CHAPTER – 3

Military Operations Against the Jats
The history of Jat recalcitrance has attracted considerable attention of scholars concerned with agrarian history as also those who focused on class struggle. Such studies extremely documented as they are, by its very nature, are generalized treatment of the whole of the Mughal Empire, and in turn all the recalcitrant zamindars. True, it is difficult to disconnect Jat from the above perspective. The role of Jats in the Mughal Empire is also studied in the above perspective. So, here is an attempt to throw some light on their military activities also as it forms a major factor of their success.

The Jats gradually came into prominence since the time of Aurangzeb when they became rebellious against the Mughal state. Earlier they were the small mansabdars of the Mughal Empire working as the jagirdars and zamindars at village and pargana level. When they became rebellious, they posed a large scale devastation and disturbance in whole of the northern India.

Large number of military clashes occurred between the Jats and the Mughal army commanders. Those nobles acted in the capacity of the faujdars or jagirdar of that region. They were the Turanis, Indian Muslims as well as other local Hindu chiefs in which Amber Raja had dominating position because Amber Raja had his jagirs and ijaras in this area and familiarity with the region.

Some areas were more volatile in nature where Emperor had to send many expeditions under the big army to bring it under control like Sinsini, Thun, Mathura etc. and those were the full-fledged military expedition which they had to launch against their powerful enemies. Though there were several small areas also where daily skirmishes took place between the Jats and the Mughal army.

As early as Shahjahan’s reign Murshid Quli Khan Turkman, faujdar of Mathura, Mahaban, Kaman, Pahari, was appointed to chastise them. But these military confrontations took place more frequently eversince the time of Aurangzeb when Gokula Jat, a small zamindar of Tilpat, revolted and killed the Mughal faujdar Abdun

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1. See Introduction.
Nabi. Hasan Ali Khan granted the faujdari of Mathura and was sent against him and he was caught and killed by the order of the Emperor.\(^4\)

**Sinsini**

Sinsini came under the *sarkar* of Agra, a village near Au, located at 27° and 77°.\(^5\) The area belonged to *Sinsiniwar* clan of the Jats was located in the vicinity of dense jungles, marshy land, thorny bushes and surrounded by a number of small *garhis*, also depicted in the map preserved in *Kapad Dwara*. In such a situation it becomes more difficult to trace them.\(^6\)

Raja Ram Jat was the first among the *Sinsiniwars* who challenged the Mughal Emperor. Success could not be achieved against him when the expedition under Mughal commander Kokaltash Zafarjang alias Nawab Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was sent.\(^7\) We get the detailed information of the battle that took place on *Kartika Vadi 4, 1744/1787* from an *Arzdast*. The battle took place between Raja Ram Jat of Sinsini and Nawab Khan-i-Jahan, which makes clear the nature of the fight as well as the strategies adopted to conquer the fort. We also get ample information of the army employed on both sides and the casualties of the battle. The detail of the battle is as follows:

\begin{quote}
आसोज वर्ष 15 ——— गढी मजखूर (सिंहसिंही) जाय लागा सो राजी बुहूत हुई———गढी के नजीक खंडक मै जाय पहँचौं तो गढी गढ़ सो बहोज मार हुई लोग याकी केहरी मारौं गयो ——असवार परास साउड़ी तौ खंडक मै जाय पड़ा विशेष ही ग्रामग गया अर विज्ञ सुर खरी ——— की गोली छिपी मै लागी——— तब लखि राम वा फूज़ याकी सघली भागी। जाट गढी गढ़ नीकसी कीजो व दौड़ाया सो ऐ तो जाय नवाब धे सामिल हुआ अर जाट गढी मै जाय दर आमद हुआ।\(^8\)
\end{quote}

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5. *An Atlas Of The Mughal Empire*, op. cit., p.6A.
On Asoj Vadi 15 ............. reached and took position at the fort of Sinsini and a severe battle took place. He reached near the fort on the ditch, in a severe fight many people were killed and fifty-sixty men fell in the ditch and killed. Vijay Ram Khatri get shot at his chest ..........then Lachhi Ram Khatri and the whole army ran away from the fort and reached to the Nawab, the Jats entered into the fort. So, the battle was lost by Khan-i-Jahan and many prominent Rajput Sardars who were sent to assist him were also killed.9

After the failure of Khan-i-Jahan, Raja Ram Singh, the Amber chief, was appointed but he died soon,10 and after his death Bishan Singh was appointed under Prince Bedar Bakht against the Jats. He was given mansab of 2000/2000 and the faujdari of Mathura and the zamindari of Sinsini on the condition that he had signed a bond to bring the Jats under control within six months.11

After the failure of Khan-i-Jahan, the Jat menace increased, they removed the thanas (posts) from Khohri, Bhusawar, Au, Sonkher and Sahar and established their own thanas.12 Churaman Jat by now had collected the large number of followers and repaired the fort of Sinsini to make his insurgence more successful.13

The Imperial army marched against the Jats in Dec. 1688. On the imperial side, besides the army under Prince Bedar Bakht, Raja Bishan Singh had also recruited large number of contingent consisting 2,000 horsemen (sawars) and 20,000 footmen

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9 Ibid.
12 Arzdasht dtd. Magsir vadi 2, VS 1744/1687.
13 Futuhat-i-Alamgiri, op. cit., p. 228.
The Jats started harassing the imperial army, standing five karohs from Sinsini, and worsened the situation because of their surprise attack. Within four months, the Imperial army succeeded in fixing the entrenchment (morchal), the jungle around Sinsini was cleared and reduced to a plane surface and the chain of the forts around Sinsini were also conquered. Severe battle took place and two mines were laid and fixed, of which one was driven backwards caused great casualty on imperial side, then the other mine made breach and the ramparts of the fort fell down. Then they became able to overpower Sinsini. The battle caused great casualty on both sides. From the imperial side 1500 soldiers were killed or wounded. Consequently, after the fall of Sinsini, the testimony of Arzdashts indicates that the Jats again started ravaging the territory with their guerilla tactics (dhar) and the revenue collection from these areas became extremely difficult.

Around 1704 Churaman recaptured Sinsini from the Mughals by bribing the commander of the fort, but it was regained by the Mughals in 1705. After the conquest of Sinsini, the imperial army had to face the Jats at many other places, such as Nagar, Sonkhar Sonkhari, Rini, Banawar, Kathumar, Khohri etc. The fort was however finally captured and demolished in 1707.

**Expedition of Thun**

After the fall of the forts of Soghar and Sinsini, Churaman had constructed the stronghold of Thun and started creating disturbances in Mathura and around its borders. The Jats again started harassing the imperial army, standing five karohs from Sinsini, and worsened the situation because of their surprise attack. Within four months, the Imperial army succeeded in fixing the entrenchment (morchal), the jungle around Sinsini was cleared and reduced to a plane surface and the chain of the forts around Sinsini were also conquered. Severe battle took place and two mines were laid and fixed, of which one was driven backwards caused great casualty on imperial side, then the other mine made breach and the ramparts of the fort fell down. Then they became able to overpower Sinsini. The battle caused great casualty on both sides. From the imperial side 1500 soldiers were killed or wounded. Consequently, after the fall of Sinsini, the testimony of Arzdashts indicates that the Jats again started ravaging the territory with their guerilla tactics (dhar) and the revenue collection from these areas became extremely difficult.

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vicinity\textsuperscript{22} The fort of Thun was also built in the thick jungles of thorny bushes (\textit{muradata})\textsuperscript{23} which were “difficult to penetrate”\textit{(ashjar dushwar guzar)} \textsuperscript{24} We have seen that military expeditions under the supervision of Khan-i-Jahan, Prince Bedar Bakht and other nobles, were sent to punish the Jat rebels but no such remarkable success was achieved before the appointment of Sawai Jai Singh in the 5th Regnal Year of Farrukhsiyyar to execute the task of bringing the Jats under control,\textsuperscript{25} because he had adequate contingent and was familiar with the region near to his territory.

\textbf{Recruitment}

The Amber Raja had collected from his \textit{watan} and \textit{mahals of zamindari} (\textit{mahalat-i-zamindari}) 40,000 horses and many more footmen (\textit{pyadah})\textsuperscript{26} A \textit{Farman} inform that five lakhs of rupees were also sent to recruit force against the Jats.\textsuperscript{27} Besides this, the Emperor also provides him “the world taking cannon” (\textit{top-i-alamgir}) which was best in his possession for the expedition at Thun.\textsuperscript{28}

\textit{(yak zarab top-i-kalaan az mustaqarrul khilafa ata shawad)}

\textbf{Translation}

One big cannon was allotted to him from the capital\textsuperscript{29}

The other artillery and expenses which were used in Thun expedition were as follows:

\textit{(sah man barut wa yak sad wa panjah man sarop wa paansad baan az muataqarrul khilafa ba fauj Raja dhiraj rasanand)}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Arzdasht, Sawana Vadi 2, 1766/1703.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Iqbalnama, op.cit. p. 21-28, Shahnama Munawwar Kalam, op. cit., p. 18-23.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, op. cit., f. 945.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Ibid., ff. 776-777, Iqbalnama, op. cit., p. 21-28; Maasir-ul Umara, op.cit., f. 439; Shahnama Munawwar Kalam, op.cit., p. 18-23,
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Shahnama Munawwar Kalam, op. cit., p. 18-23.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Farman, Persian, (Undated), Mughal Court to Maharaja.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Iqbalnama, op. cit., p. 21-28.
  \item \textsuperscript{29} Tazkerat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta, op. cit., ff. 225-227.
\end{itemize}
Translation

"Three maunds of gun powder, 150 maunds of lead and 500 arrows were sent to Raja Jai Singh from the capital."  

In the twenty months of campaign 40 lakhs of rupees had been given to Raja Jai Singh for this purpose and 50 thousand were spent to meet the monthly pay for the detachment of Sanjar Khan and Shamsher Khan, the sentinels of the highway of Palwal.  

On the other side Churaman Jat, recruited his own followers had ten to twelve thousand warriors from professional soldiers, who lived inside the fort and were always ready and prepared for war. The authority of Churaman was very strong in the region, the zamindars and the subjects belonged to that locality (manatgaan) had all collected and joined together in his rebellion. Churaman started creating disturbance within the confines of his own talluqa-i-zamindari and incited the plunderers to devastate the royal territory and to prevent communications on the highway. They also hide themselves in the bushes on the side of the roads to make sudden attacks upon the imperial army which was on the way to Thun.  

Strategies and Other Arrangements

The Raja carried on the siege by adopting various devices and we are informed from the sources that the Emperor was much pleased to know about the appropriate strategies adopted by the Raja. He started his operation slowly and cautiously due to the thick jungles, broken terrain and antagonistic local population. He firstly cut down all the trees around Thun and "built new forts, and in each he stationed a body of active and experienced men and engaged the enemy in battle."  

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Ibid. p. 18-12.}\]
\[\text{Arzdasht, dtd. Pausha Sudi 5, 1774/1717.}\]
\[\text{Kapad Dwara, Vol. I, Map and Note No. 118.}\]
\[\text{Iqbalnama, op. cit., p. 21-28; Shahnama Munawwar Kalam,op.cit. 18-23.}\]
He also destroyed the small garhis around Thun so that they may not take shelter somewhere else when they were attacked. He kept constantly ready 3,000 camels and 2,000 carts, besides the number of mules, bullocks, buffaloes mounted with the large water bags (pakhals).  

When the Raja made his first assault on the fort, Muhkam Singh and Rupa, sons of Churaman Jat, advanced to counter him and they infact beat him back. The continuous military clashes took place and many a man on both sides perished.

The war continued for twenty months, but the impregnable fort of Thun, with “sky high ramparts” and thick mud walls protected by the ditch around it became so much formidable that even the cannon shots could not easily penetrate the mud walls. And due to the shortage of rains and consequently the scarcity of food and fodder the survival of the Raja in that region became more difficult and the siege became so long. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab mentions that it was due to dense forest the Raja was unable to conquer the fort. Meanwhile Churaman received pardon through the intercession of Abdullah Khan and the emperor reluctantly (tau'an karhan) agreed to this.

Jai Singh was recalled from Thun and the credit to win the enemies without fight was given to him. Churaman was given high rank and “was elevated from the low position of a robber to the zenith of Amirship.

Second Expedition at Thun

When Sa’adat Khan, the governor of Agra, was unable to bring the Jats under control, Jai Singh Sawai on second time, in April 1722 appointed by the Mughal
Emperor Muhammad Shah to lead an expedition against the Jats to sweep aside them completely.46 Because, by that time, the Jats under Churaman asserted themselves in the region.47

Raja Jai Singh laid siege at Thun on Oct. 25, 1722. Meanwhile Churaman died and his son Mukham Singh, son of Churaman, became the leader of the Jats.48 Jai Singh moved from Delhi with 14,000 to 15,000 army and plenty of arms and munitions and two lakhs of rupees and other arms useful in conquering the fort (masalah-i-qilagiri)49 Tazkerat provides its details. Such as:

(yak zarab top-i-kalaan wa sad zarab dhagla wa paansad man sarop wa barut wa seh sad baan az topkhana-i-badshahi hamraah Jadat-ul-mulk Bahadur Wazir Ali Marhamat Shud)

Translation

‘One big cannon, hundred big dhaglas? five hundred lead and gun powder and three hundred arrows sent through Jumdatul Mulk Bahadur Vazir Ali from the imperial Topkhana.’50

The siege began in Oct., 1722 and daily skirmishes took place around the fort. Sawai Jai Singh again adopted the same strategy of clearing the jungles and setting up batteries etc. The map of Thun is preserved in Kapad Dwara showing an outline of the meticulous arrangements for battle.51

The Jats hid themselves in the jungles and made night attacks on the imperial camp.52 Meanwhile, Badan Singh, a cousin Mukham Singh betrayed Mukham Singh and came over to Jai Singh’s side because of some family dispute. He drew attention to the

46. Ibid.
47. Maasir-ul-Umara, op. cit., ff.543-44.
50. Tazkerat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta, op. cit., ff.344-46.
51. Kapad Dwara, Vol. II, No. 91 and 67 (Fig. 34), Vol. I, Map and Note No. 87.
vulnerable places of the fort. Thus, Jai Singh succeeded in conquering the fort on 8 Nov., 1722 and this time he captured the fort. Muhammad Shah became very happy and ordered that kettle drum (naqqara) should be beaten for three days continuously and the victory was celebrated at the court (sahar me khusyali hui). Mukham Singh had set fire to the houses, exploded powder magazines and evacuated the fort of Thun, carried with him as much wealth as he could. Badan Singh was elected headman of the Jats by Jai Singh and Jai Singh was conferred honours by the Mughal Emperor for this achievement.

Mathura

Mathura was located at 27+ and 77+ on the eastern bank of river Jamuna. Mathura was the centre for Jat menace as it was repeatedly mentioned in our documents. Earlier it was under the jagir of the Kachhwaha Rajas. As early as in 1631 Mirza Raja Jai Singh had Mathura under his faujdari. In 1687-88, Jats of Mathura plundered the tomb of Akbar and carried away the valuables and set on fire the villages which were assigned for the maintenance of Tajmahal. The Emperor became much worried and Raja Ram Singh was given the faujdari of Mathura. The Emperor ordered to bring the Jats of Mathura under control very soon because they were threatening the fort of Ranthambore also. Meanwhile, Ghalib Beg, an official, was sent with an army to Mathura in order to establish some thanas there and to punish the Jats. Raja Ram Singh has proceeded from Lahore for the same purpose. But he died soon.

53 Ibid.
54 Farman, dtd. 18 Rabiul Awwal 1135/16 Dec. 1722
55 Tazkerat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta, op.cit., f. 344-46.
56 Arzdasht, dtd. Kartika Sudi 15, 1779/1722.
57 Arzdasht, dtd. Magsir Sudi 14, 1779/1722; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, op. cit., f. 945.
58 Tazkerat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta, op. cit., ff. 344-46; Farman (undated) No. 67/55.
59 Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p. 6A, 8A.
60 Farman, dtd., Zilqada, 1040/June 1631, Emperor Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh.
63 V.R, dtd., 28 Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1099/20 April 1688.
64 V.R, dtd., 5 Rajab, 1099/26 April, 1688.
65 V.R, dtd., 9 Rajab, 1099/30 April, 1688.
Raja Bishan Singh had now got the gaddi of Amber, mansab of 2000 / 2000 and faujdari of Mathura though the faujdari of Mathura and 1000 sawars were cancelled later on and only 1000 sawars were granted to him for the suppression of the Jats. Raja was requested by his agent at the court to proceed with a big force and informs that faujdari of Mathura would be given him back if he will conquer Sinsini. Raja Bishan Singh managed to get the faujdari of Mathura (faujdari-i-Islamabad sarbulandi yafa) inspite of royal displeasure. Bishan Singh reached Mathura and established thanas there and a jagir of 1,000,000 dams assigned to him because of his good arrangements at Mathura. But after few months in Oct. 1692, Amirul Umara complained that due to Raja's carelessness much of the revenue in Mathura has been in arrear. The Jats plundered the jagir of Amir-ul-Umara in Mathura and Raja Bishan Singh was ordered for punishing them.

After sometime the Jat issue in Mathura again became the cause of serious concern because in 1703 the Jats again started creating disturbances in Mathura and its vicinity. In 1708, Churaman hatched a conspiracy alongwith Rahimullah Khan, the naib faujdar of Mathura, in the absence of Amber Raja and plundered the villages of Mathura by mutual understanding with Rahimullah Khan on the condition of sharing half of the booty with him. In 1709, Churaman in collaboration with the faujdars of Mathura and Hindaun, attacked on the fort of Soghar. In the same year, Amber Raja was called to suppress the Jats of Mathura and got the faujdari of Mathura. In 1712, the Jats, Mewatis and Narukas started creating disturbances together on the roads of Mathura and

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66. V.R, dtd., 13 Rajab, 1099 / 4 May, 1688 ; 28 Rajab 1099 / 10 May 1688 ; Arzdast, dtd., Jyeshta Sudi 2, 1745 / 21 May, 1688.
70. V.R, dtd., 30 Rajab, 1100 / 22 April, 1689 ; 21 Shaban, 1100 / 10 May, 1689 ; 9 Shawwal, 1100 / 17 July, 1689.
71. V.R, dtd., 23 Shaban, 1102 / 12 may, 1691.
73. V.R, Persian, (undated).
74. Arzdast, dtd., Sawana Sudi 2, 1760 / 5 July, 1703.
75. Arzdast, dtd., 11 Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1120 / 17 Aug. 1708.
76. Arzdast, dtd., Kati Vadi 4, 1766 / 1709 ; Kati Vadi 6, 1766 / 1709.
77. Arzdast, dtd., 11 Zilqada, 1120 / 11 Jan. 1709.
78. Arzdast, dtd., 2 Shawwal, 1123 / 2 Nov. 1711.
carried away the guns etc.\textsuperscript{79} The argument of Wendel seems to be plausible here that the officials were corrupt and were in supported of the rebels.\textsuperscript{80}

**Awayr**

The Emperor was annoyed with Bishan Singh because of his delay in punishing the rebels. Raja was requested by the *Vakil* to conquer the fort of Awayr.\textsuperscript{81} In Sep. 1690, Emperor cancelled the increase of 500 *zat* and 1000 *sawar* from his *mansab* on the charge of carelessness and delay in the conquest of Awayr fort.\textsuperscript{82} In Jan. 1691, Hari Singh, the commander of Raja Bishan Singh, has led the campaign to Awayr. He adopted certain strategies to make his operation more successful. He set on fire on the villages of Sonkher and Awayr before attacking the fort to clear the area around from the rebels.\textsuperscript{83}

By Jan. 1692, Raja Bishan Singh had laid the siege of the fort of Awayr\textsuperscript{84} and, meanwhile, Raja was repeatedly requested to try hard to conquer the fort.\textsuperscript{85} The Prince Bedar Bakht had also gone from Sinsini to Awayr.\textsuperscript{86}

**Recruitment:** Besides his own army, Amber Raja was provided with artillery from the imperial *topkhana* also and the enemy had also employed cavalry and elephant in the battle.\textsuperscript{87} During the siege one of the *topkhana* was brought back to the Royal court, the rebels had destroyed the entrenchment at the fort.\textsuperscript{88} It is reported from an *Arzdasht* that the four more guns would be required for the conquest of Awayr fort.\textsuperscript{89}

By June 1692, the fort of Awayr was conquered and the Jats were executed and the horses and elephants were captured from the Jats.\textsuperscript{90} Raja’s commander Hari Singh

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} *V.R.*, Persian, (undated).
\item \textsuperscript{80} *Memoirs of Wendel*, op. cit., Tr. By Vir Singh, p. 83.
\item \textsuperscript{81} *V.R.*, dtd., 11 Ramzan, 1101 / 8 June, 1690.
\item \textsuperscript{82} *V.R.*, dtd., 22 Zilhijja, 1101 / 16 Sep. 1690.
\item \textsuperscript{83} *V.R.*, dtd., 29 Rabi-ul-Achir, 1102 / 20 Jan. 1691.
\item \textsuperscript{84} *V.R.*, dtd., 9 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1103 / 18 Jan. 1692; *V.R.*, dtd., 26 Safar, 1103 / 8 Nov. 1691; *V.R.*, dtd., 5 Rabi-ul-ul-Awwal, 1103 / 16 Dec. 1691.
\item \textsuperscript{85} *V.R.*, dtd., 24 Ramzan, 1103 / 2 April, 1692.
\item \textsuperscript{86} *V.R.*, Persian, (undated).
\item \textsuperscript{87} *V.R.*, Persian, (undated); *V.R.*, Persian, (undated).
\item \textsuperscript{88} *V.R.*, Persian, (undated).
\item \textsuperscript{89} *V.R.*, Persian, (undated).
\item \textsuperscript{90} *V.R.*, Persian, (undated).
\end{itemize}
rendered the good services during the siege of Awayr fort. An Arzdasht regarding the victory of Awayr with its golden key was sent to the Emperor and Nawab Salabat Khan was informed about the conquest of the fort of Awayr by Amber Raja. The map of the fort was prepared and the Emperor showed keen interest in the map of Awayr fort. Emperor observed that the enemy left the fort of Awayr at his own will, so there is no credit of Raja Bishan Singh of capturing an empty fort.

Soghar

The battle between the Jats and the Royal army took place in Dec. 1686 and in the battle many men on both sides were killed and wounded. After four years in 1690, Churaman Jat again fought a battle. He was defeated and escaped towards Bhusawar. Later on, in 1709, he again attacked on the fort of Soghar. The battle continued for three days in which Dayaram Jat, associate of Churaman, was killed and Girdhar Jat fled away. After the battle Churaman went to Bhusawar to recruit army. Few days later, Churaman and Girdhar Jat made an alliance with the faujdars of Hindaun and Mathura and attacked on the fort with six thousand of men.

Pinghor

Raja was asked to try hard for the conquest of Pinghor and Awayr we have seen that on the withdrawal of topkhana to the Royal court, the mufsids destroyed the entrenchment at Awayr and Pinghor. In Sep. 1692, Khufia Nawis reported to the Emperor about the conquest of Pinghor and Kasot by Amber Raja. The Emperor on hearing the news of the conquest of Pinghor and Kasot observed that Raja seems to be
efficient in his services. Emperor was pleased to see the map of Pinghor and Kasot sent by the Raja. *Vakils* Report of Sept. 1693 informs us that the Jats again started creating disturbances in this area.

**Kasot**

The Emperor observed that in spite of a big force and ample resources Raja was not able to capture the fort. The *Vakil* requested the Raja Bishan Singh to conquer the fort before Amir-ul-Umara reached there. In 1692, the fort of Kasot was conquered and the *khujia navis* reported to the Emperor about the conquest of Kasot. The Emperor was pleased and ordered to beat the kettle drum and celebrate the victory. The *pargana* of Tonk, Malpura and Dausa were granted to Amber Raja in reward for the conquest of Kasot and Pinghor. The map of Pinghor and Kasot reached the Emperor and he was much pleased to see the map.

**Sonkh**

After the conquest of Sinsini Amber Raja proceeded with his army towards Amber before the conquest of Sonkh and Prince Bedar Bakht complained to the court regarding this matter and the carelessness of Raja Bishan Singh that he had shown. It was also complained that Amber Raja had brought with him such men that were helping the Jats against the Imperial army. News regarding the escape of some enemies from Sonkh had also displeased the Emperor. The *Vakil* requests Amber Raja to cooperate with the Prince and carry out his order and conquer the fort of Sonkh at the earliest. Raja Bishan Singh led expedition of Sonkh and before conquering the fort his
commander Hari Singh set on fire the *mauza* of Sonkh.\textsuperscript{111} Hari Singh finally conquered the fort of Sonkh in 1693.\textsuperscript{112}

**Jawar**

Jawar was situated at 28° and 77° near Kol.\textsuperscript{113} In Jawar Amar Singh Jat was powerful. Due to recalcitrance in Jawar it also affected the collection of revenue. Raja has realized Rs. 13000/- from Mandata, the *zamindar* of Jawar, as the cost of corn which was carried away from the fort.\textsuperscript{114} Amber Raja led the expedition at Jawar with his commander Hari Singh and conquered it in May 1695.\textsuperscript{115} Mirza Yar Ali Beg advised that the guns should not be sent to the *subedar* of Agra because they might be needed at the siege of Jawar fort.\textsuperscript{116} The *Arzdasht* and the key of Jawar fort has received in July 1695. The Emperor has been pleased to know about it\textsuperscript{117} and Amber Raja was requested to supply detailed report of the conquest of Jawar fort so that it may be mentioned in *waqaya*.\textsuperscript{118} The *Vakil* congratulated the Amber Raja on the conquest of Jawar fort\textsuperscript{119} and requested him to arrange for clearance of the arrears outstanding against Amar Singh.\textsuperscript{120}

**Khair**

In May 1690, Khair was conquered and the Emperor ordered to establish the *thanas* there.\textsuperscript{122} Before the news regarding the victory of Khair reached from the side of the Amber Raja, Mir Quleech had already informed the Emperor about the same and that

\begin{footnotes}
\item[111] V.R., dtd. 29 Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1102/ 20 Jan. 1691.
\item[113] *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p. 8A.
\item[114] V.R., Persian, (undated).
\item[115] V.R., Persian, (undated).
\item[116] V.R., dtd., 3 Shawwal 1106/ 7 May 1695.
\item[117] V.R., dtd., 11 Zilhijja, 1106/ 13 July, 1695.
\item[118] *Arzdasht*, Persian, (undated), Baharmal to Maharaja.
\item[119] V.R., Persian, (undated), Anai Rai to Maharaja; *Arzdasht*, Persian, (undated), Khwaja Ahmad to Maharaja.
\item[121] *Arzdasht*, dtd., Vaishakh Sudi 8, 1752/ 1695.
\item[122] V.R., dtd., 6 Shaban, 1101/ 5 May, 1690.
\end{footnotes}
the property of Amar Singh Jat has been freeze/ A
sajawal was sent with a hasb-ul-
hukm to suppress Amar Singh. Later on an Arzdasht of Amber Raja regarding the execution of Amar Singh and victory at Khair was submitted to the Emperor. Zamindari of Khair was granted to Bakhtawar Bhadoria as per recommendation of Amber Raja. Raja was asked to send the report regarding the property worth Rs. 15000/- from the house of Har Govind during the invasion at Khair by Hari Singh.

In 1694, due to maladministration Bakhtawar Bhadoria, tappa Khair was confiscated from him and it was being granted to Maharaja for dam 42,00,000.

Kama

Kama was located at 27+ and 77+ in sarkar of Sahar. The jagirdari of Kaman was granted to Amber Raja in July, 1688. In the next month an increase of 500 zat in his mansab and a jagir worth dam 20,000 was granted on the condition that he accepts the faujdari of Kama. Amber Raja was requested that he should send some officers to manage the affairs of Kama.

The clash between the Jats and Rajputs took place because of their brushing boundaries. In Aug. 1708 it was reported that Bagh Das, an official, was attacked and looted by the Jats on his way from Kama to Mathura. It is informed from an Arzdasht of 17th Aug. 1708 that there is possibility that Churaman may plunder Kaman and on the same day from a Vakils Report we are informed that he plundered the pargana of Kama. Emperor had come to know from the Waqaya of Mewat that Amber Raja had

123 V.R., dtd., 9 Shaban, 1101/8 May, 1690.
124 V.R., dtd., 9 Safar, 1101/12 Nov., 1689.
125 V.R., Persian, (undated).
126 V.R., Persian, (undated).
129 An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p. 6A.
130 V.R., dtd., 24 Ramzan, 1099/13 July 1688.
133 Arzdasht, dtd., 11 Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1120/17 Aug. 1708.
fought a battle against the Jats at Kaman.\(^{135}\) and when Prince Bidar Bakht fought a battle against the Jats at Kama, Raja sent 3000 sawars and 200 pyadas\(^{136}\). In Nov. 1709, Jait Singh accompanied by Girdhar Das Jat, came to Kama with Raja’s message. The same report informs that there is none with Churaman Jat\(^{137}\), shows that Churaman Jat was under detention of Sawai Jai Singh at that time.

Jai Singh had taken step against the Jats and occupied Kama in 1718. Later on from 1768 it was under the possession of Jats. Rajputs occupied only when Jawahar Singh died.\(^{138}\)

**Hindaun and Bayana**

Both the abovementioned places were situated at 26+ and 77+ in suba Agra.\(^{139}\) In Sep. 1691, the Jats created disturbances in Hindaun and adjoining areas and Amber Raja was requested to suppress them.\(^{140}\) Raja Bishan Singh requested the Emperor for the grant of the faujdari of Hindaun and Bayana and in May 1692, he was granted the faujdari of both these places.\(^{141}\) The Vakil informed the Raja that the army of Amber Raja had not reached Hindaun has reported to the Emperor that the army has reached there and concessions and favors would be done to him if he would make good arrangements at Hindaun.\(^{142}\) In Sep. 1692 Amber Raja was requested to send an Arzdasht to the Emperor regarding the punishment of the rebels of Hindaun.\(^{143}\)

From an Arzdasht of 1695 it is reported that thanedars would reach to Bayana and Basawar and assist the writer (whose name is not mentioned) in killing the rebels. The

\(^{135}\) V.R, (undated), Persian.

\(^{136}\) Ibid.

\(^{137}\) Arzdasht, dtd., Kartika Sudi 15, 1766 / 6 Nov. 1709.

\(^{138}\) Agrarian Conditions Of Pargana Kama (c. 1768-75), op. cit., p.145-146.

\(^{139}\) An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p. 6A.

\(^{140}\) V.R, dtd., 15 Muharram, 1103 / 28 Sep. 1691.

\(^{141}\) V.R, dtd., 7 Ramzan, 1103 / 13 May, 1692; Arzdasht, Persian, (undated), Peer Muhammad to Bishan Singh; Arzdasht, Rajasthani, (undated), Bhaw Singh to Bishan Singh; V.R, dtd., 9 shaban, 1103 / 16 April, 1692; 21 Shaban, 1103 / 28 April, 1692; Arzdasht, dtd., 1103 / 1691, Bishan Singh to Aurangzeb; V.R, Persian, (undated), Anai Rai to Maharaja; V.R, Persian, (undated), Anai Rai to Maharaja; V.R, dtd., 10 Zilhijja, 1103 / 13 May 1692.

\(^{142}\) Ibid.

\(^{143}\) Ibid.

\(^{144}\) V.R, dtd., 29 Muharram, 1104 / 30 Sep. 1692.
writer also assured to kill the Jats as per order.\textsuperscript{145} Amber Raja desired the reinstatement of Basawar soon, because the arrangements at Hindaun could not be made so long as the Jats were not turned out of Basawar\textsuperscript{146} which shows that the Jats were very powerful at Basawar. The atlas also shows that the area of Basawar was very near to Hindaun and Bayana and this was the reason that such kind of situation emerged there.\textsuperscript{147}

Sherpur

Sherpur was situated at 26+ and 76+ in suba Ajmer near Ranthambore.\textsuperscript{148} A Persian Arzdasht of 1688 mentions that from the waqaya of Ranthambore it is informed that Balram Jat from the biradari of Jats (biradar Jat-i-badzat) was threatening Sherpur which was situated near the fort of Ranthambore. Gopal Das, the official of Raja Ram Singh appointed there, was killed. His son Devi Singh alongwith contingent moved towards Malarna and established himself on the border of Sherpur and resist the Jats from entering (aamdan na dahad) into Sherpur. Devi Singh reached Malarna and established morchal on the way between Malarna and Sherpur and blocked the area between Malarna and Sherpur. He finally became able to brought Sherpur and villages around it under control.\textsuperscript{149} All the three areas about which we are talking were situated on the border between the territory of the Jats and Rajputs.\textsuperscript{150} Eversince the time of Raja Ram Singh the Jats became so notorious and daring that they are threatening the boundary areas of the Amber chiefs.

Besides these military expeditions there were large number of areas affected by the Jat uprising where daily skirmishes took place between the Jats and the imperial army. Most of these areas were attacked and conquered under the efficient generalship of Raja Bishan Singh and his military commander Hari Singh. Arzdashts provide such kind of interesting information which helps us to understand the nature of the clashes that took place.

\textsuperscript{145} Arzdasht, dtd., Jeth vadi 13, 1752 / 1695.
\textsuperscript{146} V.R, Persian, (undated).
\textsuperscript{147} An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p. 6A.
\textsuperscript{148} An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p. 6A.
\textsuperscript{149} Arzdasht, dtd. 20 Ramzan 1099/ 1688.
\textsuperscript{150} See Map of Boundary Areas (Chapter 3)
An *Arzdasht* dtd. *Vaishakh Vadi 4* 1778, shows that Amber Raja has dealt the affair of the Jats with some leniency but they again became rebellious in his *watan* area. The writer Bhao Singh Rajawat informs that he had kept ten Rajput soldiers under him and became very attentive at this moment. He informs that Raja had pardoned the Jats (*Jataan ki takhsir maafu kari*) with the expectation that there will be no loot and plunder but on *Chaitra Sudi 9*, the rebel suddenly came and carried away cows, buffaloes all the cattle of the village ( *gaay bhainsi sagli mavesi gheri le gya*). A fight with Rajput soldiers took place in which one Rajput Sundar Das got injured but they became able to rescue some cattle. The rest was carried away by him including the buffaloes and cows of Thakur Ji. He along with all the cattle managed to reach upto the *thana* established by them at the distance of two *kos*. Bhao Singh Rajawat requests Amber Raja that since you have pardoned the *takhsir* of the Jats, you should ask them to let the cattle free and warn them not to do such type of act again.\(^{151}\) We see that the incident occurred just before the Thun expedition which shows that the Jat problem was not only worrying the Raja in his *jagir* but simultaneously in his *watan* area also.

On *Pausha Vadi 12, 1766* an *Arzdasht* of Shyam Singh Rajawat informs that Kishan Singh Naruka came with his contingent. Nawab Mir Khan has taken his position from the side of *mauza* Itheda and Churaman Jat came from *mauza* Jadila. A fierce battle took place between the two.\(^{152}\)

In the same year it is mentioned that Churaman Jat had recruited 9000 *sawars* and ravaging the territory (*fasaad uthay mahino ek huo*) since last one month at Kama, Khohri and Kot. Raja Jait Singh sent a Parwana to Kishan Singh that the battle took place on the day of *Teej* and they were expelled from all the three places.\(^{153}\)

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\(^{151}\) *Arzdasht*, dtd. *Vaishakh Vadi 4*, 1778/1721.


Ranthambore

Ranthambore is located at 26+ and 76+. The Jats were threatening the fort of Ranthambore in April, 1688. Amber Raja was informed that the Jat Raja had asked the qiladar of Ranthambore to vacate the fort on the threat of attacking him (qiladar). The qiladar had appealed to the royal court for help.

Rahiri/Rohere

The Jats were creating disturbances in Rahiri also. Itiqad Khan had conquered the fort of Rahiri in 1689 and was given the title of Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur on his capturing the fort. But in July, 1690, Churaman had besieged the fort of Rahiri again.

Khohri

Khohri is situated on the way to Amber where the Jats and Narukas were creating disturbances and Amber Raja was asked to establish a thana otherwise the Jats would establish their own. At one time half of pargana Khohri was granted to Churaman Jat and Raja was trying to get half of pargana Khohri under him. But in 1715, Churaman Jat had taken possession of Khohri and Sawai Jai Singh tried to suppress him and striving to take back pargana from Churaman Jat.

Khurja

Khurja is situated at 28+ and 77+. It came under the sarkar of Kol. The Jats have plundered the pargana of Khurja. Ruhullah Khan, jagirdar of Khurja, was asked...
to suppress the rebels who were greatly disturbing the pargana. So he wanted that Amber Raja should help his agents to take possession of Khurja.

**Barah**

Amber Raja was requested to send an *Arzdasht* to the Emperor regarding the distance between Barah and Hindaun and explain the difficulties in its conquest. *Arzdasht* regarding the conquest of Barah fort was submitted to the Emperor and he was much pleased to see it. But Shafi Khan has complained about Amber Raja’s alleged plundering of pargana Toda which has spoiled the Amber Raja’s earlier impression of the conquest of Barah fort.

**Tochhi**

*Umdat-ul-Mulk* was authorized to punish the rebels at Tochhi but Raja was requested by his Vakil to send an *Arzdasht* to the Emperor stating that deputation of *Umdat-ul-Mulk* to capture the fort of Tochhi is below his dignity. Therefore, Amber Raja should be allowed to capture the fort and to kill Nanda Jat. There was a report that some of the Raja’s men while moving about Tochhigarh fort have a skirmish with a local Jat, who in turn retreated to the fort.

**Au**

Au is situated at 27+ and 77+ near Sinsini in suba Agra. The *waqaya* of the Prince’s camp informs that the *mufsid* had attacked the *thana* of Au, wounded the

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171. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p. 6A.
thanedar and also murdered several travelers. Zamindari of pargana Au and other Jat villages has been granted to Maharaja.

**Ratha**

In April, 1690, Raja Bishan Singh has captured the fort of Ratha and a letter regarding this victory was reached to the Vakil at the court.

**Mundahda**

In July 1690, Raja had fought a battle with the Jats in which the Jats were defeated. Four men on the side of the Jats were killed.

**Rajgarh**

In July 1690, Churaman Jat had captured the fort of Rajgarh.

**Bhadira**

Amber Raja had won a victory over the Jats. Hari Singh ordered Ram Chand to see the proper place for encampment at Bhadira and they went to make proper arrangements to encamp at Bhadira.

**Banawar**

In Nov. 1690, military clash took place between the Jats and the thanedar of Banawar.
Ujjain/ Uchhain

It is located at 27+ and 77+ near Fatehpur Sikri. In July 1691, Amber Raja has conquered the fort of Ujjain. Ruhullah Khan has submitted the sketch map of the fort of Ujjain and Sonkher to the Emperor. The Emperor has showing keen interest into it, approved the map of the fort of Ujjain.

Mauza Hathia

The rebels were suppressed in mauza Hathia. From there the rebels have fled away in the jungles of Jharsoni. Some of them were arrested and killed while others are being pursued by the army.

Moha

Amber Raja had conquered the fortress of Moha in Dec. 1693.

Mahuwa

Next month in Jan. 1694, Arzdasht with the golden keys of Mahuwa has been submitted to the Emperor. The Emperor has been pleased and ordered to establish a thana at Mahuwa.

Ratanpur

In June 1694, Raja has conquered the fort of Ratanpur Arzdasht regarding the victory of Amber Raja over the rebels in Ratanpur has been submitted to the Emperor.

\[179 An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p. 6A.\]
\[180 V.R., dtd., 21 Shawwal, 1102/ 8 July, 1691; 6 Zilqada, 1102/ 22 July, 1691.\]
\[181 Arzdasht., dtd., Asadh Sudi 3, 1740/ 17 June, 1683.\]
\[182 Arzdasht., dtd., Pausha Sudi 3, 1750/ 19 Dec, 1693.\]
\[183 V.R., dtd., 15 Jamaadi-ul-Awwal, 1105/ 2 Jan., 1694.\]
\[184 V.R., dtd., 16 Jamaadi-ul-Awwal, 1105/ 3 Jan., 1694.\]
\[185 V.R., dtd., 21 Shawwal, 1105/ 5 June, 1694.\]
Jalawa

Victory was achieved against the Jats at Jalawa in 1718. Shivdas and Naraindas has informed the Amber Raja about the victory over the Jats.\textsuperscript{186}

Mauza Itheda and Mauza Jadila

On \emph{Pausha Vadi} 12, Saturday Kishan Singh Naruka has reached here with his army. Nawab Mir Khan has reached to \emph{mauza} Itheda and Churaman Jat now went to \emph{mauza} Jadila. A battle took place between the two.\textsuperscript{187}

Isanchara

\emph{Umdat-ul-Mulk} had sent Bulag Beg with an army to suppress the rebels at Isanchara.\textsuperscript{188}

Ol and Mahaban

Ol and Mahaban are situated at 27+ and 77+ on the eastern and western bank of river Jamuna respectively.\textsuperscript{189} A \emph{jagir} was granted to Amber Raja here in \emph{Ina‘m} for the maintenance of 2500 \emph{sawars} on the condition that he would have to suppress the Jats.\textsuperscript{190} But later on it was turned to \emph{khalisa} and the \emph{vakil} of the Amber Raja tried to obtain the \emph{pargana} so that the rebels living in \emph{pargana} Ol and Mahaban might be brought to task.\textsuperscript{191}

Other Activities of the Jats

Besides these military clashes that took place between the Jats and the Mughal army commanders and other officials, there were other aspects of the Jat uprising. They were harassing the Mughal administration in many ways.

\textsuperscript{186} \textit{Arzdasht}, dtd., 10 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1130/ 31 Jan., 1718.
\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Arzdasht}, dtd., Pausha Vadi 15, 1766/ 1709.
\textsuperscript{188} \textit{V.R.}, Persian, (undated), Kamal Nayan to Maharaja.
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{An Atlas of the Mughal Empire}, p. 6A.
\textsuperscript{190} \textit{V.R.}, Persian, (undated), Kesho Rai to Maharaja.
\textsuperscript{191} \textit{V.R.}, Persian, (undated).
Condition of Peasantry

The rebel zamindars used to get support from peasants also. Both were supporting each other because they have their grievances against the state. There is ample information about the support of peasantry to these rebel zamindars.

Our documents indicate that authority of Churaman was strong in his region. He received support from the zamindars and subjects of that locality. In forthcoming discussion we will see that at Rini also Jats and Narukas collaborated to attack on a village.

The same time the peasants were very much disturbed and harassed at some places because of their activities like in Rini and Nagar and some other villages. It is striking for us that the people were very much pleased because of the Amber Raja's good arrangement at Mathura which was effected by the Jat uprising. Other noticeable feature is that the peasants of this place also belonged to the Jat caste.

As we are informed from an Arzdasht that in Oct. 1690, the people of qasba Rini were living in fear because the Jats were threatening them. In such a critical situation they were assured by the local officials for their safety. Despite the assurance given by the state, in the very next month in Nov. 1690, the Jats plundered qasba Rini and imprisoned many people.

In March 1691, they created disturbances in qasba Nagar also with such rigor that the officials were unable to collect revenue from the Khalisa village. The villagers were inhabited with great difficulty after assurance of their safety. The Jats used to harass

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192 Shahnama, p. 23-25.
193 Arzdasht, dtd. Phalgun Sudi 5, 1760/ 1703.
194 Arzdasht, dtd. Mangsir Vadi 8, 1747/ 13 Nov. 1690; Arzdasht, dtd. Mangsir Sudi 2, 1747/ 4 Nov. 1690; Arzdasht, dtd. Vaishakh Vadi 6, 1747/ 22 March, 1691.
195 Arzdasht, dtd. Sawan Vadi 2, 1759/ 30 June, 1702.
197 Arzdasht, dtd. Mangsir Vadi 8, 1747/ 13 Nov. 1690.
198 Arzdasht, dtd. Mangsir Sudi 2, 1747/ 4 Nov. 1690; Arzdasht, dtd. Vaishakh Vadi 6, 1747/ 22 March, 1691.
the villagers therefore they preferred to desert their homes. In such circumstances revenue collection from these areas became extremely difficult.

In 1703, the Jats and Narukas together started their infringing activities again in qasba Rini. The people of Rini were frightened. They fled away even before their attack.\(^{199}\)

Jats used to carry away the food grains and other belongings but also the cattle of the villagers.\(^{200}\) In paragana Bahatri they captured the whole cattle of the village.\(^{201}\) In 1721, the Jats forcibly captured the cows and oxen from the villages and fought with the local officials when they tried to rescue these cattle. “on Chaitra Sudi the rebels suddenly came and carried away cows, buffaloes all the cattle of the village (sagli mavesi gheri le gaya)” to the thana which was established on the distance of two kos from the place.\(^{202}\)

We find contradictory information that at some places the peasants were very much oppressed by these rebels and the other was that it was due to the extensive support of the peasants that the Jat rebellion became successful. We see that most of the time the qasbas of the parganas became the target of these rebels where the imperial military camps stationed in order to show their rage against the imperial authority. Mostly the rebels used to attack the qasbas where the imperial thanas and were established other symbols of the prestige of the state. For example, they plundered the tomb of Akbar, qasba Rini, qasba Nagar etc and they attacked those villages which showed their loyalty to the rulers.

Loot and Plunder

These refractory activities were in practice eversince the time of Gokula Jat, who plundered and burnt the town of Sadabad near Mathura.\(^{203}\) Raja Ram also plundered the

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\(^{199}\) Arzdasht, dtd. Phalguna Sudi 5, 1760/1703.
\(^{200}\) Arzdasht, dtd. Vaishakh Vadi 4, 1778/1721.
\(^{201}\) V.R., dtd. Magh Vadi 4, 1760/16 Jan., 1703.
\(^{202}\) Arzdasht, dtd. Vaishakh Vadi 4, 1778/1721.
many parganas and caravans passing through his territory. In 1687-88, they plundered the pargana of Khurja. The Jats also raided Gokul and Brindavan and carried away guns from Mathura. Another incidence is that 5,000 sawars of the Jats have attacked Samuchi and Pipalkhera. In Aug. 1708, Churaman Jat plundered the pargana of Kama and Atrauli. The Khatoots refer to the Jats with the help of their two hundred sawars plundered the travelers near Mathura and fought a battle with Kunwar Jait Singh. They were defeated in the battle.

They not only used to harass common people by their activities of loot and plunder but even they posed threat to the property of the officials or those who had some authority in these areas. They used to pillage the mahajans and merchants, the thanedars, faujdars and jagirdars of the area and even sometimes the imperial land (khalisa). They sometimes forcibly collected revenue of the mahals of khalisa and from the jagirs of the imperial jagirdars. A Vakils Report informs that they plundered the jagir of Amir-ul-Umara and Amber Raja was asked punish them.

In 1687-88, the Jat arrested the thanedar of Palwal and occupied the town as well. From the waqaya of Prince’s camp it was reported that the mufsids attacked, the thana wounded the thanedar and also killed several travellers. From some other places they used to remove the imperial thanas (posts) and establish their own as in pargana Kathumar.

A Persian Arzdasht of Muhammad Baqar complained to Amber Raja that Churaman Jat attacked with two thousand men and had usurped his villages and also

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206. V.R., Persian, (Undated).
207. Khatoot, Rajasthani, (Undated), No. 450/50.
211. Shahnama Munawwar Kalaam, op. cit. p.
212. V.R., Persian, (Undated).
robbed Rs.12,000/- He requested Amber Raja not to pressurize him for peshkash as he has already been looted by the Jats.\textsuperscript{216}

On 8 June 1691, the Jats reached qasba Pilgawa and number of mahajans were made captive by them. Three of them were killed by these rebels. Karori Mir Fazil was also captured by them and they have plundered the bazaar of that place. A fight took place and that the army of the Jats plundered a baraat near mauza Garhi in pargana Pahari.\textsuperscript{217}

**Effect on Transport and Communication**

Jats made loots and plunders all over the area between Delhi and Agra. They not only disturbed the villages around but the roads highways and other centers of state’s prestige were also became the target of their menace.

An evidence of *Arzdasht* point out the menace of the Jats on the road between Khair and Mathura (*Khair wa Mathuraji bichi raah me khatro chhe*). The Military help was sought in order to punish the rebels and for smooth collection of revenue in *tappa* Khair etc.\textsuperscript{218}

They plundered caravan between.\textsuperscript{219} Shahnama informs that Mukham Singh, Zulkaran and other sons of Churaman Jat indulged in robbing and plundering the highways and the villages around them.\textsuperscript{220} An *Arzdasht* mentions that they used to roam around on the roads of Agra. Daily communication seemed inform able like one expressed his inability to Bishan Singh that he was unable to attend him owing to the disturbances created by the rebels on the way.\textsuperscript{221} They used to plunder the merchants and travelers (*qawafil wa mutaraddedin*) passing through their territory as well as on the roads and highways. The other type of communication were also effected. In such a situation it became extremely difficult for Bishan Singh to keep the roads open for

\textsuperscript{216} *Arzdasht*, Persian, (Undated), Muhammad Baqar to Maharaja.

\textsuperscript{217} *Arzdasht*, dtd. Magh Vadi 4, 1747/ 8 June, 1691.

\textsuperscript{218} *Arzdasht*, dtd. Sawan Sudi 6, 1746/ 1692.

\textsuperscript{219} *Khatoot*, dtd. Chaitra Sudi 10, 1752/ 15 March, 1695.

\textsuperscript{220} *Shahnama Munnawar Kalaam*, op. cit. p.

\textsuperscript{221} *Arzdasht*, Rajasthani, (Undated), Gosain Shivanand to Maharaja Bishan Singh.
travelers and merchants. Jat disturbances in Mathura made the road closed down. They created problems in mauza Nagar and Guhi Soul and the roads were to be closed down. Bishan Singh was requested by his Vakil to strengthen the thanas of such areas to control the activities of the Jats and to keep the road open for transport. Balmulundnama refers to the necessity of establishment of thana on the royal highway at Chhata to safeguard the road upto Kosi.

**Jats in Collaboration of Other Zamindars and Officials**

The collaboration of other castes like Narukas and Meos made the Jats more resourceful and influential. They did not spare the imperial land and the jagirs of the prominent nobles. In these activities they found support of the Mughal officials as well. Thus, in Oct. 1694 it was reported by the Vakil that it has became the practice of the Amin and Karori to leave the village in the hands of the rebels, and assist them when inferred army was sent to punish them. It was desired that those who supported the rebels (baghnam rafiq shudand) should be expelled from the jagir and mansab. Later on, in 1702, the Jats and Narukas together plundered some villages and committed theft in mauza Jai Singh Pura in pargana Bahatri. In 1709, Churaman in collaboration with the faujdars of Mathura and Hindaun attacked on the fort of Soghar. One Arzdasht informs that the Jats and Meos got united (jatan me milya chhe) and the writer requests Maharaja that he should immediately send an army to punish the rebels.

So, these uprisings had multi-dimensional impact on the Mughal administration.

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223. V.R., Persian, (Undated).
Contribution of Hari Singh

Hari Singh was commander in chief of Amber Raja, rendered admirable services under him in curbing the Jat power. He belonged to the Khangarot clan of the Rajputs.\(^{230}\)

Qanungo provides us with very detailed information regarding the various aspects of the life of Hari Singh basing himself mainly on *Diggi* Collection.\(^{231}\) The *Vakils* Reports, *Arzdashts* also furnish information about the achievements of Hari Singh. The *Khatoots* also contain letters addressed to Hari Singh, mainly congratulating him on his capturing the various forts of the Jats.

We are informed that Hari Singh had rendered the good services during the siege of Awayr fort.\(^{232}\) The *Khatoots* congratulate him on the conquest of the fort of Awayr, Ratanpur, Sonkh, Badgaon,\(^{233}\) Raisis etc.\(^{234}\) Bishan Singh led the expedition at Jawar with him and conquered the fort of Jawar in May 1695.\(^{235}\) Besides this there were large number of Jat forts conquered by Hari Singh such as Khair, Rath, Pinghor, Kasot, Bhatavali etc.\(^{236}\)

He was assigned varied tasks such as to ensure supplies to the army of Bedar Bakht who laid the siege of the Jat fort in July 1688, to keep the imperial highway open near Agra and to watch the movements of the Jats besides conquering their fortresses.\(^{237}\)

One *Arzdasht* of Hari Singh addressed to Raja Bishan Singh throws light on his dealing with the rebels. After the destruction of the fort the rebels of *mauza* Hathla fled away and took shelter in the jungles of Jharsoni which was one *kos* wide and seven *kos* long. The rebels were punished but some of them managed to escape. On *Asoj Vadi* 3, as

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\(^{231}\) K. R. Qanungo, History of the House of Diggi, Edited And Annotated By Shyam Singh Ranawat, University Of Rajasthan, 1997, Jaipur

\(^{232}\) V.R. dtd., 25 Rajab, 1103/ 2 April, 1691.


\(^{234}\) *Khatoot*, (Undated), Govardhan Das to Hari Singh.

\(^{235}\) V.R. dtd., 3 Shawwal 1106/ 7 May 1695.

\(^{236}\) History of the Jats, op. cit. p. 77-90.

\(^{237}\) History of the Jats, op. cit. p. 65.
soon as he came to know about this, he immediately proceeded in the darkness of the
night and captured all of them.\textsuperscript{238}

Hari Singh surveyed the proper place for encampment at Bhadira. They have
made proper arrangements to encamp at Bhadira. The rebels of Rauniji, Kauluri and
Bhadira and the villages contiguous to it (\textit{pao kos ke aatire muttasil chhe}) were
gathered at Rauniji and a military clash took place with Churaman and Desvals while he
was looking for a place to encamp at Bhadira. In the battle from Rajputs side 53 men, 50
camel and horse were killed and 166 men and 82 horses were wounded. On the other side
20 Jats were killed and 25 were wounded.

Besides conquering the fort he was assigned various duties to perform. When
Maharaja Bishan Singh launched campaign at Sinsini and Sonkh he was ordered to
protect the highway which was ‘not less than a small expedition’ because the Jats had
made communication of army and convoys through it because of their sudden attacks.\textsuperscript{239}

\textit{Ishwarvilas} shows that he had recruited his army mainly from his own clansmen.

\begin{quote}
\textit{“ nana kautuk Kavya natak sangit bhangu bharai yarstavan Mathura puri
madhivasann bhoganshvkar swayam, khelot khat khaleati khang jable khangarpure
akhilan chhiptva rajyadhuram dhurandharvare veere Hari Singh ke.”}
\end{quote}

As would be clear from above instances, safety of Mathura was the responsibility
of Hari Singh. There are references when out of urgency he had recruited soldiers for
short term service from suba Agra also.\textsuperscript{240}

He was rewarded by the Mughal Emperor for his meritorious services. The \textit{watan}
territory of Hari Singh was Malpura where he always wanted to get his jagir.\textsuperscript{241}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{238} \textit{Arzdasht.}, dtd. Asoj Vadi 3, 1747/ 1690.
\item \textsuperscript{239} \textit{History of the Jats}, op. cit. p. 65-67.
\item \textsuperscript{240} \textit{History of the Jats}, op. cit. p. 78.
\item \textsuperscript{241} \textit{History of the Jats}, op. cit. p. 112.
\end{itemize}
Report of A.H. 1103/ 1692 A.D. informs us that Lamba and other villages near to it were under the zamindari of Hari Singh (Lamba wagairah chand garba).  

Parwana, dtd., 30 Shaban, 1106, informs that Hari Singh Khangarot has died during the siege of the fort which was a great loss to Maharaja.

The Jat Army

As far as Jat army is concerned, during that time the mansabdars usually raised their army from their own clansman and same was the case with the Jats also. They were allowed to maintain army for the purpose of safety which also aid themselves in collection of revenue from the peasants. Wendel observes that their earlier occupation was agriculture and they did not have any other arm except sickle (dansce siecle) and club or wooden staff (les autres). But sometimes we find that they were as perfect in using sword as their sickle and scythe. We see that even during the time of Shahjahan they were not allowed to keep arms but later on when they got opportunity they used to keep guns and threat the people.

The political circumstances, besides other reasons, enhanced the Jats martial behavior. The original land of the Jats, Punjab and Sindh witnessed great political chaos and offered them opportunity to raise their heads. However, their martial activities confined to surprise raid, plunder and robbery. The same condition was also applicable to late seventeenth and early eighteenth century also. During this time, when they revolted, they got an opportunity in the form of instability at the centre and organized themselves into the armed band of soldiers. Now they started creating havoc over a very large tract of land.

V.R. dtd. 11 Ramzan, 1103/ 1692.

Arzdasht, dtd., Vaishakh Sudi 8, 1752/ 1695.

Memoirs of Wendel, op. cit. Tr. p. 86.


R.P. Tripathi opines that the Jats wanted to establish the independent state of their own and without the possession of strong army they could not achieve their dream.²⁴⁸

Among the Jats Rajaram was the first who trained his men in martial art and started loot and plunder in the vicinity of Agra. He was the first to realize the fact that Gokula Jat inspite of having force of 20,000 was defeated against the Mughals because there was lack of organization in his army.²⁴⁹

**Strength of Army:** As far as the strength of army is concerned, the Jat army gained its real strength during the time of Churaman who had started his career modestly with 500 horsemen and 1000 footmen. He gradually strengthened his band of followers with musketeers and cavalry and the number of his followers reached upto 14,000.²⁵⁰ And an Arzdasht reveals the fact that he had collected 3,000 men within one month to reconquer the fort of Soghar in 1709 and the strength of his army swelled from 6,000 to 9,000 within one month. Which also shows the fact that he had great support from his biradari (clan).²⁵¹ The sources reveal that his authority was very strong in his region. The zamindars and peasants all had joined hands with him in his rebellion. He had collected 10,000 to 12,000 soldiers inside the fort.²⁵²

During the second expedition at Thun, Churaman had stationed 6,000 to 8,000 banduqchis and large number of cavalry against the Mughals.

"fortifier a la facon du pais et garnir de toutes les munitions de bouche et de guerre pour 6 a 8,000 fuciliers et quelques gens a cheval de son parti"

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²⁴⁹ *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, p. 83.
(he, fortified the fort and gathered munitions sufficient for his 6,000 to 8,000 banduqchis and cavaliers).\textsuperscript{253}

A Rajsthaniji Khatoott informs that 5,000 sawars of the Jats raided the area of Samuchi and Pipalkhera.\textsuperscript{254}

When Badan Singh became the leader, he expanded the rank of his followers and organized them. Besides big force of infantry (\textit{grand nombre gen a pied}). He had strong force of cavalry (\textit{corps a cheval}) with him, and attacked on the big forces of the state and collected valuables, arms (\textit{armes}), munition and artillery (\textit{artillerie}).\textsuperscript{255}

During the early eighteenth century, the documents frequently mentions about the mounted Jat soldiers (\textit{sawaran-i-Jat}), infantrymen (\textit{piyadah}) and the army of Jats (\textit{fauj-i-Jatan}) which suggests that Jats maintained an army of their own.\textsuperscript{256} Sometimes they used to employ \textit{barqandaz} in the battles.\textsuperscript{257}

Jats seems to have become so powerful that they were being recruited in the army by the Mughal officials. Rai Shivdas, the kotwal of Agra (\textit{rifa'at panah}) directed his bakhshi to enroll (\textit{ism navisi}) those Jat cavaliers and foot soldiers who were newly recruited by him at Akbarabad and have accompanied him to Sadabad from there. Their salary was determined to be paid from the treasury.\textsuperscript{258}

We can also estimate the strength of his army from the fact that Khema Jat who was one of the associate of Churaman Jat was the leader of 10,000 (\textit{ahl-i-tuman}) and a chief (\textit{Rai}) of the same tribe.\textsuperscript{259}

\textsuperscript{253} Memoirs of Wendel, French MS. p. 14, Tr. p.96-97.
\textsuperscript{254} Khatoott, Rajasthani, (Undated), No. 450/ 50.
\textsuperscript{255} Memoirs of Wendel, French MS. p. 17, Tr. p.102.
\textsuperscript{256} Muhammad Afzal Khan, \textit{Emergence of Jats in Agra Region in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century}, Vol I, Economic Life And Polity Of North And North West India, Ed. By Vir Singh, New Delhi p. 120, cf. Waqai, dtd. 28-29 Shawwal, 8\textsuperscript{th} Regnal Year, 1140 A.H./ 7-8 June, 1728.
\textsuperscript{257} Arzdasht, dtd. Magh Vadi 4, 1747/ 8 June, 1691.
\textsuperscript{258} Muhammad Afzal Khan, \textit{Emergence of Jats in Agra Region in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century}, Vol I, p. 121, cf. Waqai, dtd. 16-19 Zilhijja, 8\textsuperscript{th} Regnal Year, 1139 A.H./ 4-7 July, 1727.
\textsuperscript{259} Shahnama Munawwar Kalaam, p. 101.
**Resources:** The Jats did not have much resource to maintain a big force nor had good artillery. They mostly used small and handmade arms. Sometimes they got it from loot and plunder. Later on when they became able to establish the royal house of Bharatpur and acquired considerable amount of resources, they started making arms and other artillery for themselves. But before it, we did not have any information about their process of making arms, from where they acquired raw materials etc. as they were not making arms on large scale.

From *Vakils Report* we came to know that *zamindar* of *mauza* Sakri complained to the Emperor that the Jats carried away the guns from Mathura\(^260\) like we have already seen that Badan Singh had also gathered considerable amount of arms from loot and plunder.\(^261\) At another place it is also mentioned that he had stationed some small cannons on the forts, which were mostly acquired by loot and plunder. Some of them were purchased by him and some big cannons were built on his order.\(^262\) The information shows that they had started making arms for themselves. Their spacious and impregnable forts facilitate them to store enormous arms and ammunitions.\(^263\) (Photo Chandramani Singh)

**Arms:** Regarding the arms of the Jats it is noted that as early as in 1669 when they were ravaging the territories around Rewara, Chandrakh and Sarkharu they fought with Mughal official Husain Ali Khan firstly with arrows and guns and then with swords and killed many a man of the imperial army.\(^264\) Futuhat informs us that when the imperial army attacked on Tilpat, they fought with guns and matchlocks fire for three days.\(^265\) Wendel also informs that the allied the peasants with themselves and arranged equal number of swords for them.\(^266\)

\(^{260}\) V. R, Persian, (Undated), Kesho Rai to Maharaja.
\(^{261}\) Memoirs of Wendel, French MS. p. 17, Tr. p. 102.
\(^{264}\) Aurangzebnama, p. 53-55.
\(^{265}\) Futuhat-i-Alamgiri, Persian MS. f. 53a, Tr. Tasnim, p. 228.
In and around the suba of Agra, the Jats in the group of 200 to 400 equipped with arms, axes, torches (mashaat), used to attack on people's house. As foot soldiers they used to fight with swords and daggers. (they were banned to carry swords) Fakhr-i-Mudabbir mentions spear and javelin (shil wa zupin) and the battle axe (labor) as the arms of the Jats. In the year 1728 some mounted Jats fell on the travelers and chased them up to Noorganj market and wounded the agent of Gursahay, the ijaradar, by a small spear (barchhi) and went away. Tawarikh-i-Humad also mentions that they were "unrivalled in the art of a soldier" and "possessed much proficiency in the art of spearmanship." Muntakhab-ul-Lubab mentions that as early as after the defeat of the Jats in second expedition at Thun when they fled away they have left behind the cannons and set on fire in their own arsenal (barudkhana).

Tactics: About the war tactics of the Jats it is said that there was no fixed rule, being mercenaries they generally followed the surprise raids. They always choose to make sudden attack "dhar" popularly known as guerilla tactics on the besieging army and avoid pitched battle. Sometimes they organized themselves into groups for making raids and creating havoc at many places at the same time. When Sinsini fort was besieged by the imperialist army, their surprise attacks make it very difficult to conquer the fort and they adopted the same strategy when the fort of Thun was besieged by Sawai Jai Singh. The information is as follows:

"kuffar az garhi-ha bar aamdah dar panah-i-ashjaar gah begaah shabkhun bar afwaaj qaherah mi zadand"

270. op. cit., p. 120, cf. Waqai, dtd. 28-29 Shawwal, 8th Regnal Year, 1140 A.H./ 7-8 June, 1728
(the rebels came out from the forts and secretly moved forward under the shelter of forests and suddenly used to attack on army.)

A Persian *Vakils* Report informs that after the defeat of Jats at Awayr fort, the horses and elephants were captured by the imperial army, which shows that the Jats have employed horses and elephants in the battle.

**Establishment of Thanas**

The other military activity of the Jats was the establishment and replacement of *thanas*. Frequent establishment and replacement of the *thanas* between the Jats and Rajputs took place in order to make hold over particular area. We see that the Jats have so many thanas of their own in the core of the empire even after the much stronger army was appointed to curb their such sort of activities. There is a whole list containing such information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vakils Report</td>
<td>9 Rajab, 1099 / 30 April, 1688</td>
<td>Mathura</td>
<td>Ghalib Beg was ordered to establish thanas just before Raja Ram Singh reached to Mathura to punish the Jats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>30 Rajab, 1100 / 22 April, 1689</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1100 / 10 May, 1689</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1100 / 17 July, 1689</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arzdasht</td>
<td>Undated, Persian, Addressed to Maharaja</td>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>Maharaja was asked to strengthen the thanas as the Jats were looting and plundering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Undated, Baqar Khan to Maharaja</td>
<td>Kohri</td>
<td>Maharaja was asked to establish thanas otherwise the Jats would establish their own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mangsir Vadi 2, 1744 / 1687</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>The Jats removed the imperial thanas and established their own.</td>
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<td>Bhusawar</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Undated, Persian, Addressed to Maharaja</td>
<td>Au</td>
<td>The Jats attacked on the imperial thana of Au.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakils Report</td>
<td>6 Shaban, 1101 / 5 May, 1690</td>
<td>Khair</td>
<td>Emperor ordered Maharaja to establish thanas there. In Khair Amar singh was very powerful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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278 *V.R.*, Persian, (Undated), Jagjiwandas to Maharaj.
Churaman Jat established his thana at Khair. The Emperor ordered to thanas at this place.
Followers of Churaman established some thanas in Mewat.
Jats removed the imperial thanas and established their own.
Churaman encamped here to collect a big force.

### Conclusion

The remarkable thing about the Jats is their drastic impact on the political and economic condition of Northern India. It rarely happened as in the case of Jats that in spite of having meager resources they sustained their revolt for quite a long time. Like the Raja of Amber they neither had the strong back-up nor did they have much resource. Inspite, the Jats dared to confront with the Mughal army under Amber Raja in which the Raja employed huge cannons like Machhban, Nahar Mukhi, Singhban etc. in 1698 against Jawar fort, in 1708 against Churaman at Kama, in 1722-23 in battle of Thun respectively. It only became possible because of the strong support from their clansman as well as from the other zamindar caste also. Additionally, they have organized themselves into groups and open warfare that also contributed in achieving their plan.

We have seen that Raja has adopted strategy of attacking many of the places of Jat concentration at one time. He adopted this technique to keep the Jats of other places involved when he was launching an expedition at any place. He used to keep them blocked or used to raid their villages so they could not join one another and consequently could not divert his army from siege operation.

Inspite, they have plundered large number of areas so much so that the people of the villages became compelled to leave their homes, which consequently effected the

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collection of revenue from these areas. We see that even after the assurance of the local officers for their safety, the villages were not totally safe as in the case of Rini. They became so much powerful that people did not believe on the safety provided by the state against these Jats like on the second time when Rini was attacked by the Jats and when the news of their attack reached to the village, the villagers had already fled away from there before they attacked.

The situation got so much worsened that simply a thanedar or any local officer could not bring the situation under control. These officers, himself, were attacked and wounded by the Jats as on the thanas of Au and Palwal.

They roads and highways became completely closed down including the royal highway between Delhi and Agra. The trade and commerce and means of communications received great setback.

So we can see that there were many aspects of the Jat uprising. They not only directly challenging the Mughal authority but also disturbed the whole area between Delhi and Agra in many ways and had greatly affected the smooth running of administration in this region.