* A kind of arquebuss.

† Ferishta does not mention this conquest over the Ghilji emperor; but as Mewar recovered her wonted splendour in this reign, we cannot doubt the truth of the native annals.

of Marwar and Jeypur brought their levies, paid, homage, and obeyed the summons of the prince of Cheetore, as did the chiefs of Boondi, Gwalior, Chanderi, Raeseen, Sicri, Calpee, Aboo, &c.

Extensive as was the power of Mewar before the Tatar occupation of India, it could scarcely have surpassed the solidity of sway which she enjoyed during the two centuries following Hamir's recovery of the capital. From this event to the next invasion from the same Cimmerian abode, led by Baber, we have a succession of splendid names recorded in her annals, and though destined soon to be surrounded by new Mahomedan dynasties, in Malwa and Guzerat as well as Delhi, yet successfully opposing them all. The distracted state of affairs when the races of Ghilji, Lodi, and Soor alternately struggled for and obtained the seat of dominion, Delhi, was favourable to Mewar, whose power was now so consolidated, that she not only repelled armies from her territory, but carried war abroad, leaving tokens of victory at Nagore, in Saurashtra, and to the walls of Delhi. The subjects of Mewar must have enjoyed not only a long repose, but high prosperity during this period, judging from their magnificent public works when a triumphal column must have cost the income of a kingdom to erect, and which ten years' produce of the crown-lands of Mewar could not at this time defray. Only one of the structures prior to the sack of Cheetore was left entire by Alla, and is yet existing, and this was raised by private and sectarian hands. It would be curious if the unitarian profession of the Jain creed was the means of preserving this ancient relic from Alla's wrath. The princes of this house were great patrons of the arts, and especially of architecture; and it is matter of surprise how their revenues, derived chiefly from the soil, could have enabled them to expend so much on these objects and at the same time maintain such armies as are enumerated. Such could be effected only by long prosperity, and a mild, paternal system of government; for the subject had his monuments as well as the prince, the ruins of which may yet be discovered in the more inaccessible or deserted portions of Rajasthan. Hamir died full of years, leaving a name still honoured in Mewar, as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes, and bequeathing a well-established and extensive power to his son.

KHAITSI succeeded in S. 1421 (A.D. 1365) to the power and to the character of his father. He captured Ajmeer and Jehajpur from Lilla Patan, and re-annexed Mandalgurb, Dussore, and the whole of Chuppun (for the first time) to Mewar. He obtained a victory over the Delhi monarch Hemayoon at Bakrole; but unhappily his life terminated in a family broil with his vassal, the Haria chief of Bunaoda, whose daughter he was about to espouse.

LAKHA RANA, by this assassination, mounted the throne in Cheetore in S. 1439 (A.D. 1383). His first act was the entire subjugation of the mountainous region of Marwarra, and the destruction of its chief stronghold, Beratgurb, where he erected Bednore. But an event of much greater importance than settling his frontier, and which most powerfully tended to the prosperity of the country, was the discovery of the tin and silver mines of Jawura, in the tract wrested by Khaitsi from the Bhils of Chuppun. Lakha Rana has the merit of having first worked them, though their existence is superstitiously alluded to so early as the period of the founder. It is said the "seven metals (*heft-dhat*)" were formerly abundant; but this appears

* *Heft-dhat*, corresponding to the planets, each of which ruled a metal: hence Mohar, 'the sun,' for gold; *Chandra*, 'the moon,' for silver.

figurative. We have no evidence for the gold; though silver, tin, copper, lead, and antimony, were yielded in abundance (the first two from the same matrix), but the tin that has been extracted for many years past yields but a small portion of silver.* Lakha Rana defeated the Sankla Rajpoots of Nagarchal,† at Ambar. He encountered the emperor Mahomed Shah Lodi, and on one occasion defeated a royal army at Bednore: but he carried the war to Gya, and in driving the barbarian from this sacred place, was slain. Lakha is a name of celebrity, as a patron of the arts and benefactor of his country. He excavated many reservoirs and lakes, raised immense ramparts to dam their waters, besides erecting strongholds. The riches of the mines of Jawura were expended to rebuild the temples and palaces levelled by Alla. A portion of his own palace yet exists, in the same style of architecture as that, more ancient, of Rutna and the fair Pudmini; and a minster (*mundir*) dedicated to the creator (Bramha), an enormous and costly fabric, is yet entire. Being to "the one," and consequently containing no idol, it may thus have escaped the ruthless fury of the invaders.

Lakha had a numerous progeny, who have left their clans called after them, as the Loonawuts and Doolawuts now the sturdy allodial proprietors of the alpine regions bordering on Oguna, Panora, and other tracts in the Aravalli.‡ But a circumstance which set aside the rights of primogeniture, and transferred the crown of Cheetore from his eldest son, Chonda, to the younger, Mokul, had nearly carried it to another line. The consequences of making the elder branch a powerful vassal clan with claims to the throne, and which have been the chief cause of its subsequent prostration, we will reserve for another chapter.

* They have long been abandoned, the miners are extinct, and the protecting deities of miners are unable to get even a flower placed on their shrines, though some have been reconsecrated by the Bhils, who have converted Latchmi into Seetlamata (Juno Lucina), whom the Bhil females invoke to pass them through danger.

† Jhoonjoonoo, Singhana, and Nurbana, formed the ancient Nagarchal territory.

‡ The Sarungdeote chief of Kasorh (on the borders of Chuppun), one of the sixteen lords of Mewar, is also a descendant of Lakha, as are some of the tribes of Sondwara, about Furfurah and the ravines of the Cali Sinde.

CHAPTER VII.

Delicacy of the Rajpoots.—The occasion of changing the rule of primogeniture in Mewar.—Succession of the infant Mokulji, to the prejudice of Chonda, the rightful heir.—Disorders in Mewar through the usurpations of the Rahtores.—Chonda expels them from Cheetore and takes Mundore.—Transactions between Mewar and Marwar.—Reign of Mokulji.—His assassination.

If devotion to the fair sex be admitted as a criterion of civilization, the Rajpoot must rank high. His susceptibility is extreme, and fires at the slightest offence to female delicacy, which he never forgives. A satirical impromptu, involving the sacrifice of Rajpoot prejudices, dissolved the coalition of the Rahtores and Cutchwahas, and laid each prostrate before the Mahrattas, whom when united they had crushed: and a jest, apparently trivial, compromised the right of primogeniture to the throne of Cheetore, and proved more disastrous in its consequences than the arms either of Moguls or Mahrattas.

Lakha Rana was advanced in years, his sons and grandsons established in suitable domains, when "the cocoa-nut came" from Rinnul prince of Marwar, to affiancé his daughter with Chonda, the heir of Merwar. When the embassy was announced, Chonda was absent, and the old chief was seated in his chair of state surrounded by his court. The messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha, who observed that Chonda would soon return and take the gage; "for," added he, drawing his fingers over his mustachios, "I don't suppose you send such play things to an old greybeard like me." This little sally was of course applauded and repeated; but Chonda, offended at delicacy being sacrificed to wit, declined accepting the symbol which his father had even in jest supposed might be intended for him: and as it could not be returned without gross insult to Rinnul, the old Rana, incensed at his son's obstinacy, agreed to accept it himself, provided Chonda would swear to renounce his birthright in the event of his having a son, and be to the child but "the first of his Rajpoots." He swore by Eklinga to fulfil his father's wishes.

MOKULJI was the issue of this union, and had attained the age of five when the Rana resolved to signalize his finale, by a raid against the enemies of their faith, and to expel the 'barbarian' from the holy land of Gya. In ancient times this was by no means uncommon, and we have several instances in the annals of these states of princes resigning 'the purple' on the approach of old age, and by a life of austerity and devotion, pilgrimage and charity, seeking to make their peace with heaven 'for the sins inevitably committed by all who wield 'a sceptre.' But when war was made against their religion by the Tatar proselytes to Islam, the Sutledge and the Caggar were as the banks of the Jordan—Gya, their Jerusalem, their holy land; and if their destiny filled his cup, the Hindu chieftain was secure of beatitude,* exempted

* Mookh.

from the troubles of 'second birth';* and borne from the scene of probation in celestial cars by the Apsaras,† was introduced at once into the 'realm of the sun.'‡ Ere, however, the Rana of Chæetore journeyed to this bourne, he was desirous to leave his throne unexposed to civil strife. The subject of succession had never been renewed; but discussing with Chonda his warlike pilgrimage to Gya, from which he might not return, he sounded him by asking what estates should be settled on Mokul. "The throne of Chæetore," was the honest reply; and to set suspicion at rest, he desired that the ceremony of installation should be performed previous to Lakha's departure. Chonda was the first to pay homage and swear obedience and fidelity to his future sovereign: reserving, as the recompense of his renunciation, the first place in the councils, and stipulating that in all grants to the vassals of the crown, his symbol (the lance), should be superadded to the autograph of the prince. In all grants the lance of Saloombra§ still precedes the monogram of the Rana.||

The sacrifice of Chonda to offended delicacy and filial respect was great, for he had all the qualities requisite for command. Brave, frank, and skilful, he conducted all public affairs after his father's departure and death, to the benefit of the minor and the state. The queen-mother, however, who is admitted as the natural guardian of her infant's rights on all such occasions, felt umbrage and discontent at her loss of power; forgetting that, but for Chonda, she would never have been mother to the Rana of Mewar. She watched with a jealous eye all his proceedings; but it was only through the medium of suspicion she could accuse the integrity of Chonda, and she artfully asserted that, under colour of directing state affairs, he was exercising absolute sovereignty, and that if he did not assume the title of Rana, he would reduce it to an empty name. Chonda, knowing the purity of his own motives, made liberal allowance for maternal solicitude; but upbraiding the queen with the injustice of her suspicions, and advising a vigilant care to the rights of Sesodia, he retired to the court of Mandoo, then rising into notice, where he was received with the highest distinctions, and the district of Hallr was assigned to him by the King.

His departure was the signal for an influx of the kindred of the queen from Mundore. Her brother Joda (who afterwards gave his name to Jodhpur) was the first, and was soon followed by his father, Rao Rinnul, and numerous adherents, who deemed the arid region of Maroo-des, and its rabri, or maize porridge, well exchanged for the fertile plains and wheaten bread of Mewar.

With his grandson on his knee, the old Rao "would sit on the throne of "Bappa Rawul, on whose quitting him for play, the regal ensigns of Mewar "waved over the head of Mundore." This was more than the Sesodia nurse¶ (an important personage in all Hindu governments) could bear, and bursting

* This is a literal phrase, denoting further transmigration of the soul, which is always deemed a punishment. The seldier, who falls in battle in the faithful performance of his duty, is alone exempted, according to their martial mythology, from the pains of 'second birth.'

† The fair messengers of heaven.

‡ *Suaj Mandal*.

§ The abode of the chief of the various clans of Chondawut.

|| Vide p. 154.

¶ The *Dhac*. The *Dhakhaaz*, or 'foster-brothers,' often hold lands in perpetuity, and are employed in the most confidential places; on embassies, marriages, &c.

with indignation, she demanded of the queen if her kin was to defraud her own child of his inheritance. The honesty of the nurse was greater than her prudence. The creed of the Rajpoot is to "obtain sovereignty," regarding the means as secondary, and this avowal of her suspicions only hastened their designs. The queen soon found herself without remedy, and a remonstrance to her father produced a hint which threatened the existence of her offspring. Her fears were soon after augmented by the assassination of Ragudeva, the second brother of Chonda, whose estates were Kailwara and Kowaria. To the former place, where he resided aloof from the court, Rao Rinnul sent a dress of honour, which etiquette requiring him to put on when presented, the prince was assassinated in the act. Ragudeva was so much beloved for his virtues, courage, and manly beauty, that his murder became martyrdom, and obtained for him divine honours, and a place amongst the *Dii Patres* (*Pitri-deva*) of Mewar. His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia, from the Rana to the serf.*

In this extremity the queen-mother turned her thoughts to Chonda, and it was not difficult to apprise him of the danger which menaced the race, every place of trust being held by her kinsmen, and the principal post of Cheetore by a Bhatti Rajpoot of Jessulmeer. Chonda, though at a distance, was not inattentive to the proverbially dangerous situation of a minor amongst the Rajpoots. At his departure he was accompanied by two hundred Ahairsas or huntsmen, whose ancestors had served the princes of Cheetore from ancient times. These had left their families behind, a visit to whom was the pretext for their introduction to the fort. They were instructed to get into the service of the keepers of the gates, and being considered more attached to the place than to the family, their object was effected. The queen-mother was counselled to cause the young prince to descend daily with a numerous retinue to give feasts to the surrounding villages, and gradually to increase the distance, but not to fail on the "festival of lamps"† to hold the feast (*gote*) at Gosoonda.‡

The injunctions were carefully attended to. The day arrived, the feast was held at Gosoonda; but the night was closing in, and no Chonda appeared. With heavy hearts the nurse, the Purohit§ and those in the secret, moved homeward, and had reached the eminence called Chitoree, when forty horsemen passed them at the gallop, and at their head Chonda in disguise, who by a secret sign paid homage as he passed to his younger brother and sove-

* On the 8th day of the *dusseerah*, or 'military festival,' when the levies are mustered at the *Chaugan*, or 'Champ de Mars,' and on the 10th of Chait, his altars are purified, and his image is washed and placed thereon. Women pray for the safety of their children; husbands that their wives may be fruitful. Previously to this a son of Bappa Rawul was worshipped; but after the enshrinement of Raghoodeva the adoration of Kules-putra was gradually abolished. Nor is this custom confined to Mewar: there is a deified *Putra* in every Rajpoot family,—one who has met a violent death. Besides Eklinga, the descendants of Bappa have adopted numerous household divinities: the destinies of life and death. *Bynu-mata* the goddess of the *Chawuras*, *Nagnaicha* the serpent divinity of the *Rahtores*, and *Khetra-pal*, or 'fosterer of the field,' have with many others obtained a place on the Sesodia altars. This festival may not unaptly be compared to that of Adonis amongst the Greeks, for the *Putra* is worshipped chiefly by women.

† The *Dewalli*, from *dewa*, 'a lamp.' This festival is in honour of Latchmi, goddess of wealth.

‡ Seven miles south of Cheetore, on the road to Malwa.

§ The family priest and instructor of youth.

reign. Chonda and his band had reached the *Rampol*,* or upper gate, unchecked. Here, when challenged, they were neighbouring chieftains, who hearing of the feast at Gosoonda, had the honour to escort the prince home. The story obtained credit; but the main body, of which this was but the advance, presently coming up, the treachery was apparent. Chonda unsheathed his sword, and at his well-known shout the hunters were speedily in action. The Bhatti chief, taken by surprise, and unable to reach Chonda, launched his dagger at and wounded him, but was himself slain; the guards at the gates were cut to pieces, and the Rahtores hunted out and killed without mercy.

The end of Rao Rinmul was more ludicrous than tragical. Smitten with the charms of a Sesodia handmaid of the queen, who was compelled to his embrace, the old chief was in her arms, intoxicated with love, wine, and opium, and heard nothing of the tumult without. A woman's wit and revenge combined to make his end afford some compensation for her loss of honour. Gently rising, she bound him to his bed with his own Marwari turban;† nor did this disturb him, and the messengers of fate had entered ere the opiate allowed his eyes to open to a sense of his danger. Enraged, he in vain endeavoured to extricate himself; and by some tortuosity of movement he got upon his legs, his pallet at his back like a shell or shield of defence. With no arms but a brass vessel of ablution, he levelled to the earth several of his assailants, when a ball from a matchlock extended him on the floor of the palace. His son Joda was in the lower town, and was indebted to the fleetness of his steed for escaping the fate of his father and kindred, whose bodies strewed the *terre-pleins* of Cheetore, the merited reward of their usurpation and treachery.

But Chonda's revenge was not yet satisfied. He pursued Rao Joda, who, unable to oppose him, took refuge with Hurba Sankla, leaving Mundore to its fate. This city Chonda entered by surprise, and holding it till his sons Kontotji and Munjaji arrived with reinforcements, the Rahtore treachery was repaid by their keeping possession of the capital during twelve years. We might here leave the future founder of Jodhpur, had not this feud led to the junction of the rich province of Godwar to Mewar, held for three centuries and again lost by treachery. It may yet involve a struggle between the Sesodias and Rahtores.

'Sweet are the uses of adversity.' To Joda it was the first step in the ladder of his eventual elevation. A century and a half had scarcely elapsed since a colony, the wreck of Kanouj, found an asylum, and at length a kingdom, taking possession of one capital and founding another, abandoning Mundore and erecting Jodhpur. But even Joda could never have hoped that his issue would have extended their sway from the valley of the Indus to within one hundred miles of the Jumna, and from the desert bordering on the Sutledge to the Aravali mountains: that one hundred thousand swords should at once be in the hands of Rahtores, 'the sons of one father (ek Bapea Betan).'

If we slightly encroach upon the annals of Marwar, it is owing to its history and that of Mewar being here so interwoven, and the incidents these events gave birth so illustrative of the national character of each that

* Ram-pal, 'the gate of Rama.'

† Often sixty cubits in length.

it is, perhaps, more expedient to advert to the period when Joda was shut out from Mundore, and the means by which he regained that city, previous to relating the events of the reign of Mokul.

Hurba Sankla, at once a soldier and a devotee, was one of those Rajpoot cavaliers '*sans peur et sans reproche*,' whose life of celibacy and perilous adventure was mingled with the austere devotion of an ascetic; by turns aiding with his lance the cause which he deemed worthy, or exercising an unbounded hospitality towards the stranger. This generosity had much reduced his resources when Joda sought his protection. It was the eve of the '*Sudda Birt*,' one of those hospitable rites which, in former times, characterized Rajwarra. This 'perpetual charity' supplies food to the stranger and traveller, and is distributed not only by individual chiefs and by the government, but by subscriptions of communities. Even in Mewar, in her present impoverished condition, the offerings to the gods in support of their shrines and the establishment of the '*Sudda Birt*,' were simultaneous. Hospitality is a virtue pronounced to belong more peculiarly to a semi-barbarous condition. Alas! for refinement and ultra-civilization, strangers to the happiness enjoyed by Hurba Sankla. Joda, with one hundred and twenty followers, came to solicit the 'stranger's fare:' but unfortunately it was too late, the '*Sudda Birt*,' had been distributed. In this exigence, Hurba recollected that there was a wood called *mujd*,* used in dyeing, which among other things in the desert regions is resorted to in scarcity. A portion of this was bruised, and boiled with some flour, sugar, and spices, making altogether a palatable pottage; and with a promise of better fare on the morrow, it was set before the young Rao and his followers, who, after making a good repast, soon forgot Cheetore in sleep. On waking, each stared at his fellow, for their mustachios were dyed with their evening's meal; but the old chief, who was not disposed to reveal his expedient, made it minister to their hopes by giving it a miraculous character, and saying "that as the grey of age was thus metamorphosed into the 'tint of morn† and hope, so would their fortunes become young, and Mun-dore again be theirs."

Elevated by this prospect, they enlisted Hurba on their side. He accompanied them to the chieftain of Mewoh, "whose stables contained one hundred chosen steeds." Pabooji, a third independent of the same stamp, with his 'coal-black steed,' was gained to the cause, and Joda soon found himself strong enough to attempt the recovery of his capital. The sons of Chonda were taken by surprise: but despising the numbers of the foe, and ignorant who were their auxiliaries, they descended sword in hand to meet the assailants. The elder son of Chonda with many adherents was slain; and the younger, deserted by the subjects of Mundore, trusted to the swiftness of his horse for escape; but being pursued, was overtaken and killed on the boundary of Godwar. Thus Joda, in his turn, was revenged, but the '*feud was not balanced*." Two sons of Cheetore had fallen for one chief

* The wood of Solomon's temple is called *al-mug*; the prefix *al* is merely the article. This is the wood also mentioned in the annals of Guzerat, of which the temple to 'Aidnath' was constructed. It is said to be indestructible even by fire. It has been surmised that the fleets of Tyre frequented the Indian coast: could they thence have carried the *Al-Mujd* for the temple of Solomon?

† This wood has a brownish red tint.

‡ This is related with some variation in other annals of the period.

of Mundore. But wisely reflecting on the original aggression, and the superior power of Mewar, as well as his being indebted for his present success to foreign aid, Joda sued for peace, and offered as the *moonchkati*, or 'price of blood,' and "to quench the feud" that the spot where Manja fell should be the future barrier of the two states. The entire province of Godwar was comprehended in the cession, which for three centuries withstood every contention, till the internal dissensions of the last half century, which grew out of the cause by which it was obtained, the change of succession in Mewar severed this most valuable acquisition.*

Who would imagine, after such deadly feuds between these rival states, that in the very next succession these hostile frays were not only buried in oblivion, but that the prince of Marwar abjured "his turban and his bed" till he had revenged the assassination of the prince of Cheetore, and restored his infant heir to his rights? The annals of these states afford numerous instances of the same hasty, overbearing temperament governing all; easily moved to strife, impatient of revenge, and steadfast in its gratification. But this satisfied, resentment subsides. A daughter of the offender given to wife banishes its remembrance; and when the bard joins the lately rival names in the couplet, each will complacently curl his mustachio over his lip as he hears his "renown expand like the lotus," and thus "the feud is extinguished."

Thus have they gone on from time immemorial, and will continue, till what we may fear to contemplate. They have now neither friend nor foe but the British. The Tatar invader sleeps in his tomb, and the Mahratta depredator is muzzled and enchained. To return.

MOKUL, who obtained the throne by Chonda's surrender of his birth-right, was not destined long to enjoy the distinction, though he evinced qualities worthy of heading the Sesodias. He ascended the throne in S. 1454 (A.D. 1398), at an important era in the history of India; when Timur, who had already established the race of Chagitai in the kindoms of central Asia, and laid prostrate the throne of Byzantium, turned his arms towards India. But it was not a field for his ambition; and the event is not even noticed in the annals of Mewar: a proof that it did not affect their repose. But they record an attempted invasion by the king of Delhi, which is erroneously stated to have been by Feroz Shah. A grandson of this prince had indeed been set up, and compelled to fly from the arms of Timur, and as the direction of his flight was Guzerat, it is not unlikely that the recorded attempt to penetrate by the passes of Mewar may have been his. Be this as it may, the Rana Mokul anticipated and met him beyond the passes of the Aravali, in the field of Raepur, and compelled him to abandon his enterprize. Pursuing his success, he took possession of Sambur and its salt lakes, and otherwise extended and strengthened his territory, which the distracted state of the empire consequent to Timur's invasion rendered a matter of difficulty. Mokul finished the palace commenced by Lakha, now a mass of ruins; and erected the shrine of Chatoor-bhooj, 'the four-armed deity,' in the western hills.

* There is little hope, while British power acts as high constable and keeper of the peace in Rajwarra, of this being recovered: nor, were it otherwise, would it be desirable to see it become an object of contention between these states. Marwar has attained much grandeur since the time of Joda, and her resources are more unbroken than those of Mewar; who, if she could redeem, could not, from its exposed position, maintain the province against the Rahtors.

Besides three sons, Rana Mokul had a daughter, celebrated for her beauty, called Lal Bae, or 'the ruby.' She was betrothed to the Keechie chieftain of Gagrown, who at the *Hatlera** demanded the pledge of succour on foreign invasion. Dheruj, the son of the Keechie, had come to solicit the stipulated aid against Hoshung of Malwa, who had invested their capital. The Rana's head-quarters were then at Madaria, and he was employed in quelling a revolt of the mountaineers, when Dheruj arrived and obtained the necessary aid. Madaria was destined to be the scene of the termination of Mokul's career: he was assassinated by his uncles, the natural brothers of his father, from an unintentional offence, which tradition has handed down in all its details.

Chacha and Mira were the natural sons of Kaitsi Rana (the predecessor of Lakha): their mother a fair handmaid of low descent, generally allowed to be a carpenter's daughter. 'The fifth son of Mewar' (as the natural children are figuratively termed) possess no rank, and though treated with kindness, and entrusted with confidential employments, the sons of the chiefs of the second class take precedence of them, and 'sit higher on the carpet.' These brothers had the charge of seven hundred horse in the train of Rana Mokul at Madaria. Some chiefs at enmity with them, conceiving that they had overstepped their privileges, wished to see them humiliated. Chance procured them the opportunity: which however cost their prince his life. Seated in a grove with his chiefs around him, he inquired the name of a particular tree. The Chohan chief, feigning ignorance, whispered him to ask either of the brothers; and not perceiving their scope, he artlessly did so. "Uncle, what tree is this?" The sarcasm thus prompted, they considered as reflecting on their birth (being sons of the carpenter's daughter), and the same day, while Mokul was at his devotions and in the act of counting his rosary, one blow severed his arm from his body, while another stretched him lifeless. The brothers quickly mounting their steeds, had the audacity to hope to surprise Cheetore, but the gates were closed upon them.

Though the murder of Mokul is related to have no other cause than the sarcasm alluded to, the precautions taken by the young prince Koombho, his successor, would induce a belief that this was but the opening of a deep-laid conspiracy. The traitors returned to the stronghold near Madaria, and Koombho trusted to the friendship and good feeling of the prince of Marwar in this emergency. His confidence was well repaid. The prince put his son at the head of a force, and the retreat of the assassins being near his own frontier, they were encountered and dislodged. From Madaria they fled to Paye, where they strengthened a fortress in the mountains named Ratakote: a lofty peak of the compound chain which encircles Oodipur, visible from the surrounding country, as are the remains of this stronghold of the assassins. It would appear that their lives were dissolute, for they had carried off the virgin daughter of a Chohan, which led to their eventual detection and punishment. Her father, Sooja, had traced the route of the ravishers, and mixing with the workmen, found that the approaches to the place of their concealment were capable of being scaled. He was about to lay his complaint before his prince, when he met the cavalcade of Koombho and the Rahtore. The distressed father 'covering his face,' disclosed the story of his own and daughter's dishonour. They encamped all night at Dailwara, when, led by

* The ceremony of joining hands.

the Chundanah, they issued forth to surprise the authors of so many evils. Arrived at the base of the rock, where the parapet was yet low, they commenced the escalade, aided by the thick foliage. The path was steep and rugged, and in the darkness of the night each had grasped his neighbour's skirt for security. Animated by a just revenge, the Chohan (Sooja) led the way, when on reaching a ledge of the rock the glaring eye-balls of a tigress flashed upon him. Undismayed, he squeezed the hand of the Rahtore prince who followed him, and who on perceiving the object of terror instantly buried his poignard in her heart. This omen was superb. They soon reached the summit. Some had ascended the parapet; others were scrambling over, when the minstrel slipping, fell, and his drum, which was to have accompanied his voice in singing the conquest, awoke by its crash the daughter of Chacha. Her father quieted her fears by saying it was only 'the thunder and the rains of Bhadoom:' to fear God only and go to sleep, for their enemies were safe at Kailwa. At this moment the Rao and his party rushed in. Chacha and Maira had no time to avoid their fate. Chacha was cleft in two by the Chundanah while the Rahtore prince laid Maira at his feet, and the spoils of Ratakote were divided among the assailants.

CHAPTER VIII.

Succession of Koombho.—He defeats and takes prisoner Mahmood of Malwa. —Splendour of Koombho's reign.—Assassinated by his son.—The murderer dethroned by Raemul.—Mewar invaded by the imperial forces. —Raemul's successes.—Feuds of the family.—Death of Raemul.

KOOMBHO succeeded his father in S. 1475 (A.D. 1419); nor did any symptom of dissatisfaction appear to usher in his reign, which was one of great success amidst no common difficulties. The bardic historians* do as much honour to the Marwar prince, who had made common cause with their sovereign in revenging the death of his father, as if it had involved the security of his crown; but this was a precautionary measure of the prince, who was induced thus to act from several motives, and above all, in accordance with usage, which stigmatizes the refusal of aid when demanded: besides "Koombho was the nephew of Marwar."

It has rarely occurred in any country to have possessed successively so many energetic princes as ruled Mewar through several centuries. She was now in the middle path of her glory, and enjoying the legitimate triumph of seeing the fœes of her religious captives on the rock of her power. A century had elapsed since the bigot Alla had wreaked his vengeance on the different monuments of art. Cheetore had recovered the sack, and new defenders had sprung up in the place of those who had fallen in their 'saffron robes,' a sacrifice for her preservation. All that was wanting to augment her resources against the storms which were collecting on the brows of Caucasus and the shores of the Oxus, and were destined to burst on the head of his grandson Sanga, was effected by Khoombho; who with Hamir's energy, Lakha's taste for the arts, and a genius comprehensive as either and more fortunate, succeeded in all his undertakings, and once more raised the 'crimson banner' of Mewar upon the banks of the Caggar, the scene of Samarsi's defeat. Let us contrast the patriarchal Hindu governments of this period with the despotism of the Tatar invader.

From the age of Shahbudin, the conqueror of India, and his cotemporary Samarsi, to the time we have now reached, two entire dynasties, numbering twentyfour emperors and one empress, through assassination, rebellior, and dethronement, had followed in rapid succession, yielding a result of only nine years to a reign. Of Mewar, though several fell in defending their altars at home or their religion abroad, eleven princes suffice to fill the same period.

It was towards the close of the Ghilji dynasty that the satraps of Delhi shook off its authority and established subordinate kingdoms: Beejipur and Golconda in the Dekhan; Malwa, Guzerat, Joinpur in the east; and even Calpee had its king. Malwa and Guzerat had attained considerable power when Koombho ascended the throne. In the midst of his prosperity these two states formed a league against him, and in S. 1496 (A.D. 1440) both kings, at the head of powerful armies, invaded Mewar. Koombho met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state, and at the head of one

* The *Raj Ruttana* by Rinchor Bhut, says: "the Mundore Rao was pradhan, or premier, to Mokul, and conquered Nowah and Deodwana for Mewar."

hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to Cheetore Mahmood, the Ghilji sovereign of Malwa.

Abul Fuzil relates this victory, and dilates on Koombho's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty, not only without ransom but with gifts. Such is the character of the Hindu: a mixture of arrogance, political blindness, pride, and generosity. To spare a prostrate foe is the creed of the Hindu cavalier, and he carries all such maxims to excess. The annals, however, state that Mahmood was confined six months in Cheetore; and that the trophies of conquest were retained we have evidence from Baber, who mentions receiving from the son of his opponent, Sanga, the crown of Malwa king. But there is a more durable monument than this written record of victory: the triumphal pillar in Cheetore, whose inscriptions detail the event, "when, shaking the earth, the lords of Goojur-khund and Malwa, with armies "overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Medpat." Eleven years after this event Koombho laid the foundation of this column, which was completed in ten more: a period apparently too short to place "this ringlet on the brow "of Cheetore, which makes her look down upon Meru with derision." We will leave it, with the aspiration that it may long continue a monument of the fortune of its founders.

It would appear that the Malwa king afterwards united his arms with Koombho, as, in a victory gained over the imperial forces at Jhoonjoonoo, when "he planted his standard in Hissar," the Malwa troops were combined with those of Mewar. The imperial power had at this period greatly declined: the Khootba was read in the mosques in the name of Timoor, and the Malwa king had defeated, single-handed, the last Ghorian sultan of Delhi.

Of eighty-four fortresses for the defence of Mewar, thirty-two were erected by Khoombho. Inferior only to Cheetore is that stupendous work called after him Koombhomeer,* 'the hill or Koombho,' from its natural position, and the works he raised, impregnable to a native army. These works were on the site of a more ancient fortress, of which the mountaineers long held possession. Tradition ascribes it to Sumprit Raja, a Jain prince in the second century, and a descendant of Chandragupta; and the ancient Jain temples appear to confirm the tradition.† When Koombho captured Nagore he brought away the gates, with the statue of the god Hanuman, who gives his name to the gate which he still guards. He also erected a citadel on a peak of Aboo, within the fortress of the ancient Pramara, where he often resided. Its magazine and alarm-tower still bear Koombho's name; and in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Koombho and his father still receive divine honours. Centuries have passed since the princes of Mewar had influence here, but the incident marks the vivid remembrance of their condition. He fortified the passes between the western frontier and Aboo, and erected the the fort Vasunti near the present Sirohi, and that of Macheen, to defend the Shero Nalla and Deogurh against the *Mairs* of Aravali. He re-established Ahore and other smaller forts to overawe the Bhoomia‡ Bhil of Jarole and Panora, and defined the boundaries of Marwar and Mewar.

* Pronounced *Koomul-ecer*. See Plate.

† See Plates.

‡ A powerful phrase, indicating 'possessor of the soil.'

Besides these monuments of his genius, two consecrated to religion have survived; that of "Koombho Sham," on Aboo, which, though worthy to attract notice elsewhere, is here eclipsed by a crowd of more interesting objects. The other, one of the largest edifices existing, cost upwards of a million sterling, towards which Koombho contributed eighty thousand pounds. It is erected in the Sadri pass leading from the western descent of the highlands of Mewar, and is dedicated to Rishub-deva.† Its secluded position has preserved it from bigoted fury, and its only visitants now are the wild beasts who take shelter in its sanctuary. Koombho Rana was also a poet: but in a far more elevated strain than the troubadour princes, his neighbours, who contented themselves with rehearsing their own prowess or celebrating their lady's beauty. He composed a *tika*, or appendix to the "Divine Melodies,"§ in praise of Crishna. We can pass no judgment on these inspirations of the royal bard, as we are ignorant whether any are preserved in the records of the house: a point his descendant, who is deeply skilled in such lore, might probably answer.

Koombho married a daughter of the Rahtore of Mairta, the first of the clans of Marwar. Meera Bae was the most celebrated princess of her time for beauty and romantic piety. Her compositions were numerous, though better known to the worshippers of the Hindu Apollo than to the ribald bards. Some of her odes and hymns to the deity are preserved and admired. Whether she imbibed her poetic piety from her husband, or whether from her he caught the sympathy which produced the "sequel to the songs of Govinda," we cannot determine. Her history is a romance, and her excess of devotion at every shrine of the favourite deity with the fair of Hind, from the Yamuna to "the world's end,"* gave rise to many tales of scandal. Koombho mixed gallantry with his warlike pursuits. He carried off the daughter of the chief of Jhalawar, who had been betrothed to the prince of Mundore: the renewed the old feud, and the Rahtore made many attempts to redeem his affianced bride. His humiliation was insupportable, when through the purified atmosphere of the periodical rains "the towers of Koombhomeer became visible from the castle of Mundore, and the light radiated from the chamber of the fair through the gloom of a night in Bhadoon,† to the hall where he brooded o'er his sorrows." It was surmised that this nightlamp was an understood signal of the Jhalani, who pined at the decree which ambition had dictated to her father, in consigning her to the more powerful rival of her affianced lord. The Rahtore exhausted every resource to gain access to the fair, and had once nearly succeeded in a surprise by escalade, having cut his way in the night through the forest in the western and least guarded acclivity: but, as the bard equivocally remark, "though he cut his way through the *jhal* (brush "wood"), he could not reach the *Jhalani*."

† The Rana's minister, of the Jain faith, and of the tribe Porwar (one of the twelve and a half divisions), laid the foundation of this temple in A.D. 1438. It was completed by subscription. It consists of three stories, and is supported by numerous columns of granite, upwards of forty feet in height. The interior is inlaid with mosaic of cornelian and agate. The statues of the Jain saints are in its subterranean vaults. We could not expect much elegance at a period when the arts had long been declining, but it would doubtless afford to fair specimen of them, and enable us to trace their gradual descent in the scale of refinement. This temple is an additional proof of the early existence of the art of inlaying. That I did not see it, is now to me one of the many vain regrets which I might have avoided.

§ Gita Govinda.

* Juggut Koont, or Dwarica.

† The darkest of the rainy months.

Koombho had occupied the th. one half a century; he had triumphed over the enemies of his race, fortified his country with strongholds, embellished it with temples, and with the superstructure of her fame had laid the foundation of his own—when, the year which should have been a jubilee was disgraced by the foulest blot in the annals; and his life, which nature was about to close, terminated by the poignard of an assassin—that assassin, his son!

This happened S. 1525 (A.D. 1469). Ooda was the name of the parricide, whose unnatural ambition, and impatience to enjoy a short lustre of sovereignty, bereft of life the author of his existence. But such is the detestation which marks this unusual crime, that, like that of the Venetian traitor, his name is left a blank in the annals, nor is Ooda known but by the epithet *Hatiaro*, 'the murderer.' Shunned by his kin, and compelled to look abroad for succour to maintain him on the throne polluted by his crime, Mewar in five years of illegitimate rule lost half the consequence which had cost so many to acquire. He made the Deora prince independent in Aboo, and bestowed Sambhur, Ajmeer, and adjacent districts, on the prince of Jodhpur* as the price of his friendship. But a prey to remorse, he felt that he could neither claim regard from, nor place any dependence upon, these princes, though he bribed them with provinces. He humbled himself before the king of Delhi, offering him a daughter in marriage to obtain his sanction to his authority; "but heaven manifested its vengeance to prevent this additional inquiry, and preserve the house of Bappa Rawul from dishonour." He had scarcely quitted the *divan* (*dewan-khaneh*), on taking leave of the king, when a flash of lightning struck the '*Hatiaro*' to the earth, whence he never arose. The bards pass over this period cursorily, as one of their race was the instrument of Ooda's crime.

There has always been a jealousy between the *Manglas*, as they term all classes 'who extend the palm,' whether Brahmins, Yatis, Charuns, or Bhats; but since Hamir, the Charun influence had far eclipsed the rest. A Brahmin astrologer predicted Koombho's death through a Charun, and as the class had given other cause of offence, Koombho banished the fraternity of his dominions, resuming all their lands: a strong measure in those days, and which few would have had nerve to attempt or firmness to execute. The heir-apparent, Raemul who was exiled to Eidur for what his father deemed an impertinent curiosity,† had attached one of these bards to his suite, whose ingenuity got the odious set aside, and his race restored to their lands and prince's favour. Had they taken off the Brahmin's head, they might have falsified the prediction which unhappily was too soon fulfilled.‡

RAEMUL succeeded in S. 1530 (A.D. 1474) by his own valour to the seat of Koombho. He had fought and defeated the usurper, who on this occasion fled to the king of Delhi and offered him a daughter of Mewar. After his death in the manner described, the Delhi monarch, with Sehesmul and Soorajmul, sons of the parricide, invaded Mewar, encamping at Siarh, now Nathadwara. The chiefs were faithful to their legitimate prince, Raemul, and aided

* Joda laid the foundation of his new capital in S. 1515, ten years anterior to the event we are recording.

† He had observed that his father, ever since the victory over the king at Jhoonjoona, before he took a seat thrice waved his sword in circles over his head, pronouncing at the same time some incantation. Inquiry into the meaning of this was the cause of his banishment.

‡ During the rains of 1820, when the author was residing at Oodipur, the Rana fell ill;

by his allies of Aboo and Girnar, at the head of fifty-eight thousand horse and eleven thousand foot, he gave battle to the pretender and his imperial ally at Ghassa. The conflict was ferocious. "The streams ran blood," for the sons of usurper were brave as lions; but the king was so completely routed that he never again entered Mewar.

Raemul bestowed one daughter to Surji (Yadu), the chief of Girnar; and another on the Deora, Jeymul of Sirohi, confirming his title to Aboo as her dower. He sustained the warlike reputation of his predecessors, and carried on interminable strife with Gheas-o-din of Malwa, whom he defeated in several pitched battles, to the success of which the valour of his nephews, whom he had pardoned, manily contributed. In the last of these encounters the Ghilji king sued for peace, renouncing the pretensions he had formerly urged. The dynasty of Lodi next enjoyed the imperial bauble, and with it Mewar had to contest her northern boundary.

Raemul had three sons, celebrated in the annals of Rajasthan. Sanga, the competitor of Baber, and Prithwi Raj, the Rolando of his age. Unhappily for the country and their father's repose, fraternal affection was discarded for deadly hate, and their feuds and dissensions were a source of constant alarm. Had discord not disunited them, the reign of Raemul would have equalled any of his predecessors. As it was, it presented a striking contrast to them: his two elder sons banished; the first, Sanga, self-exiled from perpetual fear of his life, and Prithwi Raj, the second, from his turbulence; while the younger, Jeimal, was slain through his intemperance. A sketch of these feuds will present a good picture of the Rajpoot character, and their mode of life when their arms were not required against their country's foes.

Sanga* and Prithwi Raj were the offspring of the Jhali Queen; Jeimal was by another mother. What moral influence the name he bore had on Prithwi Raj we can surmise only from his actions, which would stand comparison with these of his prototype, the Chohan of Delhi, and are yet the delight of the Sesodia. When they assemble at the feast after a day's sport, or in a sultry evening spread the carpet on the terrace to inhale the leaf or take a cup of kusoomba, a tale of Prithwi Raj recited by the bard is the highest treat they can enjoy. Sanga, the heir-apparent, was a contrast to his brother. Equally brave, his courage was tempered by reflection; while Prithwi Raj burned with a perpetual thirst for action, and often observed "that fate must have intended him to rule Mewar." The three brothers, with their uncle, Surajmul, were one day discussing these topics, when Sanga observed that, though heir to 'the ten thousand towns' of Mewar, he would waive his claims,

his complaint was an intermittent (which for several years returned with the monsoon), at the same time that he was jaundiced with bile. An intriguing Brahmin, who managed the estates of the Rana's elder sister held also the two-fold office of physician and astrologer to the Rana, he was administering the *Hft dhat* or 'seven metals,' compounded. Having a most sincere regard for the Rana's welfare, the author seized the opportunity of a full court being assembled on the distribution of swords and cocoa-nuts preparatory to the military festival to ask a personal favour. The Rana, smiling said that it was granted, when he was entreated to leave off the poison he was taking. He did so; the amendment was soon visible, and aided by the medicines of Dr. Duncan which he readily took, his complaint was speedily cured. The 'man of fate and physic' lost half his estates, which he had obtained through intrigue. He was succeeded by Umra the bard, who is not likely to ransack the pharmacopoeia for such poisonous ingredients; his ordinary prescription being the amrit.

* His name classically is *Singram Sing* 'the lion of war.'

and trust them, as did the Roman brothers, to the omen which should be given by the priestess of Charuni Devi at Nahra Mugro,* the 'Tiger's Mount.' They repaired to her abode, Prithwi Raj and Jeimal entered first, and seated themselves on a pallet: Sanga followed and took possession of the panther hide of the prophetess; his uncle, Surajmul, with one knee resting thereon. Scarcely had Prithwi Raj disclosed their errand, when the sybil pointed to the panther-hide† as the decisive omen of sovereignty to Sanga, with a portion to his uncle. They received the decree as did the twins of Rome. Prithwi Raj drew his sword and would have falsified the omen, had not Surajmul stepped in and received the blow destined for Sanga, while the prophetess fled from their fury. Surajmul and Prithwi Raj were exhausted with wounds and Sanga fled with five sword-cuts and an arrow in his eye, which destroyed the sight for ever. He made for the sanctuary of Chutturbhooja, and passing Sevanto, took refuge with Beeda (Oodawut), who was accoutred for a journey, his steed standing by him. Scarcely had he assisted the wounded heir of Mewar to alight when Jeimal galloped up in pursuit. The Rahtore guarded the sanctuary, and gave up his life in defence of his guest, who meanwhile escaped.

Prithwi Raj recovered from his wound: and Sanga, aware of his implacable enmity, had recourse to many expedients to avoid discovery. He who at a future period leagued a hundred thousand men against the descendant of Timoor, was compelled to associate with goatherds, expelled the peasant's abode as too stupid to tend his cattle, and, precisely like our Alfred the great, having in charge some cakes of flour, was reproached with being more desirous of eating than tending them. A few faithful Rajpoots found him in this state, and providing him with arms and a horse, they took service with Rao Kurimchund, Pramara, chief of Sreenugger;‡ and with him "ran the country." After one of these raids, Sanga one day alighted under a banian tree, and placing his dagger under his head, reposed, while two of his faithful Rajpoots whose name are preserved,§ prepared his repast, their steeds grazing by them. A ray of the sun penetrating the foliage, fell on Sanga's face, and discovered a snake, which feeling the warmth, had uncoiled itself and was rearing its crest over the head of the exile: a bird of omen¶ had perched itself on the crested serpent, and was chattering aloud. A goatherd named Maroo, "versed in language of birds," passed at the moment Sanga awoke. The prince repelled the proffered homage of the goatherd, who, however, had intimated to the Pramara chief that he was served by "royalty."¶ The Paramara kept the secret, and gave Sanga a daughter to wife, and protection till the tragical end of his brother called him to the throne.

When the Rana heard of The quarrel which had nearly deprived him of his heir, he banished Prithwi Raj, telling him that he might live on his bravery and maintain himself with strife. With but five horse** Prithwi Raj quitted the paternal abode, and made for Balcooh in Godwar. These dissensions

* About ten miles east of Ooipur.

† *Sighava* is the ancient term for the Hi-du throne, signifying 'the lion-seat.' Charuns, barils, who are all *Maharajas*, 'great princes,' by courtesy have their seats of the hide of the lion, tiger, panther, or black antelope.

‡ Near Ajmeer.

§ Jey Sing Balcoo and Jeimoo Sindil.

¶ Called the *devi*, about the size of the wagtail, and like it, black and white.

** Chuthurdhari.

** The names of his followers where, Jessa Sindia, Singum (Dabi), Abho, Junoh, and Bhudail Rahtore.

following the disastrous conclusion of the last reign, paralyzed the country, and the wild tribes of the west and the mountaineers of the Aravali so little respected the garrison of Nadole (the chief town of Godwar), that they carried their depredations to the plains. Prithwi Raj halted at Nadole, and having to procure some necessaries pledged a ring to the merchant who had sold it to him, the merchant recognized the prince, and learning the cause of his disguise proffered his services in the scheme which the prince had in view for the restoration of order in Godwar, being determined to evince to his father that he had resources independent of birth. The Meenas were the aboriginal proprietors of all these regions: the Rajpoots were interlopers and conquerors. A Rawut of this tribe had regained their ancient haunts, and held his petty court at the town of Nodolaye in the plains, and was even served by Rajpoots. By the advice of Ojah, the merchant, Prithwi Raj enlisted himself and his band among the adherents of the Meena. On the *Ahairee*, or 'hunter's festival,' the vassals have leave to rejoin their families. Prithwi Raj, who had also obtained leave, rapidly retraced his steps, and despatching his Rajpoots to dislodge the Meena, awaited the result in ambush at the gate of the town. In a short time the Meena appeared on horseback, and in full flight to the mountains for security. Prithwi Raj pursued, overtook, and transixed him with his lance to a kesoola tree, and setting fire to the village, he slew the Meenas as they sought to escape the flames. Other towns shared the same fate, and all the province of Godwar, with the exception of Daisoori, a stronghold of the Madraicha Chohans, fell into his power. At this time Sadda Solanki, whose ancestor had escaped the destruction of Putun and found refuge in these mountainous tracts, held Sodgurh. He had espoused a daughter of the Madraicha, but the grant of Daisoori and its lands* in perpetuity easily gained him to the cause of Prithwi Raj.

Prithwi Raj having thus restored order in Godwar, and appointed Ojah and the Solanki to the government thereof, regained the confidence of his father; and his brother Jeimal being slain at this time, accelerated his forgiveness and recall. Ere he rejoins Raemul we will relate the manner of this event. Jeimal was desirous to obtain the hand of Tarra Bae, daughter of Rao Soortan,† who had been expelled Thoda by the Pathans. The price of her hand was the recovery of this domain: but Jeimal, willing to anticipate the reward, and rudely attempting access to the fair, was slain by the indignant father. The quibbling remark of the bard upon this event is that "Tarra was "not the star (*tarra*) of his destiny." At the period of this occurrence Sanga was in concealment, Prithwi Raj banished, and Jeimal consequently looked to as the heir of Mewar. The Rana, when incited to revenge, replied with a magnanimity which deserves to be recorded, "that he who had thus dared to "insult the honour of a father, and that father in distress, richly merited his "fate;" and in proof of his disavowal of such a son he conferred on the Solanki the district of Bednore.

This event led to the recall of Prithwi Raj, who eagerly took up the gage

* The grant in the preamble denounces a curse on any of Prithwi Raj's descendants who should resume it. † have conversed with his descendant, who held Sodgurh and its lands, which were never resumed by the prince of Chetore though they reverted to Marwar. The chief still honours the Rana, and many lives have been sacrificed to maintain his claims, and with any prospect of success he would not hesitate to offer his own.

† This is a genuine Hindu name: 'the Hero's refuge,' from *Soor* 'a warrior,' and *Then*, 'an abode.

disgraced by his brother. The adventure was akin to his taste. The exploit which won the hand of the fair Amazon, who, equipped with bow and quiver, subsequently accompanied him in many perilous enterprises, will be elsewhere related.

Surajmul (the uncle), who had fomented these quarrels, resolved not to belie the prophetic if a crown lay in his path. The claims acquired from his parricidal parent were revived when Mewar had no sons to look to. Prithwi Raj on his return renewed the feud with Surajmul, whose "vaulting ambition" persuaded him that the crown was his destiny, and he plunged deep into treason to obtain it. He joined as partner in his schemes Sarungdeo, another descendant of Lakha Rana, and both repaired to Mozuffir, the sultan of Malwa. With his aid they assailed the southern frontier, and rapidly possessed themselves of Sadri, Baturo, and a wide tract extending from Nye to Neematch, attempting even Cheetore. With the few troops at hand Raemul descended to punish the rebels, who met the attack on the river Gumbeeree. The Rana, fighting like a common soldeir, had received two and twenty wounds, and was nearly falling through faintness, when Prithwi Raj joined him with one thousand fresh horse, and reanimated the battle. He selected his uncle Surajmul, whom he soon covered with wounds. Many had fallen on both sides, but neither party would yield; when worn out they mutually retired from the field, and bivouacked in sight of each other.

It will shew the manners and feelings so peculiar to the Rajpoot, to describe the meeting between the rival uncle and nephew:—unique in the details of strife, perhaps, since the origin of man. It is taken from a MS. of the Jhala chief who succeeded Surajmul in Sadri. Prithwi Raj visited his uncle, whom he found in a small tent reclining on a pallet, having just had "the barber" (*nae*) to sew up his wounds. He rose, and met his nephew with the customary respect, as if nothing unusual had occurred; but the exertion caused some of the wounds to open afresh, when the following dialogue ensued.

Prithwi Raj. "Well, uncle, how are your wounds?"

Surajmul. "Quite healed, my child, since I have the pleasure of seeing you."

Prithwi Raj. "But, uncle (*kaka*), I have not yet seen the Dewanji.* I first ran to see you, and I am very hungry; have you any thing to eat?"

Dinner was soon served, and the extraordinary pair sat down and "ate off the same platter;"† nor did Prithwi Raj hesitate to eat the "*pan*,"‡ presented on his taking leave.

Prithwi Raj. "You and I will end our battle in the morning, uncle."

Soorajmul. "Very well, child; come early!"

They met: but Sarungdeo bore the brunt of the conflict, receiving thirty-five wounds. During "four gurrises§ swords and lances were plied, and "every tribe of Rajpoot lost numbers that day;" but the rebels were defeated and fled to Sadri, and Prithwi Raj returned in triumph, though with seven wounds, to Cheetore. The rebels, however, did not relenquish their designs and many personal encounters took place between the uncle and nephew:

* 'Regent,' the title the Rana is most familiarly known by.

† *Thali*, 'a brass platter.' This is the high-st mark of confidence and friendship.

‡ This compound of the betel or areca-nut, cloves, mace, terra japonica, and prepared lime, is always taken after meals, and has not unfrequently been a medium for administering poison.

§ Hours of tw nty-two minutes each.

the latter saying he would not let him retain "as much land of Mewar as would cover a "needle's point;" and Sujoh* retorting, that "he would allow "his nephew to redeem only as much as would suffice to lie upon." But Prithwi Raj gave them no rest, pursuing them from place to place. In the wilds of Baturro they formed a stockaded retreat of the dho tree, which abounds in these forests. Within this shelter, horses and men were intermingled: Sujoh and his coadjutor communing by the night-fire on their desperate plight, when their cogitations were checked by the rush and neigh of horses. Scarcely had the pretender exclaimed "this must be my nephew!" when Prithwi Raj dashed his steed through the barricade and entered with his troops. All was confusion, and the sword showered its blows indiscriminately. The young prince reached his uncle, and dealt him a blow which would have levelled him, but for the support of Sarungdeo, who upbraided him, adding that "a buffet now was more than a score of wounds in former days:" to which Sujoh rejoined, "only when dealt by my nephew's hand." Sujoh demanded a parley; and calling on the prince to stop the combat, he continued: "if I am killed, it matters not—my children are Rajpoots, they will run "the country to find support; but if you are slain, what will become of "Cheetore? My face will be blackened, and my name everlastingly reprobated."

The sword was sheathed, and as the uncle and nephew embraced, the latter asked the former, "what were you about, uncle, when I came?"—"Only talking nonsense, child, after dinner."—"But with me over your head, "uncle, as a foe, how could you be so negligent?"—"What could I do? you "had left me no resource, and I must have some place to rest my head!" There was a small temple near the stockade, to which in the morning Prithwi Raj requested his uncle to accompany him to sacrifice to Cali,† but the blow of the preceding night prevented him. Sarungdeo was his proxy. One buffalo had fallen, and a goat was about to follow, when the prince turned his swords on Sarungdeo. The combat was desperate; but Prithwi Raj was the victor, and the head of the traitor was placed as an offering on the altar of Time. The Gooda‡ was plundered, the town of Baturro recovered, and Surajmul fled to Sadri, where he only stopped to fulfill his threat, "that if he could not retain its "lands he would make them over to those stronger than the king:"§ and having distributed them amongst Brahmins and bards, he finally abandoned Mewar. Passing through the wilds of Khanthul, he had an omen which recalled the Charuni's prediction: 'a wolf endeavouring in vain to carry off a 'kid defended by maternal affection.' This was interpreted as 'strong ground for a dwelling.' He halted, subdued the aboriginal tribes, and on this spot erected the town and stronghold of Deola, becoming lord of a thousand villages, which have descended to his offspring, who now enjoy them under British protection. Such was the origin of Pertabgurh Deola.

* Familiar contraction of Surajmul.

† The Hindu Proserpine, or Calligenia. Is this Grecian handmaid of Hecate also Hindu, 'born of time' (*Cali-jenema*)?

‡ Gooda, or Goora is the name of such temporary places of refuge; the origin of towns bearing this name.

§ Such grants are irresumable, under the penalty of sixty thousand years in hell. This fine district is eaten up by these mendicant Brahmins. One town alone containing 52 000 beegas (about 15,000 acres) of rich land, is thus lost; and by such follies Me-ar has gradually sunk to her present extreme poverty.

Prithwi Raj was poisoned by his brother-in-law, of Aboo, whom he had punished for maltreating his sister, and afterwards confided in. His death was soon followed by that of Rana Raemul, who, though not equal to his predecessors, was greatly respected, and maintained the dignity of his station amidst no ordinary calamities.*

CHAPTER IX.

Accession of Rana Sanga.—State of the Mohamedan power.—Grandeur of Mewar.—Sanga's victories.—Invasions of India.—Baber's invasion.—Defeats and kills the King of Delhi.—Opposed by Sanga.—Battle of Kanua.—Defeat of Sanga.—His death and character.—Accession of Rana Rutna.—His death.—Rana Bickramajeet.—His character.—Disgusts his nobles.—Cheetore invested by the King of Malwa.—Storm of Cheetore.—Saca or immolation of the females.—Fall and plunder of Cheetore.—Hemayoon comes to its aid.—He restores Cheetore to Bickramajeet, who is deposed by the nobles.—Election of Bunbeer.—Bickramajeet assassinated.

SINGRAM, better known in the annals of Mewar as Sanga (called Sinka by the Mogul historians), succeeded in S. 1565 (A.D. 1509). With this prince Mewar reached the summit of her prosperity. To use their own Metaphor, "he was the kullus† on the pinnacle of her glory." From him we shall witness this glory on the wane; and though many rays of splendour illuminated her declining career, they served but to gild the ruin.

The imperial chair, since occupied by the Tuar descendant of the Pandus, and the first and last of the Chohans, and which had been filled successively by the dynasties of Gazni and Ghor, the Ghilji and Lodi, was now shivered to pieces, and numerous petty thrones were constructed of its fragments. Mewar little dreaded these imperial puppets, 'when Amurath to Amurath succeeded,' and when four kings reigned simultaneously between Delhi and Benares.‡ The kings of Malwa, though leagued with those of Guzerat, conjoined to the rebels, could make no impression on Mewar when Sanga led her heroes. Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Raos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Marwar and Ambar§ did him homage, and the Raos of Gwalior, Ajmeer, Sikri, Raesen, Kalpee, Chanderi, Boondi, Gagrown, Rampura, and Aboo, served him as tributaries or held of him in chief.

* The walls of his place are still pointed out.

† The ball or urn which crowns the pinnacle (sikr).

‡ Delhi, Biana, Kalpee and Joinpoor.

§ Prithwi Raj was yet but Rao of Ambar, a name now lost in Jyepur. The twelve sons of this prince formed the existing subdivisions or clans of the Cutchwahs, whose political consequence dates from Hemayoon, the son and successor of Baber.

Sanga did not forget those who sheltered him in his reverses. Keremchund of Srinuggur had a grant of Ajmeer and the title of Rao for his son Jugmal, the reward of his services in the reduction of Chanderi.

In a short space of time, Sanga entirely allayed the disorders occasioned by the intestine feuds of his family; and were it permitted to speculate on the cause which prompted a temporary cession of his rights and his dignities to his more impetuous brother, it might be discerned in a spirit of forecast, and of fraternal and patriotic forbearance, a deviation from which would have endangered the country as well as the safety of his family. We may assume this, in order to account for an otherwise pusillanimous surrender of his birthright, and being in contrast to all the subsequent heroism of his life, which, when he resigned, was contained within the wreck of a form. Sanga organized his forces, with which he always kept the field, and ere called to contend with the descendant of Timoor he had gained eighteen pitched battles against the kings of Delhi and Malwa. In two of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person, at Bakrole and Ghatoli, in which last battle the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Cheetore. The Peela-khal (yellow rivulet) near Biana became the northern boundary of Mewar, with the Sind river to the east,—touching Malwa to the south, while his native hills were an impenetrable barrier to the west. Thus swaying, directly or by control, the greater part of Rajasthan, and adored by the Rajpoots for the possession of those qualities they hold in estimation, Sanga was ascending to the pinnacle of distinction; and had not fresh hordes of Usbees and Tatars from the prolific shores of the Oxus and Jaxartes again poured down on the devoted plains of Hindusthan, the crown of the *hacravarta** might again have encircled the brow of a Hindu, and the banner of supremacy been transferred from Indraprastha to the battlements of Cheetore. But Baber arrived at a critical time to rally the dejected followers of the Kuran, and to collect them around his own victorious standard.

From the earliest recorded periods of her history, India has been the prey of the more hardy population from the central regions of Asia. From this fact we may infer another, namely, that its internal form of government was the same as at the present day, partitioned into numerous petty kingdoms, of tribes and clans of a feudal federation, a prey to all the jealousies inseparable from such a condition. The historians of Alexander bear ample testimony to such form of government, when the Punjab alone possessed many sovereigns, besides the democracies of cities. The Persians overran it, and Darius the Mede accounted India the richest of his satrapies. The Greeks, the Parthians, who have left in their medals the best proofs of their power; the Getes or Yuti followed; and from the Gori Shabudin to the Chagitai Baber, in less than three centuries, five invasions are recorded, each originating a dynasty. Sanga's opponent was the last, and will continue so until the rays of knowledge renovate the ancient nursery of the human race:—then, may end the anomaly in the history of power, of a handful of Britons holding the succession to the Mede, the Parthian, and the Tatar. But, however surprise may be excited at witnessing such rapidity of change, from the physical superiority of man over man, it is immeasurably heightened at the little moral consequence, which in

* Universal potentate: the Hindus reckon only six of these in their history.

every other region of the world has always attended such concussions. Creeds have changed, races have mingled, and names have been effaced from the page of history; but in this corner of civilization we have no such result, and the Rajpoot remains the same singular being, concentrated in his prejudices, political and moral, as in the days of Alexander, desiring no change himself, and still less to cause any in others. Whatever be the conservative principle, it merits a philosophic analysis; but more a proper application and direction, by those to whom the destinies of this portion of the globe are confided; for in this remote spot there is a nucleus of energy, on which may accumulate a mass for our support, or our destruction.

To return: a descendant of the Turshka of the Jaxartes, the ancient foe of the children of Surya and Chandra, was destined to fulfil the prophetic Purān which foretold dominion "to the Turshka, the Yavan," and other foreign races, in Hind; and the conquered made a right application of the term Turk, both as regards its ancient and modern signification, when applied to the conquerors from Turkisthan. Baber, the opponent of Sanga, was king of Ferghana, and of Turki race. His dominions were on both sides the Jaxartes, a portion of ancient Sakatai, or Saca-dwipa (Scythia), where dwelt Tomyris the Getic queen immortalized by Herodotus, and where her opponent erected Cyropolis, as did in after-times the Macedonian his most remote Alexandria. From this region did the same Gete, Jit, or Yuti, issue, to the destruction of Bactria, two centuries before the Christian era, and also five subsequent thereto found a kingdom in Northern India. Again, one thousand years later, Baber issued with his bands to the final subjugation of India. As affecting India alone, this portion of the globe merits deep attention; but as the "*officina gentium*," whence issued those hordes of Asi, Jits, or Yeuts (of whom the Angles were a branch), who peopled the shores of the Baltic, and the precursors of those Goths who under Attila and Alaric, altered the condition of Europe, its importance is vastly enhanced. But on this occasion it was not redundant population which made the descendant of Timoor and jungheez abandon the Jaxartes for the Ganges, but unsuccessful ambition; for Baber quitted the delights of Samarcand as a fugitive, and commenced his enterprize, which gave him the throne of the Pandus, with less than two thousand adherents.

The Rajpoot prince had a worthy antagonist in the king of Ferghana. Like Sanga he was trained in the school of adversity, and like him, though his acts of personal heroism were even romantic, he tempered it with that discretion which looks to its results. In A. D. 1494, at the tender age of twelve, he succeeded to a kingdom; ere he was sixteen, he defeated several confederacies and conquered Samarcand, and in two short years again lost and regained it. His life was a tissue of successes and reverses; at one moment hailed lord of the chief kingdoms of Transoxiana; at another flying, unattended, or putting all to hazard in desperate single combats, in one of which he slew five champions of his enemies. Driven at length from Ferghana, in despair he crossed the Hindu-Coosh, and in 1519 the Indus. Between the Punjab and Cabul he lingered seven years, ere he advanced to measure his sword with Ibrahim of Delhi. Fortune returned to his standard; Ibrahim was slain, his army routed and dispersed, and Delhi and Agra opened their gates to the fugitive king of Ferghana. His reflections on success evince it was his due: "not to me, oh God! but to thee, "be the victory!" says the

chivalrous Baber. A year had elapsed in possession of Delhi, ere he ventured against the most powerful of his antagonists, Rana Sanga of Cheetore.

With all Baber's qualities as a soldier, supported by the hardy clans of the 'cloud mountains (*Belur Tag*)' of Karatagin,* the chances were many that he and they terminated their career on the 'yellow rivulet' of Biana. Neither bravery nor skill saved him from this fate, which he appears to have expected. What better proof can be desired that Baber's own testimony to the fact, that a horde of invaders from the Jaxartes, without support or retreat, were obliged to entrench themselves to the teeth in the face of their Rajpoot foe, alike brave and overpowering in numbers? To ancient jealousies he was indebted for not losing his life instead of gaining a crown, and for being extricated from a condition so desperate, that even the frenzy of religion, which made death martyrdom in "this holy war," scarcely availed to expel the despair which so infected his followers, that in the bitterness of his heart he says, "not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual" who delivered a courageous opinion."

Baber advanced from Agra and Sikri to oppose Rana Sanga, in full march to attack him at the head of almost all the princes of Rajasthan. Although the annals state some points which the imperial historian has not recorded, yet both accounts of the conflict correspond in all the essential details. On the 5th of Kartik, S. 1584† (A.D. 1528) according to the annals, the Rana raised the siege of Biana, and at Kanua encountered the advanced guard of the Tatars, amounting to fifteen hundred men, which was entirely destroyed; the fugitives carrying to the main body the accounts of the disaster, which paralyzed their energies, and made them entrench for security, instead of advancing with the confidence of victory. Reinforcements met the same fate, and were pursued to the camp. Accustomed to reverses, Baber met the check without dismay, and adopted every precaution that a mind fertile in expedients, could suggest to re-assure the drooping spirits of his troops. He threw up entrenchments, in which he placed his artillery, connecting his guns by chains, and in the more exposed parts *chevaux de frise*, united by leather ropes: a precaution continued in every subsequent change of position. Every thing seemed to aid the Hindu cause: even the Tatar astrologer asserted, that as Mars was in the west, whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter should be defeated. In this state of total inactivity, blockaded

* The literary world is much indebted to Mr. Erskine for his "Memoirs of Baber," a work of a most original stamp and rare value for its extensive historical and geographical details of a very interesting portion of the globe. The king of Ferghana, like Cæsar, was the historian of his own conquests, and unites all the qualities of the romantic Troubadour to those of the warrior and statesman. It is not saying too much when it is asserted, that Mr. Erskine is the only person existing who could have made such a translation; or preserved the great charm of the original—its elevated simplicity; and though his modesty makes him share the merit with Dr. Leyden it is to him the public thanks are due. Mr. Erskine's introduction is such as might have been expected from his well-known erudition and research, and with the notes interspersed adds immensely to the value of the original. With his geographical materials, those of Mr. Elphinstone, and the journal of the "Voyage d'Orenbourg a Bokhara," full of merit and modesty, we now possess sufficient materials for the geography of the nursery of mankind. I would presume to amend one valuable geographical notice (Introd. p. 27). and which only requires the permutation of a vowel, Kasmer; for Kas-mir when we have, not 'the country of the Kas,' but the *Kasias Montes* (mer) of Ptolemy: the *Kho* (mer) Kas, or Caucasus. Mir has no signification, Mir is mountain in Sanscrit, as is *Kho* in Persian. Kas, was the race inhabiting these; and Kas-gar, the Kassia Region of Ptolemy. Gar is a Sanscrit word still in use for a 'region,' of *Cutchbaha-gar*, *Gujar-gar*.

† According to the Memoirs of Baber, 11th February 1527.

in this encampment, Baber remained near a fortnight, when he determined to renounce his besetting sin, and merit superior aid to extricate him from his peril: the *navete* of his vow must be given in his own words.* But the destruction of the wine—flasks would appear only to have added to the existing consternation, and made him, as a last resort, appeal to their faith. Having addressed them in a speech of manly courage, though bordering on despair, he seized the happy moment that his exhortation elicited, to swear them on the Koran to conquer or perish.† Profiting by this excitement, he broke up his camp, to which he had been confined nearly a month, and marched in order of battle to

* "On Monday, the 23rd of the first Jemadi, I had mounted to survey my posts, and in the course of my ride was seriously "struck with the reflexion, that I had always resolved, "one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering "after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart: I said to myself "O, my soul,"

(Persian Verse.)

"How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin?

"Repentance is not unpalatable—taste it.

(Turki Verse.)

"How great has been thy defilement from sin!

"How much pleasure thou didst take in despair!

"How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions!

"How much of thy life hast thou thrown away!

"Since thou hast set out on a holy war,

"Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.

"He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself,

"Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest,

"Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyments;

"Cleanse thyself from all thy sins."

"Having withdrawn myself from such temptation, I vowed never more to drink wine. "Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for "drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying "my mind. The fragments of the goblets and other utensils of gold and silver I directed to "be divided among derwishes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my re- "pentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, "and of allowing it to grow. That night and the following, numbers of Amirs and courtiers, "soldiers, and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made "vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered "that the wine brought by Baba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made "into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out I directed a wain to be sunk "and built of stone, and close by the wain an alms-house to be erected. In the month of Mo- "harrem in the year 935, when I went to visit Gualiar, in my way from Dholpur to Sikri, "I found this wain completed. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory "over Rana Sanka the Pagan, I would remit the *temgha* (or *tamp-tax*) levied from Muslims. "At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Derwish Muhammed Sarban and Sheakh "Zin put me in mind of promise. I said, 'you did right to remind me of this: I renounce "the *temgha* in all my dominions, so far as concerns 'Muslims;' and I sent for my secre- "taries, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions firmans, conveying intelli- "gence of the two important incidents that had occurred."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 354.

† "At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a gener- "al consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single per- "son who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. Vazira, "whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amirs, who enjoyed the wealth of Kingdoms, "neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness. "During the whole course of this expedition, Khalifeh conducted himself admirably, and "was unremitting and indefatigable in his endeavours to put every thing in the best order. "At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of "spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amirs and officers, and addressed "them: 'Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolu- "tion. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever "comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who "arrives at the inn of mortality, must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of "sorrow, the world. How much better it is to die with honour than to live with infamy!

a position two miles in advance, the Rajpoots skirmishing up to his guns. Without a regular circumvallation, his moveable palisades and guns chained, he felt no security. The inactivity of Sanga can scarcely escape censure, however we may incline to palliate it by supposing that he deemed his enemy in the toils, and that every day's delay brought with it increased danger to him. Such reasoning would be valid, if the heterogeneous mass by which the prince of Mewer was surrounded had owned the same patriotic sentiments as himself: but he ought to have known his countrymen, nor overlooked the regulating maxim of their ambition, "*get laud.*" Delay was fatal to this last coalition against the foes of his race. Baber is silent on the point to which the annals ascribe their discomfiture, a negotiation pending his blockade at Kanua: but these have preserved it, with the name of the traitor who sold the cause of his country. The negotiation* had reached this point, that on condition of Baber being left Delhi and its dependencies, the Peela-khal at Biana should be the boundary of their respective dominions, and even an annual tribute was offered to the Rana. We can believe that in the position Baber then was, he would not scruple to promise any thing. The chief of Rayseen, by name Sillaidi, of the Tuar tribe, was the medium of communication, and though the arrangement was negatived, treason had effected the salvation of Baber.

On the 16th March the attack commenced by a furious onset on the centre and right wing of the Tatars, and for several hours the conflict was tremendous. Devotion was never more manifest on the side of the Rajpoot, attested by the long list of noble names amongst the slain as well as the bulletin of their foe, whose artillery made dreadful havoc in the close ranks of the Rajpoot cavalry, which could not force the entrenchments, nor reach the infantry which defended them. While the battle was still doubtful, the Tuar traitor who led the van (*herole*) went over to Baber, and Sanga was obliged to retreat from the field which in the onset promised a glorious victory, himself severely wounded, and the choicest of his chieftains slain: Rawul Udi† Sing of Dongerpoor, with two hundred of his clan; Rutna of Saloombra, with three hundred of his Chondawut kin: Raemul Rahtore, son of the prince of Marwar, with the brave Mairtea leaders Khaitsi and Rutna; Ramdas the Sonigurra Rao; Ujo the Jhala, Gokuldas Pramara; Manikchund and Chandrabhan, Chohan chiefs of the first rank in Mewar; besides a host of inferior names. Husein Khan of Mewar, and a son of the last Lodi king of Delhi, who coalesced with Sanga, were amongst the killed. Triumphal pyramids were raised of the heads of the slain,

* "With fame, even if I die, I am contented;

"Let fame, be mine, since my body is death's.

"The most high God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that, if we fall in the field we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues till his soul is separated from his body."

"Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the blessed Koran in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 357.

* Baber says, "although Rana Sanga (Sanga) the Pagan, when I was at Cabul, sent me ambassadors, and had arranged with me that if I would march upon Delhi he would come to Agra; but when I took Delhi and Agra, the Pagan did not move."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 339.

† In the translation of Baber's Memoirs, Udi Sing is styled "Wali of the country," confounding him with Udi Sing, successor of Sanga. He was Wali (*ayrenigu*) of Dongerpoor, not "Oodipoor," which was not then in existence.

and on a hillock which overlooked the field of battle a tower of skulls was erected and the conqueror assumed the title of '*Ghazi*,' which has ever since been retained by his descendants.

Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewat, having announced his fixed determination never to re-enter Cheetore but with victory. Had his life been spared to his country, he might have redeemed the pledge; but the year of his defeat was the last of his existence, and he died at Buswa, on the frontier of Mewat, not without suspicion of poison. It is painful to record the surmise that his ministers prompted the deed, and the cause is one which would fix a deep stain on the country; namely, the purchase by regicide of inglorious ease and stipulated safety, in preference to privations and dangers, and to emulating the manly constancy of their prince, who resolved to make the heavens his canopy till his foe was crushed,—a determination which was pursued with the most resolute perseverance by some of his gallant successors.

Polygamy is the fertile source of evil, moral as well as physical, in the east. It is a relic of barbarism and primeval necessity, affording a proof that ancient Asia is still young in knowledge. The desire of each wife* that her offspring should wear a crown, is natural; but they do not always wait the course of nature for the attainment of their wishes, and the love of power too often furnishes instruments for any deed, however base. When we see, shortly after the death of Sanga, the mother of his second son intriguing with Baber, and bribing him with the surrender of Rinthumbor and the trophy of victory, the crown of the Malwa king, to supplant the lawful heir, we can easily suppose she would not have scrupled to remove any other bar. On this occasion, however, the suspicion rests on the ministers alone. That Baber respected and dreaded his foe we have the best proof, in his not risking another battle with him; and the blame which he bestows on himself for the slackness of his pursuit after victory is honorable to Sanga, who is always mentioned with respect in the commentaries of the conqueror: and although he generally styles him the Pagan, and dignifies the contest with the title of "the holy war," yet he freely acknowledges his merit, when he says, "Rana Sanga attained his present high eminence by his own valour and sword."

Sanga Rana was of the middle stature, but of great muscular strength; fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes, which appear to be peculiar to his descendants.† He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior: one eye was lost in the broil with his brother; an arm in an action with the Lodi king of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball in another; while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body. He was celebrated for energetic enterprise, of which his capture of Mozuffur, king of Malwa, in his own capital, is a celebrated instance; and his successful storm of the almost impregnable Rinthumbor, though ably defended by the imperial general Ali, gained him great

* The number of queens is determined only by state necessity and the fancy of the prince. To have them equal in number to the days of the week is not unusual; while the number of handmaids is unlimited. It will be conceded, that the prince who can govern such a household, and maintain equal rights, when claims to pre-eminence must be perpetually asserted, possesses no little tact. The government of the kingdom is but an amusement compared with such a task, for it is within the *Rauwla* that intrigue is enthroned.

† I possess his portrait given to me by the present Rana, who has a collection of full-lengths of all his royal ancestors from Samarsai to himself, of their exact heights and with every bodily peculiarity, whether of complexion or form. They are valuable for the costume. He has often shewn them to me, while illustrating their actions.

renown. He erected a small palace at Kanua, on the line which he determined should be the northern limit of Mewar; and had he been succeeded by a prince possessed of his foresight and judgment, Baber's descendants might not have retained the sovereignty of India. A cenotaph long marked the spot where the fire consumed the remains of this celebrated prince. Sanga had seven sons, of whom the two elder died in non-age. He was succeeded by the third son.

RUTNA (S. 1586, A.D. 1530), who possessed all the arrogance and martial virtue of his race. Like his father, he determined to make the field his capital, and commanded that the gates of Cheetore never should be closed, boasting that 'its portals were Delhi and Mandoo.' Had he been spared to temper by experience the exuberance of youthful impetuosity, he would have well seconded the resolution of his father, and the league against the enemies of his country and faith. But he was not destined to pass the age always dangerous to the turbulent and impatient Rajpoot, ever courting strife if it would not find him. He had married by stealth the daughter of Prithwi Raj of Ambar, probably before the death of his elder brothers made him heir to Cheetore. His double-edged sword, the proxy of the Rajpoot cavalier, represented Rutna on this occasion. Unfortunately it was kept but too secret; for the Hara prince of Boondi,* in ignorance of the fact, demanded and obtained her to wife, and carried her to his capital. The consequences are attributable to the Rana alone, for he ought, on coming to the throne, to have espoused her; but his vanity was flattered at the mysterious transaction, which he deemed would prevent all application for the hand of his "affianced" (*manga*). The bards of Boondi are rather pleased to record the power of their princes, who dared to solicit and obtain the hand of the "bride" of Cheetore. The princes of Boondi had long been attached to the Sesodia house: and from the period when their common ancestors fought together on the banks of the Caggar against Shabudin, they had silently grown to power under the wing of Mewar, and often proved a strong plume in her pinion. The Hara inhabited the hilly tract on her eastern frontier, and though not actually incorporated with Mewar they yet paid homage to her princes, bore her ensigns and titles, and in return often poured forth their blood. But at the tribunal of *'Anunga'*,† the Rajpoot scattered all other homage and allegiance to the winds. The maiden of Ambar saw no necessity for disclosing her secret, or refusing the brave Hara, of whom fame spoke loudly, when Rutna delayed to redeem his proxy. The unintentional offence sank deep into the heart of the Rana, and though he was closely connected with the Hara, having married his sister, he brooded on the means of revenge, in the attainment of which he sacrificed his own life as well as that of his rival. The festival of the *Ahairea*‡ (the spring hunt), which has thrice been fatal to the princes of Mewar, gave the occasion, when they fell by each others weapons. Though Rutna enjoyed the dignity only five years, he had the satisfaction to see the ex-king of Ferghana, now founder of the Mogul dynasty of India, leave the scene before him, and without the diminution of an acre of land to Mewar since the fatal day of Biana. Rana Rutna was succeeded by his brother.

* Suramnl.

† The Hindoo Cupid, implying 'incorporeal,' from *anga*, 'body,' with the privative prefix 'an.'

‡ I have given the relation of this duel in the narrative of my journeys on my visit to the cenotaph of Rutna, erected where he fell. It was the pleasure of my life to listen to the traditional anecdotes illustrative of Rajpoot history on the scenes of their transactions.

BIKRAMAJEER,* in S. 1591 (A.D. 1535). This prince had all the turbulence, without the redeeming qualities of character, which endeared his brother to his subjects; he was insolent, passionate, and vindictive, and utterly regardless of that respect which his proud nobles rigidly exacted. Instead of appearing at their head, he passed his time amongst wrestlers and prize-fighters, on whom and a multitude of 'paeks,' or foot soldiers, he lavished those gifts and that approbation, to which the aristocratic Rajpoot, the equestrian order of Rajasthan, arrogated exclusive right. In this innovation he probably imitated his foes, who had learned the superiority of infantry, despised by the Rajpoot, who, except in sieges, or when † they spread the carpet and ham-"strung their steeds," held the foot-soldier very cheap. The use of artillery was now becoming general, and the Moslems soon perceived the necessity of foot for their protection: but prejudice operated longer upon the Rajpoot, who still curses "those vile guns," which render of comparatively little value the lance of many a gallant soldier; and he still prefers falling with dignity from his steed, to descending to an equality with his mercenary antagonist.

An open rupture was the consequence of such innovation, and (to use the figurative expression for misrule) "Poppa Bae ka Raj"† was triumphant; the police were despised; the cattle carried off by the mountaineers from under the walls of Cheetore; and when his cavaliers were ordered in pursuit, the Rana was tauntingly told to send paeks.

Buhadoor, sultan of Guzerat, determined to take advantage of the Rajpoot divisions, to revenge the disgrace of the defeat and captivity of his predecessor Mozuffur.‡ Reinforced by the troops of Mandoo, he marched against the Rana, then encamped at Loecha, in the Boondi territory. Though the force was overwhelming, yet with the high courage which belonged to his house, Biceramajeet did not hesitate to give battle; but he found weak defenders in his mercenary paeks, while his vassals and kin not only kept aloof, but marched off in a body to defend Cheetore, and the posthumous son of Sanga Rana, still an infant.

There is a sanctity in the very name of Cheetore, which from the earliest times secured her defenders; and now, when threatened again by "the barbarian," such the inexplicable character of the Rajpoot, we find the heir of Surajmul abandoning his new capital of Deola, to pour out the few drops which yet circulated in his veins in defence of the abode of his fathers.

"The son of Boondi," with a brave band of five hundred Haras, also came; as did the Sonigurra and Deora Rios of Jhalore and Aboo with many auxiliaries from all parts of Rajwarra. This was the most powerful effort hitherto made by the sultan of Central India, and European artillerymen§ are recorded in these

* The Bhakha orthography for Vicramaditya.

† The government of Poppa Bae, a princess of ancient times, whose mismanaged sovereignty has given a proverb to the Rajpoot.

‡ Taken by Prithwi Raj and carried to Rana Raemul, who took a large sum of money and seven hundred horses as his ransom.

§ We have, in the poems of Ghund, frequent indistinct notices of fire-arms, especially the 'nal-gola' or tube-ball: but whether discharged by percussion or the expansive force of gunpowder is dubious. The poet also repeatedly speaks of "the volcano of the field," giving to understand great guns; but these may be interpolations, though I would not check a full investigation of so curious a subject by raising a doubt. Baber was the first who introduced field guns in the Mahomedan wars, and Buhadoor's invasion is the first notice of their application in sieges, for in Alla-o-din's time, in the thirteenth century, he used the catapult or battering-ram, called 'munjanika.' To these guns Baber was indebted for victory over the united cavalry of Rajasthan. They were served by Roomi Khan, probably a Roumelot, or Syracusan Captain. The Franks (Feringees) with Buhadoor, must have been some of Vasco di Gama's crew,

annals as brought to the subjugation of Cheetore. The engineer is styled 'Labri Khan of Frengan,' and to his skill Buhadoor was indebted for the successful storm which ensued. He sprung a mine at the "Beeka rock," which blew up forty "five cubits of the rampart, with the bastion where the brave Haras were posted. The Boondi bards dwell on this incident, which destroyed their prince and five hundred of his kin. Rao Doorga, with the Chondawut chieftains Sutto and Doodoo and their vassals, bravely defended the breach and repelled many assaults; and, to set an example of courageous devotion, the queen mother Jawahir Bae, of Rahtore race, clad in armour, headed a sally in which she was slain. Still the beseigers gained ground, and the last council convened was to concert means to save the infant son of Sanga from this imminent peril. But Cheetore can only be defended by royalty, and again they had recourse to the expedient of crowning a king, as a sacrifice to the dignity of the protecting deity of Cheetore. Bagh-ji, prince of Deola, courted the insignia of destruction; the banner of Mewar floated over him, and the golden sun from its sable field never shone more refulgent than when the *changî** was raised amidst the shouts of her defenders over the head of the son of Surajmul. The infant, Oody Sing, was placed in safety with Soortan, prince of Boondi, † the garrison put on their saffron robes, while materials for the *johur* were preparing. There was little time for the pyre. The bravest had fallen in defending the breach now completely exposed. Combustibles were quickly heaped up in reservoirs and magazines excavated in the rock, under which gun-powder was strewed. Kurnavati, mother of the prince, and sister to the gallant Arjoon Hara, led the procession of willing victims to their doom, and thirteen thousand females were thus swept at once from the record of life. The gates were thrown open, and the Deola chief, at the head of the survivors, with a blind and impotent despair, rushed on his fate.

Buhadoor must have been appalled at the horrid sight on viewing his conquest; ‡ the mangled bodies of the slain, with hundreds in the last agonies from the poniard or poison, awaiting death as less dreadful than dishonour and captivity. § To use the emphatic words of the annalist, "the last day of Cheetore had arrived." Every clan lost its chief, and the choicest of their retainers; during the siege and in the storm thirty-two thousand Rajpoots were slain. This is the second *saka* of Cheetore.

Buhadoor had remained but a fortnight, when the tardy advance of Hemayoon with his succours warned him to retire. According to the annals, he left Bengal at the solicitation of the queen Kurnavati; but instead of following up the spoil-encumbered foe, he commenced a pedantic war of words with Buhadoor, punning on the word 'Cheetore.' Had Hemayoon not been so

* The *Changî*, the chief insignia of regality in Mewar, is a sun of gold in the centre of a disc of black ostrich feathers or felt, about three feet in diameter, elevated on a pole, and carried close to the prince. It has something of a Scythic cast about it. What *changî* imports I never understood.

† The name of the faithful Rajpoot who preserved Oody Sing, Chuka Sen Dhoondara, deserves to be recorded.

‡ The date "Jeit sood 12th, S. 1589," A.D. 1533, and according to Ferishta A.H. 949, A. D. 1532-3.

§ From ancient times, leading the females, captive appears to have been the sign of complete victory. Rajpoot inscriptions often allude to 'a conqueror beloved by the wives of his conquered foe,' and in the early parts of Scripture the same notion is referred to. The mother of Sisera asks, "Have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two?"—*Judges*, v. 31.

distant, this catastrophe would have been averted, for he was bound by the laws of chivalry, the claims of which he had acknowledged, to defend the queen's cause, whose knight he had become. The relation of the peculiarity of a custom analogous to the taste of the chivalrous age of Europe may amuse. When her Amazonian sister the Rahtore queen was slain, the mother of the infant prince took a surer method to shield him in demanding the fulfilment of the pledge given by Hemayoon when she sent the *Rakhi* to that monarch.

'The festival of the bracelet (*Rakhi*), is in spring, and whatever its origin, it is one of the few when an intercourse of gallantry of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Rajasthan. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger. The Rajpoot dame bestows with the *Rakhi* the title of adopted brother; and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of 'a *Cavaliers servente*,' scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has constituted him her defender. But there is a charm in the mystery of such connection, never endangered by close observation, and the loyal to the fair may well attach a value to the public recognition of being the *Rakhi-bund Bhāe*, the 'bracelet-bound brother' of a princess. The intrinsic value of such pledge never looked to, nor is it requisite it should be costly, though it varies with the means and rank of the donor, and may be of flock silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems. The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the *katchli*, or corset, of simple silk or satin, or gold brocade and pearls. In shape or application there is nothing similar in Europe, and as defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair, it is peculiarly appropriate as an emblem of devotion. A whole province has often accompanied the *katchli*, and the monarch of India was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the customs of Rajasthan, on receiving the bracelet of the princess Kurnavati, which invested him with the title of her brother, and uncle and protector to her infant Oody Sing, that he pledged himself to her service, "even if the demand were the castle of Rinthumbor." Hemayoon 'prove himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge, and succour Cheetore, and the widows and minor sons of Sanga Rana.* Hemayoon had the highest proofs of the worth of those courting his protection; he was with his father Baber in all his wars in India, and at the battle of Biana his prowess was conspicuous, and is recorded by Baber's own pen. He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Cheetore, took Mandoo by assault, and, as some revenge for her king's aiding the king of Guzerat, he sent for the Rana Bikramajeet, whom,

* Many romantic tales are founded on "*the gift of the Rakhi*." The author, who was placed in the enviable situation of being able to do good, and on the most extensive scale, was the means of restoring many of these ancient families from degradation to affluence. The greatest reward he could, and the only one he would receive, was the courteous civility displayed in many of these interesting customs. He was the "*Rakhi bund Bhāe*" of, and received 'the bracelet' from, three queens of Oodipur, Boondi, and Kotah, besides Chund-Bāe, the maiden sister of the Rana; as well as many ladies of the chieftains of rank, with whom he interchanged letters. The sole articles of 'barbaric pearl and gold,' which he conveyed from a country where he was six years supreme, are these testimonies of friendly regard. Intrinsically of no great value, they were presented and accepted in the ancient spirit, and he retains them with a sentiment the more powerful, because he can no longer render them any service.

following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe.

The Mahomedan historians, strangers to thier customs, or the secret motives which caused the emperor to abandon Bengal, ascribe it to the Rana's solicitation; but we may credit the annals, which are in unison with the chivalrous notions of the Rajpoots, into which succeeding monarchs, the great Akber, his son Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, entered with delight; and even Aurungzebe, two of whose original letters to the queen-mother of Oodipur are now in the author's possession, and are remarkable for their elegance and purity of diction, and couched in terms perfectly accordant with Rajpoot delicacy.*

Bikramajeet, thus restored to his capital, had gained nothing by adversity; or, to employ the words of the annalist, "experience had yielded no wisdom." He renewed all his former insolence to his chiefs, and so entirely threw aside his own dignity, and, what is of still greater consequence, the reverence universally shewn to old age, as to strike in open court Keremchund of Ajmeer, the protector of his father Sanga in his misfortunes. The assembly rose with one accord at this indignity to their order; and as they retired, the Chondawut leader Kanji, the first of the nobles, exclaimed, "hitherto, brother chiefs, we have had but a smell of the blossom, but now we shall be obliged to eat the fruit;" to which the insulted Pramara added, as he hastily retired, "to morrow its flavour will be known."

Though the Rajpoot looks up to his sovereign as to a divinity, and is enjoined implicit obedience by his religion, which rewards him accordingly hereafter, yet this doctrine has its limits, and precedents are abundant for deposal, when the acts of the prince may endanger the realm. But there is a bond of love as well as of awe which restrains them, and softens its severity in the paternity of sway; for these princes are at once the father and king of their people: not in fiction, but reality—for he is the representative of the common ancestor of the aristocracy,—the sole lawgiver of Rajasthan.

Sick of these minors (and they had now a third in prospect), which in a few years had laid prostrate the throne of Mewar, her nobles on leaving their unworthy prince repaired to Bunbeer, the natural son of the heroic Prithwi Raj, and offered "to seat him on the throne of Cheetore." He had the virtue to resist the solicitation; and it was only on painting the dangers which threatened the country, if its chief at such a period had not their confidence, that he gave his consent. The step between the disposal and death of a king is necessarily short, and the cries of the females, which announced the end of Bikramajeet, were drowned in the acclamations raised on the elevation of the *changi* over the head of the bastard Bunbeer.

* He addresses her as "dear and virtuous sister," and evinces much interest in her welfare. We are in total ignorance of the refined sentiment which regulates such a people—our home-bred prejudices deem them beneath inquiry; and thus indolence and self-conceit combine to deprive the benevolent of a high gratification.



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