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## Preface

It gives me immense pleasure in presenting the Proceedings volume of the **Twenty Sixth Session** of Rajasthan History Congress, organised by **Government Bangar College, Pali**, from **15-16 December, 2010**.

I deem it a great privilege to place before members of the Rajasthan History Congress and the general readers scholars and researchers the volume of the proceedings of the 26<sup>th</sup> session of Rajasthan History Congress, held at the Campus of Government Bangar College, Pali from 15-16 December, 2010. I hope that these research papers will provide new source material also. In placing the learned, scholarly papers, chronology has been adhered to as far as possible. A number of papers of outstanding merit were presented at this session, breaking new ground and adding much to our knowledge of Rajasthan History.

I am grateful towards Prof. Ravindra Kumar Sharma for delivering the Presidential Address and I believe that under his presidency we will be able to make more improvements in the institution of Rajasthan History Congress. I have no words to express my gratitude towards Prof. Inayat Ali Zaidi for a valuable discourse on the Mansabdari System in Prof. Gopinath Sharma Memorial lecture. I also extend warm welcome to Prof. Sunita Zaidi, who will preside over the 27<sup>th</sup> session of Rajasthan History Congress.

My thanks are due to Dr. P.M. Mohnot, Treasurer, Rajasthan History Congress for undertaking the responsibility of preparing and bringing out this volume despite all care, mistakes are bound to creep in. I hope readers will overlook them. I appreciate the co-operation and support given by Dr. P.R.Arya, Prof. Vinita Parihar, Dr. Manorama Upadhaya, and Dr. Anil Purohit for helping in speedy publication of the proceedings of the Congress. Thanks are also due to Mr. Bhanwar Suthar (Jangid Computers, Jodhpur) for computer work and M/s. Anmol Ptints, Jodhpur for printing the volume in record time.

**Prof. S.P. Vyas**  
Secretary,  
Rajasthan History Congress

## सचिवीय प्रतिवेदन

26वें अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष प्रो. रविन्द्र कुमार शर्मा, प्रो. आर.पी.व्यास, राजस्थान लोक सेवा आयोग के अध्यक्ष श्री कुमावत साहब, प्राचार्य बांगड़ राजकीय महाविद्यालय, पाली, स्थानीय सचिव डॉ. उषा शाह, डॉ. देवाराम एवं सभी उपस्थित विद्वानजन एवं राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस के सदस्यगण मेरे लिये यह अत्यन्त गर्व का विषय है कि राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस लगातार वृद्धि, समृद्धि की ओर अग्रसर हो रही है। युवा वर्ग में शोध की बढ़ती प्रकृति इस बात से प्रमाणित होती है कि शोध पत्रों की संख्या में लगातार वृद्धि हो रही है। राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस की प्रोसीडिंग्स के बढ़ते कलेवर से भी यही बात सिद्ध होती है। मैं अत्यन्त आभारी हूँ, प्राचार्य बांगड़ राजकीय महाविद्यालय पाली का, कि आपने 26वें अधिवेशन के आयोजन का गुरु भार लिया एवं ये आपके निर्देशन में साकार होता दिखलाई पड़ रहा है। मैं आपके समक्ष 26वें अधिवेशन, जो दिनांक 15-16 दिसम्बर, 2010 को आयोजित किया गया, का प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ।

उद्घाटन समारोह में मुख्य अतिथि, राजस्थान लोक सेवा आयोग के अध्यक्ष श्री कुमावत ने यह कहा कि इतिहास व्यक्ति के जीवन के प्रति दृष्टिकोण को बदल देता है। चीनी यात्रियों, मुस्लिम एवं ब्रिटिश इतिहासकारों द्वारा ही भारत का अधिकांश इतिहास लिखा गया है। अब आवश्यकता है कि विशुद्ध भारतीय दृष्टिकोण से इतिहास लेखन की। इसे शिक्षा प्रणाली का हिस्सा बनाया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि जिसे अपने देश के इतिहास का ज्ञान नहीं होता वह सफल नहीं हो सकता। 26वें अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष प्रो. रवीन्द्र कुमार शर्मा ने अपने अध्यक्षीय उद्बोधन में राजस्थान के किले एवं किलेबन्दियों के विविध पक्षों पर प्रकाश डाला। उन्होंने कहा कि सैन्य इतिहास के विस्तृत अध्ययन एवं शोध की आवश्यकता है। जामिया मीलिया इस्लामिया के प्रो. इनायत अली जैदी द्वारा प्रो. गोपीनाथ शर्मा स्मृति व्याख्यान के अन्तर्गत अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं। प्रो. इनायत अली जैदी ने प्रो. गोपीनाथ शर्मा स्मृति व्याख्यान में मनसबदारी व्यवस्थाओं के महत्व पर प्रकाश डाला। उनके प्रस्तुतिकरण का विषय थ 'पर्सनल लॉयल्टी : मैरिट एण्ड रिवाँर्ड इन मुगल इण्डिया : सम रिफ्लेक्शन्स'। उन्होंने कहा कि मनसबदारी व्यवस्था उन व्यक्तियों के प्रति शासक की कृतघ्नता की अभिव्यक्ति की। जिन्होंने राज्य के प्रति अभूतपूर्व कर्म किया था। मनसबदारी प्रथा में व्यक्तिगत स्वामिभक्ति के स्थान पर कर्म एवं उपलब्धियों को प्राथमिकता दी जाती थी। मनसबदार भले ही कितना स्वाभाविक रहा हो, यदि उसका कार्य राज्य हित के विपरीत हो, तो उसके सेवाएं समाप्त कर दी जाती थी, वहीं कर्तव्यनिष्ठा को पुरस्कृत किया जाता था। कुल आयोजित आठ सत्रों राजस्थान इतिहास एवं संस्कृति के विविध

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पक्षों पर 115 शोध पत्र पढ़े गये। दिनांक 16.12.2010 को आयोजित कार्यकारिणी की बैठक में निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव पारित किये गये -

1. सर्वप्रथम 25 वें अधिवेशन के मिनिट्स को अनुमोदित किया गया।
2. समिति द्वारा 25वें अधिवेशन के आउटगोइंग अध्यक्ष प्रो. आर.पी. व्यास के प्रति हार्दिक आभार प्रकट किया गया तथा इन्कर्मिंग अध्यक्ष (26वें अधिवेशन) प्रो. रवीन्द्र कुमार शर्मा का स्वागत किया गया।
3. डॉ. मीना गौड़ ने यह प्रस्ताव रखा कि राजस्थान हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस को आईएसबीएन नम्बर हेतु रजिस्टर करवाया जाये। सचिव डॉ. एस.पी. व्यास ने बताया है कि इस दिशा में प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं।
4. सर्वसम्मति से लाईफ मेम्बरशिप के संबंध में यह स्वीकार किया गया कि इसमें वृद्धि की जाये तथा 2000/- से बढ़ाकर 3000/- कर दी जाये। वार्षिक मेम्बरशिप की राशि 150/- ही रखी जाये।
5. यह प्रस्ताव रखा गया कि फण्ड में वृद्धि हेतु डोनेशन प्राप्त किये जायें। राशि सैच्छिक रहे। डॉ. अनिला पुरोहित द्वारा रखे गये इस प्रस्ताव को सहमति दे दी गई।
6. समिति ने सर्वसम्मति से 27वें अधिवेशन के आयोजन हेतु राजकीय महाविद्यालय, अजमेर के प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार कर लिया। अगला 27वां अधिवेशन अजमेर में आयोजित किया जायेगा।
7. डॉ. एस.पी. व्यास द्वारा 27वें अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष के रूप में प्रो. सुनिता जैदी का नाम प्रस्तावित किया गया। समिति ने सर्वसम्मति से इसे स्वीकृति प्रदान की।
8. अध्यक्ष प्रो. रविन्द्र कुमार शर्मा ने कहा कि राजस्थान इतिहास के मूर्धन्य इतिहासकार, तथा राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस के संस्थापक प्रो. आर.पी. व्यास द्वारा राजस्थान के इतिहास तथा राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस, शिक्षा तथा समाज के सर्वांगीण विकास हेतु दिये गये अप्रतिम योगदान हेतु लाईफ टाइम अचीवमेन्ट अवार्ड से, स्वर्णपदक के माध्यम से नवाज़ा जाये। प्रो. शर्मा ने इस हेतु खर्च वहन (स्वयं द्वारा) करने की बात कही।
9. अंत में 26वें अधिवेशन के सफल आयोजन हेतु प्राचार्य, बांगड़ पी.जी. महाविद्यालय पाली, स्थानीय सचिव डॉ. उषा शाह, संयोजक डॉ. देवाराम तथा महाविद्यालय के समस्त प्राध्यापकों, स्टॉफ तथा कर्मचारियों का हार्दिक आभार तथा धन्यवाद ज्ञापित किया। कार्यकारिणी समिति के समस्त सदस्यों ने अपनी सम्मति से उपरोक्त प्रस्तावों को स्वीकृति प्रदान की। सभा अध्यक्ष को धन्यवाद के साथ समाप्त हुई। उपरोक्त प्रस्तावों का साधारण सभा ने ध्वनिमत से अनुमोदित किया। प्रो. पुखराज आर्य ने प्रथम अनुमोदन प्रस्तुत किया। उसे स्वीकृत प्रो. वी. के. वशिष्ठ द्वारा किया गया।

**प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास**

सचिव, राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस

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## Presidential Address - 26th Session

**Professor Ravindra Kumar Sharma**

Esteemed President Prof R P.Vyas, respected Chief Guest, delegates, honourable teachers, dear students, Ladies and Gentlemen I express my deep sense of gratitude to the members of the executives of the Rajasthan History Congress for the honour bestowed on me by electing me the president of the 26<sup>th</sup> session being held under the auspices of Bangar College; Pali. It is a rare distinction conferred on me that I have been elected President for this session in the Silver Jubilee Session of the Rajasthan History Congress which was held at Jodhpur. Indeed it is a great pleasure and honour for me to receive the baton from one of the founding Fathers of Rajasthan History Congress **Professor R P Vyas Former Head Department of History JN V university Jodhpur who is not only a veteran historian but also doyen of Rajasthan History and the only surviving member of the Rajasthan History Congress.** Its a matter of great satisfaction for me that from the very beginning of its inception the Rajasthan History Congress till date the researchers , Historians teachers and students succeeded in illuminating hitherto unknown aspects of the history, culture, language and literature of Rajasthan. Indeed they have done a great job and yeomen services to the history and culture of Rajasthan. I am glad to highlight here that what binds us together in Rajasthan History congress is our quest for knowledge, love and respect for history, culture, heritage and language of Rajasthan. I would also like to place on record my sincere gratitude to all the members of the executive committee and to my fellow historians for reposing their faith love and confidence in me .It will be my constant endeavour to live upto the future expectations of you all.

### I

On the very outset I would like to submit that the study of the military history of Rajasthan; particularly about its forts, fortification and defence architecture had not received the attention of the scholars as it deserved even after sixty five years of Indian independence and the formation of Rajasthan state. Though military history of India and its defence architecture attracted the attention of number of eminent scholars e.g. Prof Jadunath Sarkar his namesake Prof Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, William Irvine, Maj S K Bhakri, B K Majumdar, P C Chakarvarti, S N Sen, P K Gode, Sarvdaman Singh, Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Sri Nandan Prasad, Fauja Singh, Pushpa Sharma, M M Trivedi, Sudhir Blowria. Friends the list is endless of persons who have contributed in some way or the other to the cause of Military History. It can safely be presumed that military history and defence architecture is not a recent trend in history. I myself worked on **“Forts and Fortification in the Indian Subcontinent from Seventh Century to Eighteenth Century” A University Grant Commission Project Awarded to me in 1996** which is under publication and due out in March 2011. I had also discussed the contribution of the Forts of North West Frontier, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh and their contribution to the mankind in my

**Presidential Address at Punjab History Congress in 1999 but here I would like to emphasize only on the Forts and Fortification in Rajasthan.**

Sir! To give Military History a head start and impetus that it deserves what more an auspicious occasion then to start from a place and state known for its military History defence architecture and chivalry and contributes towards major chunk of forts and fortified towns of the Indian subcontinent Therefore I intend to share a few ideas with you on **“The Forts and Fortification in Rajasthan”**.

The military achievements of the people of Rajasthan were unprecedented and their vast kingdoms were won and held by formidable and highly organized military system and their frontiers secured by fortress, forts, and impressive defensive

architecture {**Ravindra Kumar Sharma Madhya Yugin Rajput Sainya Prabandh(1980)**}. Till the advent of the heavier and long range guns the fortresses of Rajasthan remained invincible and impregnable. The forts saw reversal of fortune when the Kingship adopted the guns technology and regained their forlorn glory as the invincible again as is proven by the defensive architecture of Mehrangarh fort Jodhpur the same finds mention in **Jodhpur Ka Itihasik Durg Mehrangarh (Zahoor Khan Mehar and Kr. Mahendra Singh Naggar)**.

The defence architecture once nurtured by the Bravest of the Brave sons of Rajasthan and dragged/pushed on the verge of obscurity and termed as the white elephant by a section of the society is going to be the next big money spinners of the coming decade for which initiatives have already begun at the behest of the Government of Rajasthan as well as by the surviving scions of the Royals. To exploit the immense potential of the defence architecture the following steps need to be initiated like organizing Craft Melas and Shopping Arcade particularly in Amer fort, Mehrangarh fort, Ajmer, Pushkar, Mandalgarh and Ban Ganga Dungarpur, establishment and expansion of wildlife sanctuary at Kumbhalgarh, Nahargarh, Sariska, Bharatpur (Keoldeo) Gajner in the vicinity of Bikaner, Gagron for various breeds of birds. We must take a cue from the Kumbhalgarh and Ranthambore wildlife sanctuary which in a short span of few years have been able to turnaround the dwindling numbers of wild animals and birds as well as earn the much needed foreign exchange. As per the latest survey done by Nanda Soni of Hindustan Times the wildlife count goes upto 19291 in the year 2010 ending on 20 10 2010 which were a meager 16975 in the year 2009 the money earned from the bird watchers can be used for the conservation and restoration work to take care of the tourist inflow the archaeological survey of India Rajasthan zone providing parking zone facilities at the fort of Chittorgarh, Kumbhalgarh, Amer and other defence architectures. It will certainly encourage tourist's inflow. I suggest the tourist hut can also be raised in and around Bundi fort, Chittorgarh fort, Alwar fort and Jaisalmer fort to name a few.

## II

The fragrance of life began whenever a defence architecture was founded and a fortified area earmarked for the protection of the masses by the founders. The royal patronage provided smooth growth of the region the fort of Jamwa Ramgarh, Chittorgarh, Jodhpur, Amer, Jaisalmer etc etc are the finest examples of the same. The Rulers, Artisans, Merchants, cultivation of Arts, science and writings are the main traits of early urban settlements and can be found in our fortified and defence architectures. So long as the Life line of defence stood un conquered and un demolished life always sprouted in that areas and the forts bustled with joy, glee , and contributed a lot towards the cause of civilization and patronized the betterment of mankind. The forts of Chittor Jaipur and Jodhpur and the associated growth of Urbanization, Arts, Architecture, Market, Business Community, Trade and commerce Flora, Fauna and civilization in general; stand witness of the same in the annals of world history. **Thanks are due to the erstwhile scions of Rajasthan particularly Shri Arvind Singh of Mewar, Bhawani Singh of Jaipur and Gaj Singh II of Jodhpur for preserving, maintaining and keeping intact their glorious defence architectures and military sites so much so that Gaj Singh II of Jodhpur built a lift for the comforts of the tourist to marvel the fort in its entirety. Improvement in the facilities and add ons frills in the forts and defence architecture of Rajasthan ensured a growth of 21 percent in foreign tourist inflow in Rajasthan in a year of global meltdown which saw business plummeting by 20 % as quoted by President of the Indian heritage hotel association after reviewing the result of first quarter of 2010, Hats of to him! Care should also be taken to study the fortified dams of Rajasthan and walled tanks with the system of Oera, Tent, Kanat, Chandani and Gaddis. It may be mentioned here that the rulers of Jodhpur have in their possession one of the best Shahi Tent of the world which they possessed right from the time of Emperor Shahjahan. The forts and fortresses of Rajasthan mostly situated in arid zone areas therefore their cooling system in summer era should also be studied. It is a known fact that the defence architecture of**



Rajasthan were either situated on high rocks, constructed on high mountains, near river bed sites, on the banks of ponds or Sarovars were founded by the rulers themselves or on the advice of their advisors. The fort of Jodhpur, Ajmer, Bikaner, Gagron, Chittor, Kumbhalgarh, Amer are all full of lakes, Sarovars, Bawaris and had extra ordinary arrangements of water fountains, self canal system, small watering system which provided cooling effect during scorching heat. Water channel system of the Jaigarh fort is an exotic example of the same.

Our country in general and Rajasthan in particular is facing acute shortage of water. Gentleman the solution lies in the study of our history. We must draw a cue /inferences from Sarovars, Bawri of Jodhpur which has from times immemorial quenched the thirst of a city in the heart of Thar. Furthering the works of his ancestors and taking Bawri and water system of the fort as **the role model Gaj Singh II; water foundation of Jodhpur is doing commendable job for the benefit of the rural masses** of the people of Marwar and received considerable attention from the international communities including a keen interest shown by Prince Charles heir to the British Throne. This system can also be adopted by management of the other forts and fortresses of Rajasthan where similar facilities are existing, particularly in the fort of Amer, Chittorgarh and ear the defensive architecture of Udaipur. With similar facilities and application of the same template Irrigation, Water harvesting, Garden harvesting, Fruit orchard and Public water supply system can improve the arid zone. Another cause of concern is blockage of Water system .Sewerage system Joilet system, Lavatory and Bathroom system, expansion of electrical pole wire and unplanned habitat which is causing grave damage to defence architecture in the present era which was even centuries ago so meticulously catered for by the builders of the fort like the system provided in the Mehrangarh fort Jodhpur, Amer fort Jaipur , Nahargarh fort Jaipur, Balahisar Alwar, Garhbitli Ajmer and in the fort of Bundi .The fort of Jaisalmer is bearing the brunt of apathy of the people living in the fort and thence the government of Rajasthan is unable to include the name of these forts in World Heritage sites.

### III

Another aspect of the forts and fortification and their defence architecture is gateway architecture which is yet to be studied by our scholars on the pattern of the Buland Darwaza of Fatehpur Sikri and the gate of the Fort of Golconda. in Rajasthan the simplest form of stone or timber or wooden gateway consisted of three/four or sometimes even six uprights arranged in pairs on either side of the opening the double leaved gates would have been set on the outside of the gates passes so that they flush with the tine of the rampart extremely and could be easily watched from the rampart, walkway above the forts of Mehrangarh Jodhpur, Junagarh Bikaner, Amer fort Jaipur, Taragarh Bundi, Lohagarh Bharatpur are the finest examples which hitherto remain unexplored. Most defence architectural buildings in the fortified urban and rural areas needs more and more examination in detail, mapped and in part or full photographed inhabitants and experts should have been interviewed by our researchers. The masons, blacksmiths, carpenters and skilled labourers of this field should be incorporated in the research then only we can draw a coherent picture of gateway architecture by lanes and passes in the defence architecture system of secret passages and getaways which were on many occasions responsible for the safeguard of the fortress and sometimes for debacles also. The routes of maintenance and logistics support also need careful and in-depth study which has not been probed till date a painful example of which is the choking of forts or Ranthambore and Jaisalmer by the forces Allaudin Khilji during the seize of the forts during the Sultanate period and which resulted in the debacle and downfall of the sovereign power as happened in Mughal era also. As I have already pointed out in the Journal of **Heras Research Institute in 1986** that the rulers of Jaipur maintained the granary department in the forts of Jaipur Ranthambore, Ishrada. The Kothiyar Kothi was usually situated in their central buildings: Their distinctive architecture makes them easily recognizable and were extremely vulnerable to the cheaters as the grains and salt conspiracy happened in the fort of Ranthambore during Hamir's era as mentioned in Hamirayan.

Instead of going into details I would like to submit that on the pretext of granaries many invincible fortress fell to the enemies one after another which could have been saved from the enemies. Our archival sources provides required information about the custodial grain storage the granary department in forts of Chittor, Kurnbhalgarh, Gagron can easily be identified.

Another untouched aspect related to the defence architecture is seize craft and its allied technology which craves for attention of our young scholars. Though I raised this question in the **NCERT education workshop held on 8th Jan 1992 at K.U.K with my research paper entitled Forts Fortification and Seize Craft technology. Though one can find frequent references in our Rajasthani texts barring Dr Hukum Singh Bhati(Bahi Garh Jodhpur Ghere ri) and Dr. Kr. Mahendra Singh Naggar (History of Mehrangarh Fort)** nobody worked on seize craft technology and the preparation of seize planning. Maharaja Abhay Singh of Jodhpurs Gujarat expeditions and Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Sawai Jai Singh's expedition in the south under the aegis of Mughals are still unexplored. Though I had discussed the same in my research paper about Jodhpurs seize craft technology in the international research journal of Switzerland 1991.and so with the wooden architecture which have got eminence value for our future researches. Interestingly we find countless references in our Rajasthani texts about Wooden Architecture, Wood work, Wood carving, related to Kangoore, Pillars, Brackets, Dovetailing, Corbelling, Auspicious arts, Calligraphy, Medallions, Mehrabs, Canopies, and Ventilators which resembled ethnic fragrances of defence architecture. Friends it goes without saying that the fort of Jaisalmer, Mehrangarh Jodhpur, Junagarh Bikaner and the fort of Udaipur are exquisite examples of the same, interestingly I may mention here that it can be observed from the archival sources as well as the copper plates preserved in the intermediate repositories of Mewar and the paintings related to Mewar Bikaner and Jodhpur that while seizures were carried out by the marshals/gladiators women continued to carry out their household duties; despite their increased workload whereas the men increasingly withdrew from their responsibilities as”

providers “ of the encircled families and laid down their life for the cause of their ancestral defensive architecture. The cantonments Lashkari Bazar, Town Bazar and Suburban areas near the defence architecture should be dealt separately. In the due course of history most defence architecture have been abandoned and are gradually decaying except for the fortress of Udaipur , Jaipur, and Jodhpur where due care have been taken to organize amenities taking into considerations the requirements of the visitors. **Thanks are due to the excellent administration under the aegis of Gaj Singh II that Mehrangarh fort ranked among the best fortress of India by none less than the Times Asia Magazine printed from Hong Kong (Vol 169, no 17, 2007).** So is the case of Amer fort of Jaipur which has earned a whopping seven crores the highest income from a defence architecture in the year 2008-2009.As per the latest statistic 12 Lakh visitors have already visited the site in 2010 at the time of compilation of the address and so is the case of well maintained heritage architecture of Udaipur.

Prisoner's houses and Jails for which these forts were also utilized should also be studied on the pattern of Gwalior Fort Jail, Shah Burj and Mussaman Burj, Suleiman Shikoh, and Prisoners cell. Due impetus should also be given to Decorative Door Heads, defence Entrances, Traps, Vigilance towers architecture, Artistic Staircases, Inscription of Key Stone foundations, Timber Salt and Iron store, Samadhees, Chhatrees, hospital and hospital plans as promotion of physical fitness and sound health was a permanent importance for the fort garrisons, interestingly I would like to point out here that their sports system ground facilities should also be studied separately along with barrack system and parade grounds as state at that time also excelled in contemporary sports in the surrounding cities.

#### IV

Need of the hour is to study the fort armory also which has not yet been thoroughly studied. Particularly the fort vyeapons system of charging guns and counter attacks with help of Peethasan and extraordinary Kathi used by the rulers of Mewar in the various wars against their enemies and seizures of the forts of Mewar. It is pertinent here to mention the contribution

of Maharana Kumbha, Maharana Sanga, **Maharana Pratap and Maharana Raj Singh to the art of saddler who used it very effectively against their foes. Maharana Pratap was champion of this technology during his era and his system was faultless as is mentioned in my research paper in the Journal of History and Archaeology Germany 1984.**The Masonry and dry construction technology and preservation of water reservoirs throughout the year of the Rajput rulers were at par with their opponents which is reflected in the fort of Jaisalmer. Satyajit Rays award winning movie Sonar Killa inspired me to contribute an article on this technology in Wiesbaden, West Germany 1984. The Hara of Bundi and Kota excelled in fort Garrison warfare and they were matchless in the fort warfare technology as is revealed in various Rajasthani couplets and in the Bahis of Kota. Particularly from Akbar to Aurangzeb the Hara rulers of Kota displayed matchless war technology and succeeded not only in saving many forts but also annexed many forts from Balkh Bukhara to South India) I am thankful to Maharao Brijraj Singh of Kota to provide source material for my research paper which appeared in Budapest, Hungary 1986. The rulers of Jaipur too excelled in the same spirit in their defensive and offensive fort technology and they proved their superiority even by annexing the fort of Purandar and other adjoining forts. The Kacchhawah archival papers preserved in Bikaner and in the personal custody of the scion of Jaipur are full of daring exploits of Kacchhawah commanders. Few valuable papers from the Kacchhawah archives have been published by me with full text in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Record Commission Government of India in the early eighties and nineties. Another important aspect which yearns for the attention of the scholar's world is system of communication and signaling, Postal system, Dak, Harkara and the system of messaging from fort to fort

The study of new inscriptions in the fortified buildings in general and the city walls in particular should be taken up by our new generation .Friends, the discovery of new inscriptions from the various forts of Rajasthan provide new information about their Foundations, Extensions, Headquarters, Buildings, Silah khana ,Top khana ,Rawalas, Cross Halls, Mashal khana

Joshua Khana , Strong rooms, Development plans of Personal Apartments, Auxiliaries etc etc.

## V

It is revealed from the Rajasthani sources that almost in all fortress of Rajasthan People lived with greater peace prosperity harmony and tolerance and fought the invaders with same zeal and enthusiasm. The exemplary courage of Jaimal and Fatta in Chittor; Bhure Khan Aiwaj Khan Gherywale Hamid khan , Mohd Khan, Jiwan Sheikh, Swami Mahant Khem Bharti, Kishan Bharti, Kripa Bharti and services rendered by Brahmin and business community during the seize of Mehrangarh Fort(I owe this information to **Dr. Kr. Mahendra Singh Naggar** ) and so did different Rajput Khanps, Pathans, Sindhis, Baniyas and Brahmins and other communities during the seizures of Chittor, Udaipur, Jaisalmer, Kota, Bundi and Jaipur the role of Meenas, Dadupanthis, Mahapurush, Gosains and other communities should also be taken into consideration. The role played by Hamid Lohar, Shahbaz Khan and Rehmat Ali Sindhi are praiseworthy so far as Jaisalmer is concerned. I pointed out the contribution made by Hindu Muslim alike in the defence of various Forts at the **National Annual Conference of The Archaeological Society held in Calcutta 1980.** It also revealed from the defensive architecture of Rajasthan that the basic wisdom of the people of Rajasthan in general and the ruling class in particular maybe regarded as "Rules for Living", have in part found their way into the thinking of the people of neighbouring areas, although their influence has since become overlaid. Many Hindu and Sufi saints and their devotees influenced the inhabitants of various fortresses and made their contribution in the development of composite culture. We have definite information that both communities played a vital role for the safeguard of the Rajasthani Fort.

## VI

The forts which were invincible and the impregnable even from the fiercest of attacks and attackers are prone to earthquake, moisture, water seepage, heavy rains which has been proved by seismological studies .remote sensing and

chemical analysis of the architecture for example the fort of Amer is tilting towards Mawtha , The fort of Gagron if facing threat from the rivers on its either sides, and the defence architecture of Udaipur facing grave threat from the adjoining lakes for which I raised an awareness through my research paper in **IIT Roorkee in the year 2002 titled “First Line of Defence : Forts and Palaces of India : Problems and perspectives”** in the conference entitled “ Strategy and methodology for conservation of heritage buildings and monuments in India” and the same has now been ratified after eight years by a research team from IIT Roorkee at the request of Government of Rajasthan.

The ownership of few defence architecture in the various parts of Rajasthan are yet to be determined by the government agencies, archaeological survey of India causing numerous problems for restoration

conservation and for utilizing them for heritage site. Look at the irony the forts of Shergarh, Jalore, defence architecture of Jaipur, Bikaner and Bundi which once withstood the winds of time are heading towards obscurity waiting as mute spectators to be restored for want of rightful ownership at par to their glorious past.

I would like to draw your kind attention towards the illegal occupation of the fortified Shaharpanahs which are now facing grave threat from illegal occupation. I am deeply concerned and hurt that I highlight the sorry state of the city wall of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bikaner etc which even after being declared as protected monuments in 1968 at the behest of vested interests of illegal occupants have been demolished without permission from authorities or rightful owners just to make routes shorter to their place of work or home at more than 50 places wherein there were only 7 magnificent gates to enter the city. I wonder if the defence architecture unless protected fiercely will be able to stand the test of time for the next centuries or be razed to the ground to unite with the fading memory of the great creators of the architecture. I wonder if the archeological survey of India and archaeology department of Rajasthan could take the

necessary required stringent steps to make the people aware about the importance of the defence architecture. It is our responsibility to safeguard the originality of the heritage architecture then only it can be passed on to the next generations for further researches but for this the agencies responsible for its upkeep should play a proactive role and ensure no encroachments and all illegal occupants to be evicted from Heritage sites. Had the concerned departments played a proactive role they would have been successful in saving the wall inscriptions of Lakheri, Nainwa, Bundi, Alwar, Man Singh’s inscription of Amer, Manohar Kacchhawah’s Inscriptions of Hanumangarh. **It is a matter of great satisfaction and heartening to note that Dr S P Vyas of J N V University of Jodhpur and his team is doing maximum to save the wall inscriptions of Jodhpur. I Hope the scholars of other cities of Rajasthan will also take unto themselves the task to save our heritage.**

## VII

Forts and fortification and defensive architecture cannot be understood without taking into considerations the socio economic and political changes in the last one thousand years in Rajasthan and the contribution made by their founders and protectors. Despite extensive archaeological and archival works scant attention is paid to the commercial trade and financial activities(Dr. Pushpa Sharma Bhatner As Commercial Centre{ Seminar on Unpublished Persian Manuscripts Government of India Rampur 1995) which were also promoted, protected and supported by these fortresses that helped the growth of urbanization in Rajasthan smoothly yet silently; should also be studied separately. **Dr R P Vyas of J N V University Jodhpur provided a graphic accounts and guidelines of urban settlements in Rajasthan in his Presidential Address of Bikaner session 1984 and Silver Jubilee Session of Rajasthan History Congress Jodhpur 2009 should be followed.**

### The Way Ahead

Friends though in our culture we have a very extensive and varied tradition of construction preservation restoration,

writings; which includes the whole spectrum of approaches including on every aspect of defence architecture. Yet it is a matter of grave concern that there does not exist a single department of Military History/ Defence Studies in our universities in Rajasthan. To cater for an environment for the studies of military history, defence studies and architecture for our future generations we must provide for the infrastructure/ syllabus/ facilities/ avenues in the defence / military studies by promulgation of the same in our universities of Rajasthan.

The decaying monuments can also be protected by leasing them to the private sectors, heritage hoteliers who will assure to maintain their heritage architecture thus ensuring the survival of defence architecture. As happened in Neem Rana fort, Samod fort, Devigarh fort, Salumbar fort, Mandawa , Mukundgarh and Khivansar. They can also be given on lease to the schools, college, educational institutions even to the IITs on the pattern of Gwalior fort where Scindia Public School Exists. The undersigned has the honour to have received initial schooling in the Fort Primary School and Fort Higher Secondary School situated in the vicinity of Junagarh fort Bikaner. Museums and libraries could also be housed in the various Forts of Rajasthan for their better utilization and the preservation of the historical records on the patterns of Mehrangarh Museum trust, City palace Jaipur, Anoop Sanskrit Library Bikaner and on the pattern of Saraswati Bhandar Library Udaipur.

Honourable members/Sir my Presidential Address would be incomplete if I do not place on records **the valuable services rendered by Dr R P Vyas our founding member and the only surviving one of the First Rajasthan History Congress . For the meritorious services for the cause of history, culture and tradition of Rajasthan He and He alone can be singled out for the nourishment of the Academic community of Rajasthan as well as for the betterment of our new generation of scholars. Ladies and Gentlemen I request you to kindly give him a big hand and a standing ovation to our Fatherly Founder Dr R P Vyas. Here it is pertinent to mention that he along with Dr S P Vyas and the worthy members of the executive**

**committee revived Rajasthan History Congress after a gap of few years which has since then become a Annual feature.**

Friends here I would like to emphasize that the Rajasthan of today can only be understood by emphasizing the study of forts, fortification their defence architecture and their countless services rendered for the cause of their beloved masses and of course their present utility. I have taken much of your time for which I am thankful to you ladies and gentleman I thank you all for giving me an opportunity to share my study and thoughts with you Lest we forget the huge contribution made by the founders of these fortresses, protectors of the forts and the fortification and forts and fortifications perse.

**JAIHIND**

*Professor Gopinath Sharma Memorial lecture*

## **Personal Loyalty, Merit and Reward in Mughal India Some Reflections**

**Prof. S. Inayat A. Zaidi**

I am thankful to Professor R.P. Vyas, President and members of the executive committee of Rajasthan History Congress for giving me this opportunity to deliver Professor Gopinath Sharma memorial lecture. In fact, it is an honour and matter of Pride for me to recall the name of distinguished scholar Professor Gopinath Sharma in this august gathering of the scholars. Professor Sharma by producing works on political as well as social history of Rajasthan showed how much the people of Rajasthan contributed in constructing larger history of India, in other words, we can say, 'Making of India as Modern Nation'. Certainly people of every region, religion, race and class of India made tangible or intangible contributions in making viable and incredible India through integrating themselves politically, socially and culturally. Keeping with all diversities, discords and also maintaining and preserving their own identities, people merged themselves in a larger identity of Hindustan (India) as Hindustani (Indian). Here, I may recall an example of a feeling of great Patriot like Amir Khusrau. He expressed his feelings such as,

" Patriotism is a faith and belief

" Hind (India) is a Paradise on earth

Similar kind of feeling from Rajasthan, expressed by Rai Manohar Shaikhawat is appropriate to recall here,

Learn from the eyes to be separate and united

For the two eyes are distinct, and yet do not see separately

In this perspective dear colleagues and friends,

Here I have chosen a theme to speak on, 'Personal Loyalty, Merit and Reward in Mughal India'.

First we shall perceive the different aspects of loyalty like its origin, different concepts and traits of the loyalty or personal loyalty in the society. A feeling of gratefulness extended to loyalty is a natural product of accepting obligations received by a person. This natural feeling of obligations become a part of cultural ethics in a society. Whatever the favours one receives, he in return should be faithful or loyal to a person from whom favour was received. Thus the difference between the two can be categorized like.

(i) person bestowing favours, and

(ii) recipient of favours

Person bestowing favour is considered superior to a recipient. Thus recipient is expected to be loyal to a person who bestowed favour. In religion, loyalty to the God, saint and pir is a prime condition. This kind of relationship legitimized and became an important part of a feudal society. An expression in the Mughal terminology like *banda-i dargah* or *chela* denotes the relationship of loyalty between master and servant.

In this respect I shall refer two examples: one is of religious nature which shows, how loyalty was nurtured and inculcated in a society. In this course of inculcating 'loyalty', spiritual power played an important role. It also shows how the concept of loyalty becomes part and parcel of a popular culture. It becomes a faith and moral of heart. It is not externally imposed but self-emerged and imposed by one's own inner will. The following story explained and narrated by Shaikh Nizamuddin Awliya (1242-1325 A.D.) in the *Fawaid-ul Fuad* (Morals For the Heart). An admonish in form of story goes like this, "I (Shaikh Nizamuddin Awliya) had the good fortune of kissing his hand (Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar). He began to talk of Persistence in Repentance and Firmness in the Oath (of loyalty to one's master i.e. Bait).

"Whoever grasps the hand of a Shaykh and pledges loyalty to him", observed the master, "has made a pact with God! He must remain firm in his commitment, for if he becomes distracted from his resolve, in such circumstances on whom or what can he depend?"

Then he told the story about HIS OWN PLEDGE OF LOYALTY AND ATTACHMENT to Shaykh al-Islam Farid ad-din---- may God sanctify his lofty secret. "On leaving him, I journeyed till I reached a point where I became very thirsty. The air was hot, water far off. At this moment I arrived at a turn in the road where I saw an 'Alawi (a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad). I knew this 'Alawi, Sayyid Ummad was his name. He was traveling on his own. As soon as I saw him, I asked: 'Is there a waterhole close by? I'm very thirsty'. He was carrying a water jug. 'Be my guest!' he replied. 'Take this jug and drink of it.' But the contents of this jug, I could tell, were wine or hemp juice. 'I will never drink this,' I replied. That 'Alawi persisted. 'In this vicinity there is no place for drinking water. I have brought this along in the absence of water. Beyond here, for a long way to come there is no water. If you don't drink this, you'll expire!' 'No, sir!' I replied. 'On the contrary, I would expire if I drink this water, for I have pledged allegiance, and bound myself by oath, to my Shaykh. I swore that I would never drink such as this!' Having declined his help, I departed, and not far down the road on which I was traveling I found a waterhole, praise be to God !"

Secondly, in the sphere of political and feudal society and culture one can see how loyalty was externally imposed. It became mundane or materialistic affair. A person seeking employment or joins service and to become a servant of a person, he has to furnish the ahadnama. (an agreement of loyalty between a servant and master). Specimen copy or proforma of the ahadnama is found in the Ain-i Mahru and pertained to the reign of Sultan Firuz Tughluq (1351-1388 A.d.). It goes like this, "Since the tradition of entering into agreement has received approval both from God and His Prophet, the servants and employees have paid allegiance to the Sultans since early times to the effect." I, the servant, pledge, out of sincerity and in good faith, swearing by the Lord of this and other world, the creator of heaven and earth, that I shall remain obedient to the King, (Who is) the deputy of the amir-ul-mominin, the Caliph of God, the Sultan of the Sultans, Abul Muzaffar Firuzshah (May God perpetuate his sovereignty).

"It is obligatory from the point of view of religious law for every one to acquiesce to the royal authority. I pledge in all sincerity to be a friend of His Majesty's friends and enemy of his enemies. I shall keep firm in adhering to the conditions laid down herein. And, in no circumstances, I shall harm (the interest of the) royal army, the servants (of the court) and the supporters of the royal court. Neither I shall disobey the royal court. Neither I shall disobey the royal farman nor side with the adversaries of his Majesty. Nor I shall make friends with those who harbour any ill will towards the Sultan. In all circumstances (this) servant will try his level best to serve the interest of the state, not letting the immoderation or arrogance take hold of him. I will dissociate myself from my own son and brother and act against them, in case God forbids, they get into rebellious conduct. I shall always act in accordance with the Quranic injunction: 'Obey Allah, the Prophet and one who is in authority over you.'

(Furthermore), I shall be accountable for perfidy, if I fail to keep my pledge or intentionally go back on my word. The violation by me of this solemn agreement will amount to my renouncing faith in the unity of God, the Prophethood of Muhammad, the Day of Judgement and the revealed books. My wives would become unlawful to me and every slave, owned by me would become free, (in case I fail). I make this solemn pledge, swearing by God that I will adhere to all the conditions laid down (in the agreement) ."

Thus one can see how loyalty was constructed in the feudal polity by invoking the concept of 'eating namak'. Popular phrases like namak halal and namak haram used in the society carry sense and significance. In Persian lexicon the meaning of namak halal is given as 'faithful', 'loyal' and 'true', while namak haram carries the meaning as 'untrue to salt eaten together i.e. ungrateful', 'faithless', 'perfidious', 'disloyal', 'disobedient', 'evil' and 'wicked', Through these phrases a particular kind of mentality is created. Hence, fealty or loyalty is a social construct and through this a relationship between a servant and master is established. A person who had been employed or given rozgar (employment) ought to be loyal or faithful to his employer. Thus in the medieval Indian Persian literature containing this kind of information and invoking the phrases like the above is a matter

of interest for us. Here, I reproduce a mentality of an ahadi showing his fealty to Emperor Jahangir. Jahangir writes, "In Mirza Muhammad Husain turned his reins, but his horse's feet became entangled in thorn-brake and he fell. An ahadi of Emperor Akbar, Gada Ali by name, found him, and having mounted him before him on his horse took him to the King (Emperor Akbar). As two or three claimed a share in his capture, His Majesty (Emperor Akbar) asked who had made him Prisoner. "The king's Salt', he answered ."

Again the concept of salt in reference to loyalty was invoked by Jahangir is worth mentioning here. An important noble Chin Qulij Khan alongwith his many relations was favoured by assigning Jaunpur as jagir. Later on he rebelled. He was captured and committed suicide. But his corpse along with his children and servants were brought to Emperor Jahangir, the latter abominably remarked, "Alas that salt (i.e. loyalty) should not have brought such black-faced wretches to condign punishment ".

In the Persian literature expressions like 'single minded loyalty' and 'Perfect loyalty' have been used. In this context, it makes one curious to know whether the concept of 'salt' in term of loyalty is an import from Persian culture to Hindustani culture or whether it is a construct of every tribal and feudal polity? To find answers of these aspects one needs to probe further.

However one important aspect of this study and that lies between the two concepts of 'Loyalty' and 'Reward' is 'Merit'. Hence, it would be interesting to focus and to know how much merit vis-a vis loyalty mattered to the Mughal Emperors?

The Rajput chiefs, after joining Mughal service and seeking equal status in Akbar's nobility, began to participate in the court politics. For example, over the tussle for throne between Jahangir and his son Khusrau in 1605, some interested Rajput nobles like other Turani, Afghani, Irani or Shaikhzada nobility did not hesitate to side with their favourite candidate. One can cite the names of Ram Das Udawat and Rai Sal Darbari who showed staunch personal loyalty to Prince Jahangir (Salim). They were incharge of the imperial treasury, i.e. khizana-i Amira. Therefore, when Raja Man Singh of Amber, who was their

erstwhile lord, along with Mirza Aziz Koka asked Ram Das and Raisal Darbari to handover the keys of the imperial treasury to them, they categorically refused to hand over the keys. Over this, Raja Man Singh was vexed and in frustration reminded Ram Das, 'as to who he (Man Singh) was and what he could do? Ram Das replied that he remembered it well that he and Man Singh came from the same line, that the identical blood ran into their veins. If at all there was any difference, it was only this much that whereas one was being carried away by self-interest, the other was holding fast to the sheet-anchor of duty. Man Singh asked Ram Das that he was going out of limits and he must control his tongue. Ram Das retorted that what he (Man Singh) could do the utmost was that he (Man Singh) might cut off his (Ram Das) tongue or break his head. But the true Rajputs were never afraid of it and were always out to kill and to be killed. He (Man Singh) was always at liberty to cut off his (Ram Das) tongue and break his head and these two things were always ready for him. But so long as he (Ram Das) was alive, he (Man Singh) would not get the key of the treasury and even after his (Ram Das) death it was a difficult job to secure the key. ".

Subsequently, when Jahangir emerged victorious and became the emperor after Akbar's death, he rewarded Ram Das Udawat and Raisal Darbari. Both were given the mansab of 5000 each with the titles of Raja. Ram Das was also felicitated by the title of Raja Karan . This high up status is very significant because in the same manner Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka's position remained static in the Mughal hierarchy. In fact, after this, Man Singh was not assigned any important office. Jahangir also showed his dislike by calling them as "hypocrites and old wolves of the empire" . Thus, giving equal status to Ram Das and Raisal Darbari because of their unflinching loyalty to Jahangir with that of their overlord Raja Man Singh had great significance in the Mughal hierarchy.

But it is interesting to point out here that the reward of personal loyalty was not everlasting. If the recipient of reward failed to act up to his merit or competence, he was stripped off and discredited too. Though Ram Das rose to very high status,



but when he retreated from a battle in the Deccan campaign in 1612 A.D., Jahangir despised and abused all amirs (nobles) who remained unsuccessful in this mission. Even he did not spare Ram Das. Looking at Ram Das' portrait Jahangir said, "Now, when thou were in Raysal's service, thou had a tanka per day; but my father took an interest in thee and, made thee an amir. Do not Rajputs think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas! Thy title, Raja Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith" . It seems that Jahangir's annoyance was a great shock to Ram Das. He was immediately transferred from Deccan to Bangash, where he died in the same year, i.e. 1022 A.H./1612-13 A.D. After coming to know about the death of Ram Das, Jahangir expressed in his autobiography, "My curse has come true; for the Hindus believe that a man who dies beyond the Indus will go straight to hell" .

Another example of this kind of loyalty and reward is about an important noble Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang. It is also important to note an important aspect of our study i.e. merit. Alongwith loyalty, if one fails to show merit in his service, he was disliked and disgraced. Abdullah Khan who had high socio-religious background and also earned the status of Khan and Safdar Jang under Akbar and moreover, by rendering meritorious services against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar and Bairam Deo Solanki, he was raised to the position of subedar (governor) of the suba of Ajmer. But when he failed to prove his merit against Malik Ambar in Deccan, he was disgraced. Jahangir got the news of the Khan's retreat from the battle field, he held portrait of Abdullah Khan in his hand and commented with anger, "Today no one equals you for ability and lineage, with such a figure and such abilities and lineage, and rank and treasure, and army you should not have run away. Your title is "Garez Jang (the fugitive from battle)" .

Adham Khan was the younger son of Maham Anaga, dhai ma or wet nurse of Akbar. She was most respectable, intelligent, 'loyal and had much influence over Akbar'. Because of her service and reliability from cradle to the throne, she was a favourite to Akbar. Before taking the charge of state affairs, she managed the political and financial matters. Her son Adham Khan did not rise to the status of Panj hazari mansabdar simply

being koka or son of Maham Anaga, but he also rendered distinguished services in the military campaigns. He acquired a name for 'his heroism' by conquering Mankot, putting down the Bhaduriya rebels in the vicinity of Agra and defeating Baz Bahadur of Sarangpur, Malwa. But all his qualities of meritorious services lost sight of when his loyalty was suspected of killing Akbar at Sarangpur and Akbar's disliking to him culminated, when Adham Khan out of envy to the senior officers close to Akbar, Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atgha (foster brother) and Munim Khan, attacked and killed the former in the Hall of State. Akbar who was sleeping, awoke because of commotion in the hall and came to know and saw Atgha Khan dead and said, 'son of a bitch, why have you slain my Atgah? ' Akbar also used invective language in Hindustani Gandu (Sodomite) and eventually killed Adham Khan.

Bir Singh Deo Bundela, at the instigation of Prince Jahangir, assassinated the great scholar Abul Fazl of the 16th century. It annoyed Akbar greatly and he sent a large army to punish Bir Singh. But the Mughal forces remained unsuccessful in trapping Bir Singh Deo. Soon after Akbar's death, Emperor Jahangir showed remarkable favours to Bir Singh. In Jahangir's first regnal year, i.e. 1605 - 1606 A.D., Bir Singh was admitted to Jahangir's nobility with a high mansab of 3000. Thereafter, one finds his rapid promotion. In 1607, when Bir Singh's elder brother Ram Chandra rebelled, he was deprived of the gaddi (seat) of Orcha, it was conferred on Bir Singh Bundela . This had great significance because this act of Jahangir changed the line of hereditary succession in Bundela clan, and it was a reward for the personal loyalty of Bir Singh Deo Bundela and his followers. Orcha strategically was having great importance, for one, it was situated amidst the Chambal defiles, secondly, one of the important routes to Deccan passed through this region. In brief, Bir Singh Deo was assigned the mansab of 5000/5000 and was conferred the title of Maharaja . It was considered an extra-ordinary rise in the Mughal hierarchy. His eldest son Jujhar Singh was also assigned the mansab of 2000/1000 . Jahangir did not bind himself to limits in felicitating his favourite Bundela chiefs, and even allowed him to construct a temple in Mathura.

Saqi Mustaid Khan while recording the court proceedings of Aurangzeb, writes: "This temple of folly was built by that gross idiot Bir Singh Deo Bundela. Before his accession to the throne, Emperor Jahangir was unhappy with Sheikh Abul Fazl. This infidel became a royal favourite by slaying him, and after Jahangir's accession, was rewarded for this service with the permission to build the temple which he did at the expense of thirty three lakhs of rupees .

However, when in 1627 A.D., Bir Singh Deo Bundela died, Shahjahan conferred the title of Raja on his son and successor Jujhar Singh and assigned him the mansab of 4000/4000 . Later on, Shahjahan wanted to punish Jujhar Singh with a pretext of "amassing the unauthorized wealth". From the perusal of Shahjahan's charge of taking action against Jujhar Singh, it becomes clear that it was Shahjahan's disliking for Jujhar Singh and his father Bir Singh Deo Bundela being loyal to Jahangir. Persian sources refer, "When Shahjahan looked into the affairs of Jujhar Singh, who without exertion, got a huge wealth which his father had accumulated, he became suspicious in accordance with the saying that "the faithless are fearless". These lines explicitly explain the cause of Shahjahan's reaction against the Bundela chief. Moreover, Shahjahan again changed the line of succession from Jujhar Singh's family to his cousin Debi Singh. Jahangir had changed the line of succession in Orcha, now Shahjahan restored the old order, and succession of Orcha came back to its original incumbent, i.e. Debi Singh .

Next case of personal loyalty to cite here is of Raja Basu of Mau Pathankot, who had rebelled against Emperor Akbar. The Raja was on the side of prince Salim when the latter rebelled in 1602. After his submission, the prince tried to seek pardon for Raja Basu, but Akbar had already sent a force to take military action against Raja Basu. But it seems that till the end of his reign, Akbar could not throw Raja Basu out of power. However, Jahangir's accession to the Mughal throne brought back the fortunes to the Raja. He was assigned the mansab of 3500 zat.

The case of Raja Anirudh Bargujar is of interesting nature. He was simply a Khidmatgar (Khwās) under Jahangir. On a certain occasion, when Jahangir got annoyed with him, he could

not bear it and in distress drew his dagger and struck himself in the belly . Seeing this extreme loyalty, Jahangir increased his influence and mansab both.

In 1610 A.D., while Jahangir was hunting in pargana Bari, Anoop Ray was also with him. Anoop Ray, without caring for his life, protected Jahangir from a fatal attack of a wounded tiger. Jahangir describes picturesquely the incident of tiger's attack on him and Anoop Ray's act of bravery of saving his life in his autobiography Tuzuk-i jahangiri. Jahangir conferred the title of Ani Rai Singh Dalan (subduer of tiger) upon him. He was raised to the status of 2000/1600. In addition, pargana Anoop Shahr, which is known after the name of Ani Rai Singh Dalan, was recognized as his watan jagir. Jahangir's confidence in him is revealed in the incident in 1614 A.D., when Mirza Rustam Safavi, a mansabdar of 5000/5000, could not meet the expectations of Jahangir in managing the administrative affairs of suba Thatta, Jahangir entrusted the responsibility to Ani Rai Singh Dalan and also asked him to conduct the enquiry of Mirza Rustam's atrocities inflicted on the people of Thatta . Further, rebel prince Khusrau was put under the surveillance of Ani Rai Singh Dalan . Further one comes to know that Ani Rai Singh Dalan was the Qiladar of Gwalior fort. The famous orthodox 'alim of the early 17th century, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior under the charge of Ani Rai Singh Dalan . From Majalis-i Jahangiri it is also known that he was given the title of Nur Mahl (light of palace) . Jahangir's mother Maryam Zamani regarded Anoop Ray as her another son because he had risked his life to save Jahangir. She also held him as dear as Jahangir was to her .

Summarily, above cited instances indicate clearly how Ani Rai Singh Dalan earned reward? Obviously by showing loyalty as well as rendering meritorious services to Emperor Jahangir.

During Prince Shahjahan's revolt, some of the Rajput chiefs showed their personal loyalty to the Prince. Shahjahan, during the course of revolt and thereafter assuming the power, rewarded his supporters. In the sequence of the favours conferred on his loyals were the Gaurs. In fact, Balram Gaur and Gopal Gaur sacrificed their lives in a fight which took place

in Sind between the forces of Prince Shahjahan and Emperor Jahangir. After Shahjahan's accession, the descendants of both the persons were favoured lucratively throughout Shahjahan's reign. Before joining the service of Shahjahan, both Balram and Gopal Gaur were ordinary soldiers in the contingent of Ratan Singh Hada of Bundi. In the first ten years of Shahjahan's rule, Bithal Das alongwith three other members of the Gaur family were taken into Mughal service. Their total mansab in 1637 was 6700/4900. The number and mansab of the Gaur nobles continued to increase. According to an estimate, seven members of the Gaur family were in Shahjahan's service in 1647, and their total mansab was 11900/9450. Further increase is seen in 1657 when their number and mansab rose to twelve and 18700/18500 respectively . Besides, during 30 years of Shahjahan's reign, many important forts, such as Ranthambhor, Jhansi, Asir, Akbarabad, Kabul and Mandu were assigned to the Gaur nobles. For the first time, important offices of governor and faujdar were assigned to Bithal Das Gaur and Anirudh Singh Gaur. The title of Raja was also conferred upon Bithal Das, and a new watan jagir of Dhandhera was created for the Raja . Consequently, this fast growing rise of the Gaurs was resented by some senior and traditionally favourite Rajput nobles. Prince Dara Shikoh in his nishan instructed Mirza Raja Jai Singh to maintain friendly relations with Raja Bithal Das.

Ali Mardan Khan, a Kurdish, was in service of Safavid ruler Shah Safi of Iran and is alleged to be disloyal to the Shah and joined the service of Emperor Shah Jahan. In Shah Jahan's service he rendered meritorious services and earned many favours. About his loyalty, it is recorded in a source, 'Though in Persia he behaved contrary to the ways of the servants of the Safavid family and made himself charged with disloyalty and faithlessness in his salt, yet in India attained great respect by his loyalty, courage and ability, and was exalted above all the other officers. His position with Shah Jahan was such that the latter called him yar wafadar (the faithful friend) .

The case of Mirza Raja Jai Singh is also interesting to refer. In the war of succession, when Prince Aurangzeb defeated Prince Dara Shikoh in the battle of Dharmat, Jai Singh, foreseeing the victory of Aurangzeb, defected to his side. He

was in eastern India, fighting against Prince Shuja. Afterwards, the Raja remained with Aurangzeb, who after becoming the Emperor, rewarded the Raja suitably. His mansab was raised to 7000/7000 with du aspa, Sih aspa. He was also granted inam worth of one crore dams. Thus Mirza Raja Jai Singh was the first Rajput noble to be honoured distinctly and was appointed the governor of Deccan.

There is an interesting case of Abdur Razzaq Khan Lari who by his dint of loyalty to Abul Hasan, ruler of Hyderabad retorted the offer and persuasions of the Mughal officers for joining Emperor Aurengzib's service. When there was battle, Aurengzib sent a farman showing favours to him, but not only he rejected the offer but he tore in pieces the farman declaring himself 'faithful to his salt'.

Further in a severe attack, and the defeat was evident, some officers of Abdur Razzaq shifted their loyalty to the Mughals, but when Lari was approached by them, he met them and smote every one with his sword. Lari was severely wounded to the extent that the skin of his forehead covered his eyes and his horse carried him off to under a tree near the citadel. When the matter was reported to Aurengzib, he was impressed with his loyalty and merit.

Thus in the words of author, 'He (Abdur Razzaq) was wounded by the imperial troops and had twelve wounds on his face, till at last the skin of his forehead covered his eyes and his horse carried him off to under a tree near the citadel. Someone recognized him and had compassion on him and took him to his house. When the occurrence became known to the officers, and by them was told to the King, he approved his loyalty and sent surgeons to him . Aurengzib was so much impressed with his staunch loyalty to his master and the merit that he deputed a team of surgeons comprising two Indians and one European.

Further, it is much more interesting to note that when Lari was recovered, he was again approached and offered Mughal service to him as well as his sons. Lari's response is worth to quote, Lari expressed his inability with thanks and said, though his tough existence had not come to an end, yet he was wounded hand and foot and could not serve. Even if he could serve, one

whose flesh and skin (gosht-u post) had been nourished by Abul Hasan's salt could not serve King 'Alamgir'.

At this reply though Aurengzib showed his displeasure but even ordered that when he is recovered fully, he should be comforted and sent him to court to his presence. Lari was reluctant to go to court. By going and to meet Aurengzib meant submission and acceptance of the Mughal service. On Lari's refusal, Aurengzib finally ordered, 'send him as prisoner'. Abdullah Khan interceded and Abdur Razzaq was brought to him. Abdullah Khan by providing all comforts won over him and got the assignment of masab of 4000 zaat and 3000 suwar with a title of Khan and the office of faujdar of Rahri.

The above description clearly suggests that the loyalty and merit were the important factors in the medieval Indian socio-cultural milieu. A person comprising qualification of loyalty was liked and appreciated even by the staunch adversaries.

Thus these outgoing reflections highlight how the personal loyalty, merit and reward did operate in the Mughal State apparatus. Personal loyalty mattered and was considered an important feature, but merit was much more significant. Without showing merit in the service, the state did not grant promotion in the mansab or assigned important offices. Personal loyalty without meritorious services was void of any reward. Any failure or carelessness in the state matters brought different kinds of punishment such as demotion in the status, indifferent attitude of the state, termination of the service. On serious offence, capital punishment was pronounced. However all these aspects need more in-depth study.

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*Prof. Pema Rama Prize Paper*

## **A Social History of the Sansis of Raj Marwar**

**N. Benjamin**

Marwar was one of the largest princely states in India during the British Period. It was inhabited by many tribes. One of the most backward tribes - both socially and economically - was that of the Sansis. The latter traced their descent from Sansmal of Bharatpur. They were said to have migrated to Marwar from there. They were called Nayaks in some parganas. They stood lowest in the social scale and looked to the scavenger class as their superiors, and from whom they begged and whose leavings they ate. They were the hereditary bards of the scavengers, calling them Dhanis or masters.<sup>1</sup>

Though the Sansis were concentrated in Jodhpur, Merta, Bilara, Didwana and Nagaur, they did not have settled homes and roamed about in the jungles hunting wild animals. They usually moved about in two parties, one including the old men, women and children, and the other young men. Several wandering families halted together and formed a dera (encampment). In each dera there was always a large number of bullocks, donkeys, goats and poultry. The Sansis were fond of dogs, and kept a large number of them to guard their deras. If a dera was raided in the night, the dogs barked at the approach of the strangers, and all the able-bodied men take to their heels. Only old men, women and children were found. The women declared that they were widows and the children orphans.

In 1941 their population was 1,882, the total population of Marwar being 25,55,904.(2) In 1921, the Sansi population had 826 males and 817 females. Since the proportion of females was not exactly adverse, it can be said that the condition of the Sansi women was not bad. But literacy in the tribe was almost unknown. In a total population of 1,643, there were only three literate Sansis and they were males.<sup>3</sup>

In 1909-10 the government notified 20,329 members in

Class A of the criminal tribes out of which the number of the Sansis was 483.<sup>4</sup>

All members of the criminal tribes suffered during famines and the Sansis were no exception. Since they were not allowed to leave their place of residence without a prior permission of the government which took time to obtain, their movement away from the famine affected areas to elsewhere was delayed. Once the relief works were started, they were employed in them. During the great famine of 1899-1900, relief works gave employment to 3 per cent of the Sansi population.<sup>5</sup> Complaints were sometimes made that the Sansis were paid less than the relief workers of other castes.

Among all the Criminal Tribes in 1895-96, the average area of land held by the Sansis was the least at 15.5 bighas.<sup>6</sup> But over the years, the condition of the Sansis with respect to agricultural land holdings improved vis-à-vis other criminal tribes except Baories. In 1930, for instance, six criminal tribes (Baories, Sansis, Minas, Bhils, Bagries and Thories) had 1,52,376 bighas of cultivated land. In this the share of the Baories was the highest at 1,49,494 bighas, followed by the Sansis at 1,762 bighas. The shares of the Minas, Bhils and Bagries were much smaller, and Thories did not have any land at all. All the criminal tribes owned 4,685 ploughs whereas the Sansis had only 201 ploughs. The cattle wealth of the Sansis was also modest. The criminal tribes as a whole had 2,129 male buffaloes, 7,291 oxen, 7,674 cows, 3,696 sheep and 9,672 goats. But the Sansis had 19 male buffaloes, 288 oxen, 360 cows, 34 sheep and 317 goats.<sup>7</sup>

The Sansis lived in hostile surroundings. They lived in fear of attack both by the security forces as well as other castes. Their chief weapon for defence was a staff. A Sansi reputedly faced an attack by upto a hundred staffs with one staff alone. If his staff broke, the womenfolk threw another staff for his use. Hence, they kept a large number of staffs in their deras. If he did not have a staff, he used a shoe to defend himself. Because of his low social status, his attackers did not touch him and so he could be driven away with sticks alone. When he was surrounded by them and was on a weak ground, the womenfolk threw urine at them.

The Sansis were treated as thieves. The Census of Marwar, 1911 reported that in terms of occupations, the Sansis were vagrants and thieves.<sup>8</sup> They targetted the cattle and lifted grains from the fields. R.B. Sukhdeo wrote that they were professional cattle lifters.<sup>9</sup> The men slept till late in the day in their deras and spent the night on the prowl, signals being conveyed by jackal cries. Different gangs also communicated with each other by means of fast runners. Sansis ran very fast and instances were on record where they outstripped mounted men and escaped from being caught. Around 1920 gangs of notorious dacoits included Sansis. Their very name had become a terror in Bali and Jalor parganas. After committing depredations, they found a safe refuge in Sirohi State.

They used the railway trains for their nefarious deeds. They got down at wayside stations, committed robberies in the neighbourhood and then took circuitous routes to catch trains at distant stations.<sup>10</sup> A Sansi gang committed a daring mail robbery at Erinpura Road in April 1921. It was hunted down and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.<sup>11</sup>

After some years the Sansis took to crime in Godwar. They travelled in batches, got down at the roadside stations between Abu Road and Nana which were situated close to the Aravalli Hills. They committed crimes on their way to the hills and once they reached there, it was difficult for the police to hunt them. After patient and continued effort, they were surprised in their place of hiding and were arrested with much booty.<sup>12</sup>

After about three years they raised their head again and committed a series of robberies. Baldeo Ram Mirdha, Superintendent of Police, traced them and arrested them in Ahmedabad and Panch Mahals. They were extradited to Marwar and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

After a lull, they again became active in 1933 and 1934. They committed robberies in Bali and Desuri Districts. The victims were relieved of their shoes and umbrellas near Rani Railway Station. Mirdha again swung into action. He traced some of them in Bajana State under Mahikantha Agency and had them moved to Marwar. Another group moved to Sind. Thakur Kan Singh, Superintendent, Barmer District, intercepted

them and captured them in Thar Parkar District of Sind. They were extradited to Marwar where the government appointed Additional Sessions Judge who tried them and awarded them imprisonment from three to fourteen years. Some of them were hardened criminals. It was hoped that Marwar was finally rid of the last remnants of the old formidable gangs of Sansis.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from the Sansis, there were some other tribes which were considered criminal by the government. It made attempts to settle them into peaceful pursuits from 1884. Those tribals who were amenable to reform and did not deserve harsh treatment were settled in Khalsa and Jagir villages. Rules were made to regulate their activities. They were codified in 1890-91 and subsequently incorporated in the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911. The system of partial (inspection) was introduced and regular registers containing their names, place of residence, etc., were maintained. The criminal tribals were required to present themselves for their attendance daily to the police post in their villages. They were given land, loans and other facilities to settle down as agriculturalists.<sup>14</sup>

As the Sansis did not have settled homes, these rules did not cover them. When their depredations could no longer be ignored, the government classed as a criminal tribe from 1894-95. When the registration commenced, a large number of them left Marwar. Some of them left for the United Provinces, Punjab, Madras Presidency and Bombay Presidency where they carried out depredations. Their deras in the Bombay Presidency were generally on the boundaries of two villages. They committed dacoity, highway robbery, thefts and cattle lifting. The latter was confined to cows and bullocks. They did not steal donkeys as it was considered derogatory. Their women entered towns singing and dancing. Their spies took note of the stages where travellers halted and ascertained if any wedding or other party likely to be a lucrative prey was on a journey; and if so, further particulars such as the time of starting, strength of the party, route to be taken, etc., were elicited. Laying their plans accordingly, the gang started ahead and took up suitable positions. For house breaking, a member of the gang loitered about near a tank, well or ghat and observed a woman with

valuable jewellery on her person. He followed her to her house, prospected it and the information gathered was passed on to other men. When a house was considered promising, they removed their encampment ten or fifteen miles or even more away, and allowed some time to elapse before burgling it. A Sansi was an adept at estimating the probable wealth of the inmates from the general appearance of a house. In the pursuit of crime, their gangs freely utilized the railways, making long journeys both by road and rail, covering sometimes as much as forty or fifty miles on foot to reach their dera. When men left their deras by rail, there was no limit to the sphere of their activities but by road their operations ordinarily extended upto fifty miles. When they targetted the railways, they robbed the passengers and goods trains. Sometimes they dressed as women and travelled in carriages reserved for females. Stolen property was thrown out of the windows to be picked up afterwards or ornaments were snatched from women sitting near the windows. From goods trains, bags were lifted off open trucks either by men boarding the trains when moving slow and throwing off the bags or by dragging the bags by means of iron rods or long sticks tipped with iron hooks. The stolen property was buried, hidden in the hallow legs of cots, etc. It was then sold to goldsmiths, shroffs, banias, etc.<sup>15</sup>

#### **Problems of settlement:**

When the government included a criminal tribe in Class A, it was obliged to provide it land and settle it as agriculturalists. For instance, between 1880 and 1890 the entire Baori tribe was registered in Class A and settled on land. But this was not true with respect to the Sansis. Though they were brought within the ambit of the criminal tribes' rules, not all of them were settled on land. This was because of some reasons. First, the process of settling down the criminal tribes on land by providing them facilities for agricultural work and making advances for agricultural requirements lost its momentum by the time they were included in the criminal tribes. When restrictions were placed on them, the government did not ensure that they had a source of livelihood.

Thus, when they were confined to restricted areas, they

were put to great hardship. One such case occurred in 1929. Five Sansis cut a tree in the field of one Dhula. The Sansis pleaded in the Court of the First Class Magistrate that their only source of livelihood was to sell wood. As they were starving, they cut the tree. In his judgement, the Magistrate noted, "Registered members of Criminal Tribes... were given land for cultivation at the time of settlement.... But these accused... were neither given any land for cultivation nor put to any work from which they might eke out a living." He continued, "The value of the stolen property is barely Rs. 5/- .... In my opinion, punishment of whipping to the accused will meet the ends of justice in this case."<sup>16</sup>

Second, the Sansis by their very nature were given to wandering. They were not habituated to agricultural work which they found toilsome. The Inspector General of Police reported in 1938 that the Sansis of village Mahabar (Barmer district) were registered as Class A Criminal Tribe in 1921. They were then given facilities to take up agricultural work. But they did not like the restrictions placed on their movements and absconded. They remained untraced for over five years and hence their names were struck off the register of the Criminal Tribes in 1928. Then they returned and began to commit petty crimes.<sup>17</sup> Even in 1940s, the Sansis mostly worked as labourers, prepared coverings for thatches, collected bones of carcasses for bone merchants or maintained themselves by begging. Very few of them undertook cultivation.

Thirdly, the villagers did not want them in their vicinity. The Inspector, Criminal Tribes, Jodhpur reported that in the Khalsa villages land could be provided to them "...though not without protests from neighbouring cultivators, but in Jagir areas it is very seldom that land can be procured for Sansis. Under one pretext or the other Jagirdars evade allotment of land to these undesirables." For instance, the Jagirdar of Mahabar village (Barmer district) was opposed to their settlement in his village and was not prepared to provide them land for cultivation. The Department of Criminal Tribes also stopped insisting that the Sansis be allotted land for cultivation.<sup>18</sup> As the official chronicler wrote, "The greatest difficulty as regards the introduction of

this measure (their settlement) is where to settle them permanently, as there appears to be serious objection on the part of the cultivators to having these gentry as their neighbours."<sup>19</sup> On July 2, 1935, over 200 residents of Sadri petitioned the government to remove the Sansi colony from their vicinity for the following reasons:

(a) The Sansis robbed the farmers of their crops, trees, grass, implements, etc. When the farmers stopped them, they used staffs against the farmers.

(b) They moved round in the town and asked the shopkeepers to sell their goods at low prices and on credit. When the shopkeepers refused, they threatened to rob the shops or set them on fire.

(c) They wandered in the down and did begging. They harassed the wayfarers outside the town.

(d) They were cruel to the animals and killed cows, bullocks, pigeons, peacocks, etc.

(e) They caused so much fear and harassment that people were unwilling to occupy newly constructed houses which entailed great loss to them.

The petitioners concluded, "... we most respectfully request your honour to remove them off from here and colonise them at some other suitable place."<sup>20</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The Sansis were one of the most backward tribes of Marwar both economically and socially. They lived in a vicious circle. Because they were poor, they became criminals and because they were criminals they had problems in leading a settled life because of the opposition of other castes even when the government made some efforts to that end however feeble they were. Treating them officially as a criminal tribe did not solve their problems. Rather, it confirmed the stigma which was traditionally attached to them. They remained at a low rung of the social ladder till the merger of Marwar with the Indian Union. A real change in their condition came thereafter.

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*Rao Ganpat Singh Chitalwana Prize Paper*

## Non-Agricultural Production and Caste Composition in *Qasba Sangod* in Kota: A Decline in the Textile Profession

Dr. Jibraeil

A fifteenth century inscription about Kumbha's conquests described the area around Bundi as Hadavatim<sup>1</sup> which later on came to be known as Hadauti<sup>2</sup>. Abul Fazl employs the term Hadauti and describes it as one of the three main constituents of *suba* Ajmer, the other two being Mewar and Marwar<sup>3</sup>. The region lies in the greener belt of south Rajasthan, and had been agriculturally an important principality<sup>4</sup>. This paper is mainly based on revenue records of Kota preserved at the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.

An attempt has been made in this paper to study the non-agricultural production and a tax known as *kholari*, it was a tax levied upon the menials pursuing different professions, e.g., *Chamar, Kumbhar, Dhobi, Sunar, Lakhera, Mahajan, Jolahas* etc. It was collected house-wise under both the *Kharif* and *Rabi* harvests at varying rates. The *kholari* was component of the *sair* which was in essence a house-tax collected from the artisans. This in fact is an enumeration of artisan castes of different *qasbas* which enables us to make an estimation of population and caste composition. Besides this, we can also assess the position of individual crafts in a town in Kota. We have selected viz. Sangod a town of Kota because of detailed information available about it. On the basis of this tax we can work-out the population of artisans and menial castes in the said town.

Pattern of non-agricultural production and its overall significance in the economy of 'pre-colonial' India has been a subject of several scholarly studies, but the focus has been

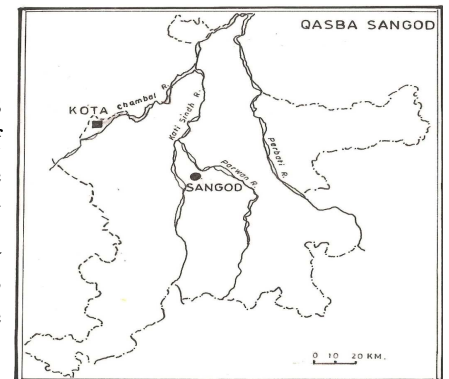
primarily on the capital cities like Agra, Delhi, Lahore etc. and the coastal regions<sup>5</sup>. It is true that these areas occupied an important place in the politics and economy of the country but to be able to discuss 'growth of an integrated market covering extensive parts of *Hindustan*'<sup>6</sup>, one needs to know a lot more about the level of non-agricultural production in the interior regions of the country. In this context the information contained in the Kota records is of immense value. It can be used to ascertain the size of the non-agricultural sector in the economy of 18<sup>th</sup> century, Hadauti. It covers the different branches and organization of production in the *qasba*, forms of labour organization in the productive and unproductive spheres, and gives a general idea about the earnings of the artisans and menials of a *qasba*. An estimate of the size of non-agricultural sector and its proportion to the agricultural population can be made on the basis of such taxes and cesses which were realized at a fixed rate from an individual household<sup>7</sup>.

The *Toji dovarkhi-Bajetalke* offers number and the names of the non-agriculturist households such as artisans and menial castes under the head *kholari*<sup>8</sup> which was realized at fixed rate from the non-agricultural population of the town<sup>9</sup>.

For a systematic analysis of the available data we have divided our study into three parts: I, II and III. Part I discusses the commercial crops of *qasba* Sangod. In part II, number of houses and estimation of population of *Sangod* is made; and in part III, a comparison is made between the work-out population with the 1931 census and the position of textile workers of 18<sup>th</sup> century is also discussed.

### Qasba Sangod

*Qasba* Sangod is situated on the right bank of River *Ujar*, a tributary of the River *Kali Sindh*, seventy five kms. South-east of Kota town with which it is connected by road (see map)<sup>10</sup>.



## I

## Commercial Crops

Information about the commercial crops in *qasba* Sangod is of extreme significance. These are *vani* (cotton) *til* (sesamum), *kosumbo* (opium), *tamakhu* (tobacco), *sun* (hemp or a plant to source of fibre), *neel* (indigo) and *anju* (unidentified)<sup>11</sup>. Out of these, cotton, *sun*, *kosumbo* (opium) and indigo are related to textile industry. Besides this, the oilseeds grown in the region were *til* (sesamum) and *alsi* (linseed) in both the harvests and covered a good number of *bighas*<sup>12</sup>.

There is variable evidence about the availability of *kosumbo* (opium) and indigo in the 18<sup>th</sup> century which shows that those crops were raised in the region. For instance, in *qasba* Sangod, in 1741, *kosumbo* (opium) was produced on 14.18 *bighas* while indigo covered 95.07 *bighas*<sup>13</sup>.

Cotton was a major crop in the Kota region<sup>14</sup>. In *qasba* Sangod, it was cultivated on 457.12 *bighas* which constitute 29.84 per cent of the total area in 1741<sup>15</sup>.

The other commercial crops in the said *qasba* were *anju*, *tamakhu* (tobacco) and *sun* (source of fibre)<sup>16</sup> in *kharif* harvests, which were sown on 15.06, 0.15 and 62.17 *bighas* respectively<sup>17</sup>. *Anju* was produced both in *kharif* and *rabi*<sup>18</sup>.

Besides it, the food crops were also produced in large area. Those were wheat (*gehoon*), gram (*chana*) and *saal* (rice coarse)<sup>19</sup>. The details about them are shown in the following two tables:

Table (a)  
Kharif (VS. 1798/AD. 1741)

S.No.	Name of the Commercial Crops	Land in Bighas/Biswas		Realized amount in Rupees	
		Total	%	Total	%
1.	<i>Vani</i> (cotton)	457.12	29.84	431.00	19.73
2.	<i>Saal</i> (coarse rice)	606.13	39.56	1456.00	66.67
3.	<i>Til</i> (sesamum)	218.05	14.23	36.00	1.65
4.	<i>Sund</i> (un-identified)	64.006	4.18	36.00	1.65
5.	<i>Anju</i> (un-identified)	15.06	0.98	5.00	0.23
6.	<i>Kasumbho</i> (opium)	14.18	0.93	10.00	0.46
7.	<i>Tamakhu</i> (tobacco)	0.15	0.01	3.00	0.74

8.	<i>Sunn</i> (source of fibre)	62.17	4.06	53.00	2.43
9.	<i>Neel</i> (indigo)	95.07	6.21	154.00	7.05
	Grand Total	1532.00*	100	2184.00*	100

\*In round figures

Table (b)  
RABI (VS. 1798/AD. 1741)

S.No.	Name Crops	Land in Bighas/Biswas		Realized amount in Rupees	
		Total	%	Total	%
1.	<i>Gehoon</i> (wheat)	358.00	64.39	223.00	72.88
2.	<i>Chana</i> (gram)	117.07	21.04	27.00	8.82
3.	<i>Alsi</i> (linseed)	76.13	13.69	51.00	16.67
4.	<i>Anju</i> (unidentified)	3.02	0.54	2.00	0.65
5.	<i>Others</i>	2.04	0.37	3.00	0.98
	Grand Total	556.00*	100	306.00*	100

\*In round figures

From the perusal of the tables (a and b) three points emerge; firstly, the occupation of large area under these crops probably was to feed the large number of people in the *qasba*, secondary, the development of the place into a big agrarian mart, and lastly, the cultivation of commercial crops related to textile show the *qasba* as a centre of textile industry.

## II

In part-II my concentration is to find out the position of different castes during the period of 18<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> century' especially in the urban areas of Kota. For the aforesaid period the main source *toji-do-vakhi-baje-talke* (i.e.AD1741and AD1751)<sup>20</sup> is taken which provides the valuable information for the estimation of the population of artisans, menial and other textile workers.

The series of the *toji-do-vakhi-baje-talke* furnish valuable data on weavers and other professional groups, menial castes and their



number of houses. This helps us to estimate the population of the above referred classes and castes. The statistical data of the year 1741 and 1751 on tax collection *Kholari* (house tax)<sup>21</sup> and number of houses contained in the document are compiled in the form of following tables (I and II) and in table-III the comparison of the available information regarding textile workers in said years with the Castes Census of year 1931.

Table-I

*Qasba Sangod* (VS.1798/AD.1741)

S.NO.	Name of the Castes	Total realization in takas (sair <i>kholari</i> tax)	<i>Assami's ghar</i> (No. of Houses)	Population (No. of Houses x by 5)
1.	<i>Chhinpas</i>	111	7	35
2.	<i>Chamar</i>	93	7	35
3.	<i>Gujar</i>	70	5	25
4.	<i>Julaha</i>	588	53	265
5.	<i>Kalal</i>	265	22	110
6.	<i>kharol</i>	95	13	65
7.	<i>Khati</i>	137	8	40
8.	<i>Koli</i>	113	12	60
9.	<i>Khatik</i>	42	3	15
10.	<i>Kumbhar</i>	97	12	60
11.	<i>Lakhara</i>	66	5	25
12.	<i>Lilgar</i>	102	8	40
13.	<i>Lohar</i>	63	4	20
14.	<i>Pinjara</i>	95	12	60
15.	<i>Sunar</i>	83	6	30
16.	<i>Tamoli</i>	29	3	15
17.	<i>Teli</i>	175	15	75
	GRAND TOTAL	2224	183	915

(Source: Based on *Toji-dovarkhi-bajetalke*, a Kota record, available at R. S. A., Bikaner)

Table-II

*Qasba Sangod* (VS.1808/AD.1751)

S.NO.	Name of the Castes	Total realization in takas (sair <i>kholari</i> tax)	<i>Assami's ghar</i> (No. of Houses)	Population (No. of Houses x by 5)
1.	<i>Chhinpas</i>	155	11	55
2.	<i>Chamar</i>	54	5	25
3.	<i>Gujar</i>	107	9	45

4.	<i>Julaha</i>	366	39	195
5.	<i>Kalal</i>	244	17	85
6.	<i>kharol</i>	92	8	40
7.	<i>Khati</i>	124	9	45
8.	<i>Koli</i>	79	8	40
9.	<i>Khatik</i>	52	5	25
10.	<i>Kumbhar</i>	110	10	50
11.	<i>Lakhera</i>	55	5	25
12.	<i>Lilgar</i>	79	6	30
13.	<i>Lohar</i>	59	4	20
14.	<i>Pinjara</i>	98	8	40
15.	<i>Sunar</i>	89	7	35
16.	<i>Tamoli</i>	36	4	20
17.	<i>Teli</i>	169	13	65
	GRAND TOTAL	1958	168	840

(Source: Based on *Toji-dovarkhi-bajetalke*, a Kota record, available at R.S., Bikaner)

In the above tables (I and II) of *qasba Sangod* the total collection under the tax *kholari* and the number of *assamis*<sup>22</sup> is recorded. The tax *kholari* signifies the house tax which was imposed on the different occupational groups.

The number of houses belonging to each caste is given, which can help us to estimate the population of the region. It means that if we multiply the number of houses by 5 (assumed conventional figure for each household)<sup>23</sup>, then we can obtain a population for practically all the textile workers and other castes in the *qasba Sangod*. Already Table I and II has been prepared to show the estimation of population in the said *qasba* for the years 1741 and 1751 respectively.

It is quite clear that in 1741, the population of the seventeen castes was 915 (no. of house 183x5). And in 1751, the population of the seventeen castes was 840 (no. of house 168x5). Consequently, the total castes recorded in 1741 are seventeen and the same in 1751. Of these the *Julahas* (weavers) were dominating in both of the years i.e.; 1741 and 1751. While the lowest population is of *Khatik* and *Tamoli* in 1741 and *Lohar* and *Tamoli* in 1751<sup>24</sup>. Also see appendix-(I) and (II) attached at the end of the paper.

### III

#### Position of Textile Workers

The study of position of weavers along with textile workers in the towns of Kota is quite interesting. Though information about textile workers with especial reference to weavers is compiled in the combined tables (I and II), but to highlight their strength, we have formulated separate table (III) stating their number of houses and the population obtained through multiplying with the conventional rate. This would highlight the strength of individual textile castes. The number of houses of each professional caste of *qasba* Sangod is recorded and is putting under the heading of "Textile Workers"<sup>25</sup>, and selected only those castes which are easily identifiable with a particular profession.

Table-III

*Qasba* Sangod: A Comparison of Caste Population with Census 1931  
Textile Workers (Weavers)

S.No.	Name of the Castes	Urban Population AD1741	Urban Population AD1751	Urban Population AD1931
1	<i>Chhinpa</i> (Calico-Printer)	35	55	DA
2	<i>Julaha</i> (Weaver)	265	195	DA
3	<i>Lakhera</i> (Lac-Worker)	25	25	DA
4	<i>Lilgar</i> (Indigo-Dyer)	40	30	DA
5	<i>Pinjara</i> (Cotton-Carder)	60	40	DA
	GRAND TOTAL	425	345	DA

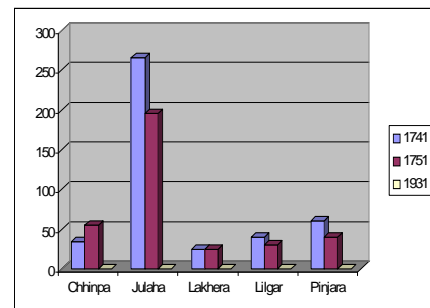
(Source: Based on *Toji-dovarkhi-bajetalke*, a Kota record, available at R. S. A., Bikaner)

Note: DA denotes Dis-Appeared

Graph : A Comparison of Population of Textile Workers (*Qasba* Sangod)

(Source: Based on Table III)

The comparison of the population figures of textile workers in the two period's leads to some very interesting results (see Table III and also Graph). In the *qasba*, the leading professional class was *Julahas* (weavers) with their population 265 and 195 in 1741 and 1751 respectively followed by *Pinjara*, *Lilgar*, *Chhinpa* and *Lakhera* etc. The total population of Five castes in AD 1741 is 425, while in 1751 the dominating position is again of *Julaha* followed by *Chhinpa*, *Pinjara*, *Lilgar* and *Lakhera* etc. and the total population of five castes comes to 345<sup>26</sup>. There is a decline of population of these castes between 1741 and 1751 and completely disappeared in 1931<sup>27</sup>. The decline or disappearance of weaver (*Julaha*) was clearly an outcome of the impact of the competition of the British cloth in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The weavers and calico-printers suffered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century because British cloth and yarn became cheaper, and also the demand for British cloth cheapened their product and British cloth increased<sup>28</sup>. And gradually the number of textile workers including weavers declined and ultimately they vanished from the scene by the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,



the census of 1931.

the symptom of de-industrialization as  
tion at least in the said town. We can  
of phenomenon in the entire state of

slab (264) text given by Shyamaldas in *Vir Vinod*  
pp. 411-16.

*Polity: Warriors, Peasants and Merchants (1700-*

1800), Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 2003, p. 20.

3. *Ain-II*, tr. Corrected and annotated by J.N. Sarkar, New Delhi, p. 273.
4. *Rajasthan District Gazetteer*, Jaipur edited by Savitri Gupta, Kota, 1982, p. 78.
5. H.K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India (1556-1803)*, Bombay/Mumbai, 1968. And *Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals*, Simla, 1972.
6. 'Inland Trade' a chapter written by Tapan Ray Chaudhury in the *Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. I, edited by Tapan Ray Chaudhury and Irfan Habib, Delhi, 1984, p. 338.
7. Madhu Tandon Sethia, Op. cit. p. 231.
8. *Toji-do-varakhi Bajetalke*, *Qasba* Sangod of years V.S. 1798/A.D. 1741 and V.S. 1808/A.D. 1751.
9. Madhu Tandon Sethia, Op. cit, pp. 91-92. Literally a *Kholari* is a house tax on a

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professional who was engaged in production in village or town. This was charged over them.

10. *Rajasthan District Gazetteer*, Kota, Op. cit. pp. 508-509.
11. *Toji-do-varkhi-Bajetalke*, *Qasba Sangod* V.S. 1798/A.D. 1741.
12. *Toji-do-varkhi-Bajetalke*, *Qasba Sangod* V.S. 1798/A.D. 1741.
13. Ibid,
14. Ibid,
15. Ibid,
16. *Sunn*, (a plant which is a source of fibres). See Wilson Glossary, p. 460.
17. *Toji-do-varkhi-Bajetalke* *Qasba Sangod*, V.S. 1798/A.D.1741.
18. Ibid,
19. *Saal* (coarse rice). See *Rajasthani Shabd Kosh*, Part 3, p. 1453.
20. *Toji-do-varkhi-Bajetalke* of different years of different *parganas* is available in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. It is defined in details by Girija Shankar Sharma, *Sources on Social and Economic History of Rajasthan (17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Century)*, Bikaner, 2005, pp. 43-55.
21. Literally a *Kholari* is a house tax on a professional who was engaged in production in village or town.
22. The term *assami* indicates an individual (*Toji-dovarkhi-bajetalke*, *qasba Sangod*, VS.1798/AD.1741 and VS.1808/AD.1751).
23. S.P.Gupta and B.L.Bhadani assumed this figure 4.5 for the Marwar region. James Tod (in his monumental work *Annals and Antiquities*) assumed 4 or 5 at different places such as Jaisalmer and Bikaner respectively. Tod visited Jaisalmer in AD. 1815.
24. *Toji-do-varkhi-Bajetalke*, *Qasba Sangod*, Op.cit.
25. Five castes are included in textile profession: *Julahas* (weavers), *Chhinpas* (calico-printers), *Lakheras* (lac-workers), *Lilgars* (indigo-dyers) and *Pinjaras* (cotton-carder).
26. *Toji-do-varkhi-Bajetalke*, *qasba Sangod*, Op. cit.
27. B.L. Cole, *Census of India, 1931*(Rajputana Agency), Reprint, 1992, pp.216-217.
28. *Kalals* (wine distillers) were also disappeared probably due to use of British Wine in that region.

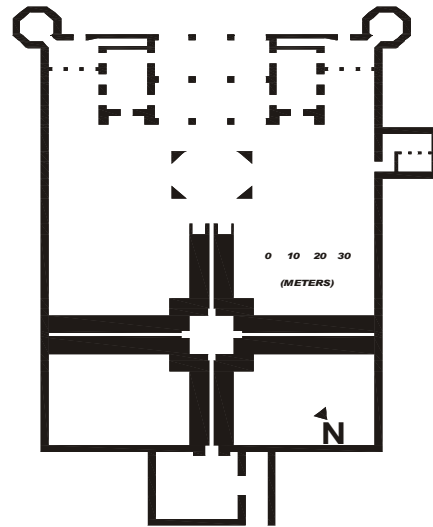
## Mughal Pleasure Palaces at Bari, Dhaulpur : an Archaeology Study

Dr. M.K. Pundhir

Mughal rulers were the prolific builders as they had constructed a large number of buildings of varied nature in various parts of the Mughal Empire. Their buildings could be grouped in two broad categories i.e. religious and secular. Secular buildings may be further divided in to sub-categories namely official buildings, residential Palaces and recreational structures. At Bari, Mughal emperor Shahjahan had built a huge complex of Palaces and two pleasure places. Presently, an attempt is made to study these pleasure Palaces built at Bari by Shahjahan by using archaeological tools. Further in the study space organization and architectural synthesis in these Shahjahani pleasure Palaces is to be analyzed and investigated.

Shahjahani pleasure Palaces are situated on the Mughal Dam known as Talab Shahi, the royal lake situating about 5 kms. to the south east of the town of Bari. Bari presently is a subdivision of District Dhaulpur of Rajasthan existing 34 km to the west. Historically, significance of Bari lies in the fact that under Mughals it had functioned as the mahal and pargana. Under Akbar, Bari was a mahal in sarkar of Agra containing 2,76,964 bighas yielding revenue of 50,64,158 Dam and inhabited by Parmar / Panwar Rajputs. Bari was constituted as an important part of royal hunting ground under Akbar where he had hunted Leopards and Tigers and subsequently it remained reserved hunting ground under Jahangir and Shahjahan. During the period of Jahangir, Bari became a pargana and it was frequently figured in the Memoirs of Jahangir as an important hunting site visited by Jahangir several time. Later on, Mughal emperor Shahjahan had constructed two pleasure Palaces along with a complex of Palaces occupying the whole length of the embankment of the Dam of Talab Shahi.

PALACE-I : is situated between  $26^{\circ}37'16.54''$  north of latitude and  $77^{\circ}39'15.71''$  east of longitude at the eastern most corner of Mughal Dam Talab Shahi. The structure of the Palace runs on north south axis and occupied an oblong area of 48 meters by 34 meters. Southern façade of the Palace faces the water of the Dam sunk more than half in the thickness of the embankment. Corners of



the southern façade were built in the form of the octagonal towers surmounted by fluted Dom. These towers were built with an orientation that one side of the octagon diagonally merged in the corners of the Palace. Entrance to these towers was provided from the inner side of the Palace through a door placed in diagonal position in the merged side of the octagon. From the top of the embankment, two staircases named as eastern and western are built in lateral position to facilitate the entry in to the Palace. Eastern stairs runs from west to east direction having ten steps where western stairs too having ten steps oriented from east to west.

Inner space of the Palace has been organized into three terrace of different height descending from south to north . The southernmost terrace was built at the height of one storey from the embankment which has been achieved with the dressed stones and lime mortar. The area of the terrace is 358.7 square meters and it bears the main structure of the Palace. The space of the terrace has been organized in a very systematic way to attend perfect symmetry so far as the different components of the building are concerned. Their built a pillared pavilion in the centre which is flanked first by side compartments then by pillared cloisters with a small open place in front. Southern wall of the side compartments was very thickly built to accommodate

the lateral staircases to approach the roof of the central pavilion and side compartments. These staircases open in the side pillared cloisters. In the southern wall beneath the staircases, a trabeate opening has been provided in the side compartments. Northern wall too has trabeate opening but with different setting as it was faced with modeled cusped arch forming a portal type structure . The compartments are linked with central pillared pavilion through two beam spanned doors. In the opposite side walls three doors have been given where one door opens in the side pillared cloisters. Central pavilion is divided in to six bays with the help of pillars supporting multi-foliated arches where there are three bays from east to west and two bays from north to south orientation. The area of the pavilion is one hundred twenty square meters and it consists of twelve pillars where six pillars sunk half in the side walls . The Pillars are typical Shahjahani columns composed of base, shafts and capital. Base of the pillars in shape is pyramidal inscribed with gavaksha motif. Shafts of the pillars are sixteen sided.

Second terrace little lower in height than the southernmost terrace is 387.6 square meters in area. It has an oblong tank sunk in the centre of it. The tank in east west alignment and measures  $8 \times 5.5$  meters and its depth is one meter. All the corners inside the tank have step in triangle shape. This terrace has provided four staircases to descend on the third terrace on existing on northern side. Each staircase consists of four steps. On the western side of the terrace, there exists a square compartment served as toilets for the inmates of the Palace. The compartment is connected with terrace through a door. It has pillared cloister with toilets.

The descending terrace is bigger in area i.e. 867 square meters. It was arranged in the pattern of Charbagh. The whole area was divided in four parts with the help of running water channels and walkways. The point of intersection was occupied by a square water tank with the side length of 4.4 meters. The width of water channel is 0.4 meter with walkways of 2 meters width on both sides. The garden got water from the oblong tank existing in second terrace through the Gargoyle i. e. carved face on water spout.