CHAPTER-II

THE RATHORS OF MARWAR

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

² Haji Khan Sur was one of the slaves of Sher Shah (Akbarnama, II. p.45).
Mughal despached an army under Qasim Khan and captured Ajmer in 1559. An army under Sayyid Mahmud Baraha and Shah Quli Khan was also sent to conquer Jaitaran. Although Ratan Khaiwawat the chief of Jaitaran was a vassal of Rao Maldeo, but he did not come to his help because Ratan has sided with Mewar in the battle of Harmada. As no other Rajput state came to his help Jaitaran was also conquered by the Mughal forces.

Although the Mughals have humbled Marwar in these wars but still the cheiftancy enjoyed considerable political power in the region. Besides that the route to Gujarat also passed through their territory, and security of this route was necessary for trade as well as for further expansion of the Mughal Empire. Therefore, Marwar could not be left in the possession of a hostile power for long. We find that soon after taking the reign of government in his hands (1560) Akbar started taking keen interest in the affairs of Rajasthan. It appears that attempts were made to establish contact with certain Rajput chiefs, and as a consequences in 1562 on his first pilgrimage to Aimer, Akbar married the Kachhwaha princes and entered into a friendly alliance with Bharamal Kachhwaha and offered extremely liberal terms with the hope that other Rajput states will also goin Mughal service. According to local traditions Chandrasen a younger son of Maldeo also met Akbar at Ajmer on behalf of his father and offered to accept his subordination. But as Akbar insisted on Rao Maldeo’s personal presence at the court, the negotiation failed. Nainsi writes that Jaimal of Merta also presented himself at Sambhar and sought his help against Maldeo, who had conquered Merta in 1557. The Emperor responded favourably and appointed Sharfuddin Husain Mirza along with Jaimal and Lonkam Shekhawat to march against Merta which was ruled by Jagmal brother of

1 Akbarnama, II, p.46, 66; Vigat, I, p. 62; Jodhpur Khyat, p.76,
2 Vigat p.43, 66; Jodhpur Khyat, p.77
3 Akbarnama, II, p.66; Vigat, I, p.60; VirVinod, II, p.812
5 Vigat, I p.60; VirVinod, II, p. 812
Jaimal and Devidas on behalf of Rao Maldeo. Merta was easily captured by the Mughal forces and given back to Jaimal.

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

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

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3 *Akbarnama*, II, pp.195-97
5 Ibid, II, p.197.
7 Maldeo had 12 sons but Rao Ram, Udai Singh, Raimal, Chandrasen, Prithvi Raj, Askaran and Ratansi were most prominent among them (*Tod*, Vol.II, p.23). Maldeo nominated Chandrasen son of his most favourite queen as his successor by superceding the claims of his eldest son Rao Ram and Udai Singh (*Akbarnama*,II, P.197; *Vigat*, I, p.68; *jodhpur khyat*, p.85;*Vir vinod*,II, pp.813-14).
setting the issue of succession in Rao Ram's favour. The Emperor agreed to intervene in the matter and ordered Husain Quli Khan-i-Jahan to conquer Jodhpur and establish Rao Ram as the ruler of Marwar. The fort of Jodhpur was captured in 1564 and Chandrasen was forced to retreat to Bhadrajun. But it is quite significant to note that the state of Jodhpur was not assigned to Rao Ram or any other son of Rao Maldeo. We find that Rao Ram was assigned Pargana Sojat and Udai Singh was given Phalodi. The fort of Jodhpur and other important areas of Marwar were kept under imperial officials. Although Rao Ram and Udai Singh did not openly showed their resentment for minor assignments that were given to them and broadly cooperated with the imperial authority, the situation in Marwar was still far from being peaceful. Rao Chandrasen continued to defy the imperial authority by attacking imperial forces every now and then. He also succeeded in establishing himself in northern part of Marwar.

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

1 Akbarnama, II, p.197; Vigat, I, p.68
2 Akbarnama, II, p.197; Vigat, I, p.68
3 Akbarnama, II, p.358; Vigat, I, p.69; Jodhpur khyat, p.87
4 Vigat, I, pp.69-70; Jodhpur Khyat, p.85
5 Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Jahangir, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1864, p.285; Vir vinod, II, p.814
6 Akbarnama, II, p.358; Vigat, I, p.69; Vir vinod, II, p.814
7 Akbarnama, II, p.358.
8 Vigat, p.69, 219; Jodhpur Khyat, p.88.
Singh at the court. It seems that Chandrasen realised that he may not be able to get back his position in Jodhpur because of better relationship that his elder brothers have managed to establish with the Mughal Emperor. Therefore, once again Chandrasen unfurled the banner of revolt. Akbar took immediate action against him; the fort of Bhadrajun was put to siege (1571). Unable to defend himself Chandrasen escaped and fled towards Siwana. While the operations against Chandrasen were in progress Rao Ram died (1572). The death of Rao Ram again led to dissension in the Rathor house on the question of succession. Rao Ram had two sons, Karan and Kala. Both the sons laid claims to the Gaddi with the support of rival Rathor Sardars, and represented to the Emperor to decided the issue in their favour. The Emperor on the advice of a Rathor Sardar decided the issue in favour of younger son Kala and assigned village Suraitu along with 60 other villages to Karan. From the later events it appears that this decision of the Emperor was broadly accepted by the rival claimants. Another important decision in the context of Marwar was the appointment of Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner to look after the affairs of Jodhpur in 1572. He was also asked to keep watch on the movement of Rana Pratap particularly to keep the road to Gujarat safe and secure. Some other quite significant transfers and appointments were also made by the Emperor in the state of Marwar. Rao Udai Singh who was holding Phalodi ever since his father’s death was removed from his assigned jagir in village Samavali. Similarly, after expelling Chandrasen from Siwana, it was kept under imperial

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1 Vigat, p.69; Jodhpur Khyat, p.88; It was apparently at this time that Chandrasen also married one of his daughters to Akbar. Banki Das ri Khyat, p.22, cited by Satish Chandra, Mughal religious policies, the Rajputs and the Deccan, New Delhi, 1993, p.23
2 Akbarnama, III, p.4; Jodhpur Khyat, p.89
4 Vigat, I, p.71
5 Rai Rai Singh remained administrator till 1577. In the same year he was sent against Siwana and Jodhpur was brought under the Khalisa. Akbarnama, II, pp.370-72, III, pp.5-6; Ain-i-Akbari, ed. Sayid Ahmad Khan, Delhi, tr. Blockman, I, p.384; Vigat, I, pp.68-69.
6 Vigat, I, p.69, 218; Jodhpur Khyat, p.88
control for sometime and later on made over to the sons of Rai Mal another son of Rao Maldeo.1

Meanwhile, defeated and expelled from Siwana and Sojat by the imperial army Chandrasen went to Mewar, where Rana Udai Singh welcomed him and also married his daughter to the Rao.2 After this matrimonial alliance Chandrasen hoped to get full support of the state of Mewar in his resistance against the Mughal authorities. We find that soon after this alliance Chandrasen started attacking Mughal outposts, with renewed vigour. But after the death of Rana Udai Singh the situation changed. Rana Pratap who succeeded to the throne (1572) himself was faced with so many problems did not come to his help. Disappointed with these development Chandrasen left Mewar, and wandered from place to place, and made an attempt to seek the help of Rawal Askaran, his brother in law of Dungarpur3. But having failed to get any assistance from him, he moved towards Banswara and from there in the direction of Ajmer, plundering towns and villages falling in his way. Being informed of these activities of Chandrasen, the Emperor appointed Payanda Khan and Sayyid Qasim to punish him (1580)4. He was defeated and forced to take shelter in the mountain defiles of Saran where he died sometime in 15815.

After the death of Rao Chandrasen, his son Rai Singh who was already in the imperial service, since 1570 succeeded his father with the approval of the Emperor. He was granted Pargana of Sojat in Jagir and the title of Rana was also conferred on him.6 But it is quite significant to note that Jodhpur and other areas of Marwar were retained in Khalisa and Rai

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

2 Vigat, II, pp.63-65


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

6 Vigat, I, p.389; Jodhpur Khyat, p.93; Vir vinod, II, p.814
Singh was not declared formally as the ruler of Marwar. It is also important to note that the decision of Akbar in this regard was apparently accepted by the majority of Rathor sardars. From the local sources it also emerges that during the period when Jodhpur remained in the Khalisa some of the Rathor Sardars entered Mughal service and were given mansabs and assigned Jagirs in Marwar. This step must have changed the attitude of Rathor Sardars towards Mughal rulers. In a way it was the acceptance of direct subordination of the Mughal Emperor by the Rathor Sardars.

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

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

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1 Rathor Bagh son of Prithvi Raj, Rathor Bhopat son of Devidas, Rathor Ram and Rathor Askaran were granted the villages of Bagadi, Katalio, Pipal and Mangalio respectively. (Rathor-ri-Vansvali (Sc) pp. 197-8
2 Akbarnama, III, p.5.
3 Vigat, I, p.76; Jodhpur Khyat, p.97; Vir vinod, II, p.815.
4 Vigat, I, p.83; Jodhpur Khyat, p.97.
5 Akbarnama, III, p.494, 581, 603; Tuzuk, p.8; Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Moinul Haq, 3vols., Karachi, 1966,1970,1974, p.205; Vir vinod, II, p.815. (Her name was Manmati/ Jagat Gosai to whome Khurram was born in 1592 (Akbarnama, III, 494, 603)
Maldeo married his daughter to Salim and a daughter of Rai Mal son of Maldeo was married to Daniyal.

Akbar himself had already married a daughter of Rao Chandrasen in 1570. These marriages must have created a very favourable atmosphere for the Rathors at the court as well as in the imperial harem. We get references of a number of relatives of Rathor house and their Sardars being admitted in imperial service and assigned administrative duties during this period. Almost all of them served loyally in various military campaigns in different parts of the Mughal Empire. At the time of his death (1595) Udai Singh held the rank of 1500/1500 and the Paarganas of Jodhpur, Siwana, Sojat, Pokaran and Jaitaran were also held by him. He was popularly known as Mota Raja on account of his body bulk at the court.

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

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1 Akbarnama, III, p.581; Tuzuk, p.8 (married in 15990)
2 Akbarnama, III, p.696 (married in 1595)
4 Following Rathors were appointed as provincial Diwans, Keshav Das Rathor (Diwan of Agra), Ram Rai (Diwan of Delhi), Ram Das Rathor (Diwan of Bihar) Rai Ram Das (Diwan of Ahmedabad) [Akbarnama, II, pp.80-81, III, p.413, 670]
5 For detail accounts of the military services rendered by the rulers and chiefs of Jodhpur see. Akbarnama, III, pp.80-81,413, 670; Ain, I, p.475, Vir vinod, II, pp.815-17.
7 Suraj Singh was given Tika of Jodhpur by Emperor Akbar at Lahore in 1595 as për the wishes of his father. It may also be noted that we have another Rajput noble of the same name. He was Rao Sur Singh son of Rai Rai Singh Bikaner. He had always been referred as Rao Sur Singh. Where as Udai Singh’s son had always been mentioned as Raja Sur Singh. (M.U.II, pp.180-81; Vir vinod, II, pp.815-16).
8 Vigat, I, p.93; M.U., II, p.181; Jodhpur Khyat, p.122
governor of Gujrat. Shortly after his arrival Prince Murad proceeded to launch an attack on Ahmad Nagar. As it was a very important campaign and most of the mansabdars accompanied him, Bahadur Shah son of Muzaffar Shah the erstwhile ruler of Gujrat considering the situation most suitable, once again rebelled and created a very dangerous situation for Sur Singh who was left by the Prince to protect Gujrat. Sur Singh did not loose courage and with his entire army immediately marched against the rebels and forced them to flee without fighting. In 1599 he was dispatched to serve in the Deccan under Sultan Daniyal. He performed very useful service along with Daulat Khan Lodi against Raju Deccani (1601) and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan against Khudawand Khan who was creating trouble in the area of Pathri and Palam (1602). Prince Daniyal and Khan-i-Khanan were greatly pleased with his service and on their recommendation he was granted a kattle drum. Sometimes in 1604 he was given leave to visit Jodhpur. However, he left Bhati Govind Das along with a sizeable contingent of his soldiers to serve in the Deccan. While he was in Jodhpur he came to know of the death of Emperor Akbar. At the times of Akbar’s death three members of the family namely Sur Singh, Dalpat and Sabal Singh were in imperial service, holding ranks of 2000/2000, 500 and 500 respectively. But it is very important to note that despite Marwar’s very close relationship with Jahangir, (Salim’s wife Jodhabai was his sister) neither he nor any other prince of Marwar went to court, although as is well known the atmosphere at the court was extremely hostile for Salim. Jahangir apparently was

1 Akbarnama, III, pp.697-98; M.U., II, p.181; Vir vinod, II, p.817.
3 Akbarnama, III, p.772; M.U.,II, pp.181-82
7 Vigat, I, p.93, 112; Jodhpur Khyat, I, p.122
8 Vigat, II, p.492; Ain, I, p.828
9 Ibid
displeased with them because for almost two years they were not called to court. In 1607 Sur Singh was ordered to proceed to Gujrat to help the governor to suppress the rebellion in the suba.¹

Sur Singh visited Agra for the first time since Jahangir’s accession in 1608 along with his son Gaj Singh². About the same time his brother Kishan Singh also came to the court³. Although Sur Singh was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000 and Kishan Singh to 1000/500⁴, but these promotions were insignificant, if we compare these with the promotion that were given to other nobles during the same period⁴. However soon afterwards Sur Singh was dispatched to serve in the Deccan under Khan-i-Kahanan⁶ and Kishan Singh was deputed under Mahabat Khan against Mewar⁷. Although Mahabat Khan’s campaign failed but Kishan Singh showed extra ordinary courage and determination during the expedition. For the meritorious service performed in the campaign he was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000⁸. But during this campaign Mahabat Khan got information that during the siege of Udaipur, the family of Rana Udai Singh slipped to Sojat fort where they were protected by Sur Singh’s men. Without verifying the truth Mahabat Khan in a fit of anger granted Sojat to Karamsen Rathor son of Rao Chandra Sen, a prince of the same family but with whom Sur Singh’s relations were sore from a longtime. When Sur Singh who was posted in the Deccan⁹, came to know of these developments, he dispatched Bhati Govind Das to explain that the charges were absolutely incorrect. In the meantime Mahabat Khan

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² Tuzuk, p.67; M.U.II, pp.182-83; Vir vinod, II, pp.817-18
³ He was half brother of Suraj Singh and a real brother of the mother of Khurram [Tuzuk, p.61,143; M.U., I, pp.150-51].
⁴ Tuzuk, p. 61, 67, 73; Vir Vinod, II. P.817; But Shahnawaz Khan and Sayeed Ahmed mention that in the fourth regnal year he (Sur Singh) held the rank of 4000/2000. (M.U.,II, pp.182-83; U.H. pp.254-55.)
⁵ For details of the promotion see Appendix.B
⁶ Tuzuk, p.73.
⁷ Tuzuk, p.69, 72; Umra-i- Hunood, Sayeed Ahmad, Abdus Salam collection, Azad library, A.M.U., Aligarh, p.286.
⁸ Tuzuk, p.72
⁹ Tuzuk, p.73; M.U. II, pp.182-83
was recalled and Abdullah Khan took over the command of Mewar campaign (1609). As soon as he reached there, Sojat was restored to Gaj Singh son of Sur Singh.

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

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

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1 Tuzuk, p.75
2 Vir vinod, II, p.817; Jodhpur Khyat, pp. 126-27
4 Vir vinod, II, p. 818; Jodhpur Khyat, p.128.
5 Tuzuk, pp.141-42, 138-39; M.U.,II, pp.182-83; Vigat, I, pp. 105-6; Nainsi Khyat, I.p. 53 mentions that the revenue of the Parganas of Godwad, Sadri and Nadole were also assigned to him in Inam.
6 Tuzuk, p. 127
7 Ibid, p.137
8 Ibid, p.143

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

¹ In *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* the number is given as 66- i.e. 30 on Raja Suraj Singh’s side and 36 on Kishan Singh’s. While *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* mentions 78, i.e. 12 on Suraj Singh’s side and 66 on Kishan Singh’s. [*Tuzuk*, p.144; *Z. Khawanin*, II, pp.298-300].
them\(^1\). Sur Singh who had survived the onslaught was allowed to go to Jodhpur with the condition to report on duty within two months\(^2\). But the killing of Kishan Singh must have created very awkward situation for Sur Singh because Kishan Singh’s real sister was not only Jahangir’s wife but also Khurram’s mother. Zakhirat-ul Khawanin specifically mentions that Sur Singh’s relations with Khurram were much strained; he always felt grieved. He could not out of fear beat the drums. One day all his drums were broken and two or three elephants of the Raja were wounded\(^3\).

As directed Raja Sur Singh came to court with his son Gaj Singh in 1616 and presented an offering of 100 muhrs and 1000 rupees\(^4\). In the same year on Khurram’s first expedition in the Deccan Sur Singh was ordered to accompany him\(^5\). At the time of his departure he was given promotion of 300 sawars, so as to make it 5000/3300\(^6\). The Raja himself proceeded towards Burhanpur but sent his son Gaj Singh to administer the affairs of Jodhpur\(^7\). In 1619 he died at Balapur near Burhanpur\(^8\).

He was succeeded by his eldest son Gaj Singh and his other son Sabal Singh was admitted in the imperial service. He was however given a very small rank of 500/250\(^9\). Although he took active part in different campaign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan’s reign\(^10\) and lived up to 1647, he could not rise above the rank of 2000/1500\(^11\). Except for these stray references we hardly

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\(^2\) Tuzuk, p.144; M.U. II, p.183

\(^3\) Z.Khawanin, II, p.205,300.

\(^4\) Tuzuk, p.147

\(^5\) Ibid, p.148

\(^6\) Tuzuk, p.148; Vigat, I, p.195

\(^7\) Tuzuk, p.277; Jodhpur Khyat, p.144.

\(^8\) Tuzuk, p.277; Vir vinod, II, p.818, Jodhpur Khyat, p.146.

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


\(^11\) Lahori, II, p.727.
get any details of Sabal Singh’s career in any of the contemporary or near contemporary sources.

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

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

1 Tuzuk, p.277; M.U., II, pp.223-24; Vir vinod, II, p.819; Jodhpur Khvat, p.150.
2 Mundivar Khayat fol 5; Jodhpur Khvat, I, p.15 cited by Bhargava, V.S., Marwar and the Mughals, Delhi,1966
3 Tuzuk, p.147; M.U., II, p.182; Vir Vinod, II, p.818
4 Tuzuk, p.344; Vir vinod, II, p.819; Jodhpur Khvat, p.155.
5 Tuzuk, p.335; Iqbalnama, p.127; Vir vinod, II,p.819; Jodhpur Khvat, pp.155-56
6 Tuzuk, p.344
7 Tuzuk, p.360; M.U. II, pp.223-24
Khurram’s army was badly defeated. Mahabat Khan who had played the most crucial role in the battle was promoted to the rank of 6000/5000 and given the command under Parwez to pursue Khurram. Raja Gaj Singh and several other Rajput nobles such as Jai Singh, Raja Girdhar, Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha and Ram Das Narwari were also deputed to serve under him.

On the eve of his departure Raja Gaj Singh was promoted to the rank of 5000/4000 and Phalodi was also added in his Jagir. He actively served the imperial army in its campaign against the rebels in the Deccan and on the orders of the Emperor accompanied Parwez and Mahabat Khan to Allahabad to check the progress of Khurram’s troops in the east. Khurram in the meantime hotly pursued by Mahabat Khan in Deccan Marched into Orissa and succeeded in establishing his hold over Bengal and Bihar and laid the siege of the fort of Allahabad. But as soon as he came to know of the arrival of the Imperial army, he ordered Abdullah Khan to raise the siege of Allahabad and join him at Hajipur. In a hotly contested battle fought between the imperial army and the rebels at Damdama near Tons, the rebels were completely defeated and Kr. Bhim was killed from the rebel side. Raja Gaj Singh on his return to the Court, for the meritorious service rendered in this battle was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 and the title of Maharaja was also conferred on him. Shortly afterwards as

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1 Tuzuk, pp.357-60; Vir vinod, II, p.820.
2 Tuzuk, pp.347-48, 360; For details see Afzal Husain, pp.172-73
3 Tuzuk, p.360; M.U.,II, pp.223-24; Iqbalnama, p.204.
4 Tuzuk, pp.361-63
5 Z.Khawanin, II, pp.118-20; Iqbalnama, pp.221-227.
6 Tuzuk, pp.371-72, 383-84; Inayat ali Zaidi, The Rajput chiefs and Prince Shahjahan’s revolt: Consequences, Islamic Culture, No.4, 1987, pp.67-68
8 Tuzuk, p.381; Z.Khawanin II, pp.122-23
9 M.U., II, p.224; Lahori, Ia, p.158; Vir Vinod, II, p.819. But Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri recorded him as a mansabdar of 5000/4000. (Tuzuk, pp.360-361); Vigat, I, p.108 adds that Jagir of Jalgaon was also given to him.
a mark of favour Prince Parwez was married with the sister of Gaj Singh.

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

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

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2. Afzal Husain, pp.142-43.
4. For details regarding succession crisis see, Iqbalnama, pp.294-300; Afzal Husain, pp.146-47; See also History of Shah Jahan of Delhi, Banarasi Prasad Saksena, Allahabad,1958, pp.56-57.
5. Afzal Hussain, pp.146-47
until then supported Dawar Bakhsh. However, the situation changed after Shah Jahan reached Gujarat; because now the nobles came to know that Dawar Bakhsh’s coronation was only a stop gap arrangement, only to facilitate Shah Jahan’s accession. Therefore, a number of nobles now left Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and joined Shah Jahan. It seems at this stage both Raja Gaj Singh and Raja Jai Singh decided not to take sides in the succession struggle and preferred to wait and watch. Both of them left Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and proceeded to their watan. In the entire period of Shahjahan’s journey from Gujrat to Agra through Ajmer Gaj Singh made no contact with him. It was only after Shah Jahan succeeded to throne after eliminating all the surviving princes that Gaj Singh came to the court and presented himself before the Emperor. The Emperor over looked his unfriendly attitude and confirmed him to his previous rank of 5000/5000.

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

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1 Iqbalnama, p.300; Z.Khawanin, II, p.43; Lahori, Ia, p.30,76; M.U.,II, pp.224-25
2 Lahori, Ia, p.76; Saksena, p.62, prominent nobles who left Kahan-i-jahan lodi were Rana Karan, Khan-i-Alam, Raja Jai Singh, Raja Bharat and Barha Sayyids.
3 Lahori, Ia, p.76; M.U.,II, pp. 224-25
4 For details see, Lahori, Ia, pp.82-99,158-59; M.U., II, pp.225-26; VirVinod, II, p.819. Mutamid Khan however, writes that Gaj Singh and Jai Singh met Shah Jahan at Ana Sagar lake at Ajmer and offered their submission.(Iqbalnama, p.617)
Soon after his arrival to the court as mentioned above Raja Gaj Singh was appointed to suppress the rebellion of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. Shah Jahan sent three armies under the command of Azam Khan, Raja Gaj Singh and Shaista Khan to crush the rebellion. Lahori writes that thirty one other Rajput nobles such as Raja Jai Singh, Raja Bithal Das Gaur, Prithvi Raj Rathor, Ani Rai, Raja Manrup Kuchhwa, Narhar Das Jhala, Madho Singh and Raja Pahad Singh were also deputed to serve in this campaign. Here it is important to note that Shah Jahan not only over looked the past misdeeds of Gaj Singh but even preferred him over chiefs of other houses by giving him command of one of the three armies sent to crush the rebellion and also put under him twelve Rajput nobles.

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Table A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raja Gaj Singh</td>
<td>5000/5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karamsi Rathore</td>
<td>1000/300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari Singh s/o Kishan Singh</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagannath Rathore</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabal Singh</td>
<td>500/250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raja Nathmal s/o Kishan Singh</td>
<td>500/225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagmal s/o Kishan Singh</td>
<td>500/225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 For more details see Appendix, A4 and B2
3 Lahori, Ia, pp.276, 293-96.
5 Lahori, Ia, pp.404-5; M.U., II, pp.225-26; Vir vinod, II, p.820
6 Lahori, Ia, pp.293-94, 322-26;
After the suppression of the rebellion he returned to court where he stayed for some times. In 1631 the Mughals launched an attack on Bijapur under the command of Asaf Khan and Raja Gaj Singh, Raja Jai Singh, Pahad Khan and several other nobles were appointed to assist Asaf Khan. Raja Gaj Singh was given the command of vanguard (Harawal). But Adilshah left the battle field without fighting and the campaign came to an end. Raja Gaj Singh was allowed to leave for Jodhpur. He reached Jodhpur in 1632 and after a short stay came back to Agra and presented himself before the Emperor (1633). He was received at the court with favours and immediately sent on duty to Deccan. Gaj Singh remained there till 1636 and presented himself before the Emperor at Daulatabad, who had gone there to personally supervise the campaign. In recognition of his good service he was presented a Khilat and a horse with special golden equipment. He returned to Agra from the Deccan along with the Emperor. After returning to court he was given leave to visit his watan Jodhpur (1636). At the time of his departure he was awarded a special robe of honor, elephant and other valuable article. He remained in Jodhpur for about one and half year. In 1638 he return to Agra along with his son Jaswant Singh and was awarded a special robe of honour. Shortly after his arrival he was ordered to proceed to Qandhar to protect it from the attack of Persians. Prince Shuja who was governor of Kabul was ordered to proceed to Qandhar only if Shah Safi attacked it. The Mughals were however relieved of the pressure for the time being because Shah Safi being engaged in a war with Turkey was in no position to launch an attack on Qandhar. Therefore, on the orders of the

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1 Lahori, I, pp.315, 404-5; M.U.II, pp.225-26; Vir vinod, II, p.820
4 Lahori, Ia, p.474; Ib, p.108
5 Lahori, Ib, pp. 141-42; Vir vinod, II, p.820.
7 Lahori, Ib, p.233; Vir vinod, II, p.820.
8 Lahori, II, p.8, 11; M.U.II, pp.225-26; Vir vinod, II, p.820
9 Lahori, II, pp.24-26, 34-35.
10 Ibid, p.52
Emperor, Gaj Singh was sent back to the court at Lahore\(^1\). Shortly afterwards he was sent back to Agra where he died in May 1638\(^2\).

Gaj Singh was succeeded by his youngest son Jaswant Singh. It was for the first time in the history of Marwar a crown prince *yuvraj* succeeded to the throne, although he was only eleven years old and had an elder brother\(^3\). Shah Jahan agreed to accept the Rathor tradition of nomination of a son of the most favourite queen of deceased Raja even if he was younger to other sons\(^4\). The earlier succession wars, in Marwar were fought mainly because of this tradition which was neither accepted fully by the Rathor chiefs nor by Princes. The Emperor Shah Jahan granted him *Tika* and the title of *Raja* in accordance with his father’s will. He was also awarded the rank of 4000/4000\(^5\). Six *Parganas* Jodhpur, Phalodi, Sojat, Siwana, Satalmer and Merta were assigned to him in *Jagir*.\(^6\) The grant of the *Mansab* of 4000/4000 is significant in itself as no other Rathor ruler before him has been given such a high rank at the time of succession. However Amar Singh the elder brother of Jaswant Singh was also promoted to 3000/3000 and the title of *Rao* was conferred on him\(^7\). He was also granted *Jagir* in *Pargana* Nagore.\(^8\) It is important to note that despite being superceded Amar Singh continued to cooperate with Jaswant Singh and in the state of Marwar there were hardly any mutual bickering or wars among the two. He also remained loyal to the Mughal imperial authorities and performed meritorious service

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2. Inayat Khan, pp.217-19; *M.U.* II, p.230
3. Superceeding his elder brother Amar Singh
4. On the death of Maldeo- Chandra Sen and on the death of Udai Singh Suraj Singh succeeded to the Gaddi, while they were younger. (*M.U.* III, p.599, *U.H.* p.154). Jaswant Singh was son of favourite Rani Anara.
5. The Rathors chiefs held the title of *Rao* but afterwards when Udai Singh entered the imperial service the Emperor gave him the title of ‘Raja’ and other member of the family were styled as *Rao*. Accordingly after the death of Maldeo all other Rathor chief held the title of Raja. (Lahori, II, pp.97-98; *M.U.* III, pp.599-600; *Vir vinod*, II, p.822).
in the campaigns against Jujhar Singh Bundila, Qnadhar and Kabul campaigns under murad Bakhsh, Raja Jagat Singh the son of Raja Basu and again in Qandhar under the command of Sultan Dara Shukoh. At the time of his death in 1644 he held the rank of 4000/3000.

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

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3. Lahori, II, p.105, 156; Vir vinod, II, pp.823
4. Lahori, II, pp.52, 59-61; Vigat, I, pp.125-6
6. Lahori, II, p.146, 162
proceeding on Qandhar expedition. But as the campaign was abandoned due to the death of Shah Shafi, Jaswant Singh was given leave to return to Marwar (June 1643).

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

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

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7. Waris, b, p.28; M.U., III, pp.600-1; Vigat, I, pp. 126-27; But the year given by Waris is 1648.
8. Waris, b, p.43
consequence of these frequent promotions, by 1648, he attained the rank of 5000/5000(5000x2-3h)\(^1\). Thereafter in Feb. 1649 he was sent to Qandhar expedition under Prince Aurangzeb\(^2\). After the collapse of the campaign he came back to Kabul and presented himself along with his 2000 troopers before the Emperor\(^3\). He was given leave to visit Marwar for a short holiday and was asked to report for duty within the years\(^4\). Raja Jaswant Singh came back to Agra in April 1650 and on the occasion of Nauroz festival, he was presented a necklace of pearls. Soon after he was again allowed to return to Marwar.\(^5\) While he was in Marwar the Emperor asked him to help Sabal Singh a court nominee to consolidate his position as the ruler of Jaisalmer. The Rathor forces conquered Pokharan and Jaisalmer, expelled Ram Chandra and firmly established Sabal Singh on the Gaddi of Jaisalmer\(^6\).

Jaswant Singh was again summoned to the court in 1652 to join the second Qandhar expedition along with Saadullah Khan under the command of Aurangzeb\(^7\). As is well known the expedition failed to achieve the desired objectives and Aurangzeb was severely reprimanded and transferred to Deccan. But surprisingly Jaswant Singh who was also an important commander of the failed expedition was given promotion of 1000 Zat \(^8\) and in the following year on the occasion of the weighting ceremony of the Emperor he was raised to the rank of 6000/6000 by giving promotion of 1000 sawar (5000 x 2-3h) and the title of Maharaja was also conferred upon

\(^1\) Waris, b, p.52, 65 ; M.U., III, pp.601-2; Vigat, I, pp.126-7
\(^3\) Waris, b, p.97; M.U., III, pp.602-3
\(^5\) Waris, b, pp.142-44.
\(^6\) Waris, b, p.161; Vir vinod, II, p.824.
\(^7\) Salih, III, pp.135-39
\(^8\) Waris, a, p.154, 268; Salih, III,p.160; Vigat, I, p.127.
him\(^1\). In 1655 he was allowed to proceed to Mathura to marry the daughter of Sarab Deo Sisodia. After the marriage he went to Jodhpur\(^2\).

Thus during the period from 1638-56 Jaswant Singh got rapid promotions and succeeded in becoming one of the top most Rajput nobles of the Empire holding the rank of 6000/6000, 5000x 2-3h, the highest mansab held by any other Rajput noble. Table ‘B’ will show that no other chief of the other major Rajput houses received such rapid promotions during the same period. However, it may be pointed out that during the period 1638-56 Jaswant Singh made hardly any significant contribution either as a military commander or as an administrator of a suba.

Table B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marwar</th>
<th>Kachhawahas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaswant Singh</td>
<td>Jai Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined imperial service in 1638</td>
<td>Joined imperial service in 1617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>4000/4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639</td>
<td>5000/5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>5000/5000(1000x2-3h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646</td>
<td>5000/5000(2000x2-3h)</td>
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<td>1647</td>
<td>5000/5000(2500x2-3h)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>5000/5000(3000x2-3h)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1653</td>
<td>6000/6000(5000x2-3h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1657</td>
<td>7000/7000(5000x2-3h)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^2\) Waris, b, pp.99-100; M.U., III, pp.602-3
A cursory glance to our discussion in forgoing pages will show that Jaswant Singh was sent as a military commander in only two major campaigns under the overall command of royal princes and in both the campaigns he hardly made any significant contribution. Besides that it is also important to note that he was posted only once as a governor (Malwa) and for a brief period made in charge of Agra. In his watan also the administration was carried out by the Diwan directly appointed by the Emperor. Therefore, the favours shown to him may have been only because of the close relationship of the Emperor with Marwar house. Besides that the only positive factors which may have gone in his favours could have
been his cordial relations with royal Princes, the Kachhwaha and Sisodia nobles and other prominent Turani and Irani nobles of the Empire.

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

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

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also given to Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan.\(^1\) On the eve of the departure of the army Jaswant Singh was given promotion of 1000/1000 as a result of which his *mansab* rose to 7000/7000 (5000x2-3h), Qasim Khan was also promoted to the rank of 5000/5000.\(^2\) Jaswant Singh started from Agra on 17 Dec. 1657 and reached Ujjain in Feb. 1658.\(^3\) The other army under Qasim Khan which left the capital eight days after Jaswant Singh's departure, was instructed to follow the same route to Ujjain.\(^4\)

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

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4 Jaswant Singh followed the route to Ujjain via Fatehpur Sikri, Didwana, Kota, Ujjain.
7 Inayat Khan, p.549; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.14, *Alamgirnama*, p.57
8 Inayat Khan, p.549; *Alamgirnama*, pp.50-52, 55-56.
a letter to Jaswant Singh through Kavi Ray a Brahmin with the following massage:

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

Jaswant Singh immediately sent the following reply to the princes:

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

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

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1 Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, p.14; reference to these exchanges have also been mentioned in Alamgirnama, pp.57-58; and Inayat Khan, p.549.
2 Aurangzeb sent his son Prince Sultan Muhammad to persuade the Maharaja to let him go to Agra. In reply Maharaja also sent his wakil to dissuade Aurangzeb from proceeding towards Agra at the head of a large army. (Alamgirnama, p.64; Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p.245).
3 For details see, Alamgirnama, pp.56-66; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.2; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp.14-15; Inayat Khan, p.549; Vir vinod, II, p.824.
injured\(^1\) and left with only few Rajput chiefs such as Amar Singh, Askaran, Rathor Amar Singh and Asa, he was prevailed upon by him advisers to leave the battle field and proceed to Jodhpur.\(^2\) According to contemporary accounts when Jaswant Singh reached Jodhpur he was not allowed to enter the fort by his wife (Rani Hadi) because she accused the Raja of fleeing from the battle field. (The Rani was the sister in law of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar.) However, the matter was resolved by the efforts of her mother.\(^3\) But it is important to note that Jaswant Singh proceeded to Jodhpur without sending any information about the defeat of the imperial army to the court and even after reaching Jodhpur he did not despatch any letters either to Shah Jahan or Dara Shukoh.\(^4\) This action of Jaswant Singh is quite unusual and creates doubt about his sincerity towards imperial cause despite the fact as mentioned above there was no coordination in the command and certain elements openly sided Aurangzeb.

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

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

\(^5\) *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.16.
demands fulfilled. But Aurangzeb paid no heed. Shah Jahan also sent a farman to Aurangzeb which was also of no effect. Thus war seemed imminent. Hukumut ri Bahi mentions that Shah Jahan immediately sent a farman to Jaswant Singh asking him to come quickly to the court. After receiving the farman Jaswant singh proceeded towards Merta, leaving the charge of Jodhpur to Sunder Das. But when he reached Merta he was informed that Rana Raj Singh was planning to invade Ajmer, he immediately proceeded towards Ajmer. While he was at Ajmer he came to know of the defeat of Dara Shukoh at Samugarh and the coronation of Aurangzeb. Shortly after wards he received a farman of Aurangzeb, in which he was asked to go to Jodhpur and wait for further instruction. The Rajasthani sources tell us that he stayed at Ajmer for some time and dispatched a contingent consisting of Rathor Sardars, under the command of Mahesh Das his former Diwan, to wait on the new Emperor. Later on he himself left Ajmer to attend Aurangzeb’s court. In the meantime Kachhwaha chief Raja Jai Singh also joined Aurangzeb. When Dara Shukoh moved from Lahore towards Multan and the royal army (Aurangzeb’s army) came to the bank of river Sutluj in pursuit of Dara Shukoh, Jaswant Singh through the mediation of Raja Jai Singh paid his homage to Aurangzeb in August 1658. The Emperor granted him parganas of Narnol, Methal, Rohtak, Maham and Athegaro in lieu of the pargana of Nagaur, Ujjain, Dipalpur and Badnor. A khilat, a dagger and few elephants were also given to him.

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1 Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp 16-17, Inayat Khan, p 551, Salih, III, p 287, Jami-ul-Insha-pp 157-58
2 Inayat Khan, p 551; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp 17-18, Insha, pp 158-60.
3 Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p 250
4 The battle of Samugarh was fought on 8th June 1658 between Dara and Aurangzeb (for Details see, Inayat Khan, p 551, Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp 24-25.
5 Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p 250, Jodhpur Khyat, I, p 228, Vir vmod, II, p 826
6 Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p 250.
7 Inayat Khan, p 555
9 Vigat, I, pp 133-34, Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p 250
was ordered to proceed to Delhi where he reached in October 1658. In the meantime when Aurangzeb reached Multan in pursuit of Dara Shukoh (Nov. 1658) he was informed that Shuja had rebelled and was marching rapidly towards Delhi. On receiving this news he handed over the command of operations against Dara Shukoh to Shaikh Mir and Diler Khan and himself hastened towards Delhi to take action against Shuja. After making arrangements for the protection of the capital Aurangzeb started towards Allahabad along with Jaswant Singh to take action against Shuja.

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

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1 Alamgirnama, p.189; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.5; Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p.250.
2 Inayat Khan, p.556; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, p.36, Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p.250
3 Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp.36-37; Inayat Khan, p.556.
4 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.7; M.U.III, pp.602-3; Vir vinod, II, p.826; Alamgirnama, p.246; Manucci, p.329
5 Bhimsen, Nushkha-i-Dilkusha, tr.J.N.Sarkar, Bombay, 1972, I, p.27; Salih, III, pp.323-329; Both Hukumat ri bahi and Manucci mention that the differences arose between the two but the reasons are not given(Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p.251, Manucci, p.329).
6 Bhim Sen, I, p.27.
7 Hukumat -ri- Bahi, p.251; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.7
8 The name of envoy who went to inform Shuja of this plan was Jagidas Kushalawat (Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p.251; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.7; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, p.37).
Singh declined to join his army in the campaign against Aurangzeb. As decided, Jaswant Singh attacked the imperial army in the dead of the night and plundered the camp of Mohammad Sultan as well as the camp of the imperial army. The army of Aurangzeb was taken by surprise and before any counter action could be taken Jaswant Singh slipped away. Although Aurangzeb’s army had suffered very heavy damage and would have not recovered had Shuja also attacked it along with Jaswant Singh. But as Shuja was not very sure of Jaswant Singh’s action, he did not come out to fight, and the advantage was lost. On the other hand Aurangzeb did not get panicked, he remained cool and prepared for the battle despite the fact that almost half of his army had dispersed. He arranged his army next morning and in the hotly contested battle fought at Khajwa (January 1659), Shuja was completely defeat and fled away.

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

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


\[4\] Inayat Khan, p.557

\[5\] Alamgirnama, p.288; Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p.252

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

\[7\] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.10; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, p.41; Shahnawaz Khan the newly appointed governor joined Dara Shukoh because he was still resentful towards the new Emperor for his having confined him at Burhanpur, before the battle of Dharmat (Inayat Khan, p.557).
the battle of Khajwa. Some contemporary accounts mention that Dara Shukoh also received a letter from Jaswant Singh for a joint offense against Aurangzeb. When Aurangzeb came to know of these developments, he personally proceeded towards Ajmer to thivert the proposed joint offense of Dara Shukoh and Jaswant Singh. He also asked Rai Singh and Amin Khan to immediately join his army. Besides that he also tried to win over Jaswant Singh. He asked Raja Jai Singh to write a letter to Jaswant Singh on his behalf promising that he will be pardoned of his past offenses and his rank will be restored if he joins imperial service and abandons Dara Shukoh. On receiving this message Jaswant Singh opened negotiations with Aurangzeb, and sent Asa Andholia for that purpose. Vigat mention that a farman of Aurangzeb was personally handed over to Jaswant Singh by Asa Andholia along with a letter of Jai Singh which was also handed over to him by his personal messenger Chaudhary Dungarsi.

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

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1 Inayat Khan, p. 557; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, p. 41; Hukumat-ri-Bahi, p.252; M.U. II, pp.672-674.
2 Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp.41-42; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.10, 18; Inayat Khan, p.557, Tirmizi, p.138. s.no. 412; Jaswant Singh sent this letter through Nahar Khan Rajput (Alamgirnama, pp.300-l; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri pp.41-42.)
6 Dara sent his messenger Duni Chand to the Maharaja to join him (Alamgirnama, pp.309-311; Inayat Khan, p. 557 Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, p. 42; Maasir-i-Alamgiri,p.10; Bernier.p. 86.
Aurangzeb. Jaswant Singh remained unmoved. A large number of Rajputs who have joined Dara Shukoh on his arrival at Ajmer went back to their homes as soon as they came to know that Jaswant Singh had gone over to Aurangzeb. Consequently he had to fight Aurangzeb alone at Deorahi near Ajmer (23 March 1659), where he was again defeated.

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

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

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1 *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.42; *Hukumat-ri-Bahi*, p.252; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p.10; Inayat Khan, p.557
and Aurangzeb. He moved out of Jodhpur only after receiving a farman from Shah Jahan, but when he came to known that Dara Shukoh had lost the battle at Samugarh, he became cool towards him and at the first opportunity joined Aurangzeb. However, his attitude changed once again when he realized that Aurangzeb was not so favourable towards him; he negotiated with Shuja and created very serious situation for Aurangzeb. But after the defeat of Shuja he tried to help Dara Shukoh, who had reached Gujarat to offer strong resistance against Aurangzeb. However, when he was approached by Aurangzeb with a promise of rank he dumped Dara also. But it is important to note that on both the occasions he refused to join the princes in the military operations.

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

A close look to the account of the career of Jaswant Singh discussed in the forgoing pages clearly show that he hardly made any significant contribution either as a military commander or as an administrator of a Suba to merit such rapid and high promotion in rank and status (Maharaja). He was appointed governor only on two occasions. In 1645 he was made temporary governor of Agra and thereafter in the closing years of Shah Jahan’s reign when the war of succession started he was appointed governor of Malwa. He was also never appointed to any important central office. Not only that, he was never appointed to lead an independent military campaign during the entire period of Shah Jahan’s reign, although he held the rank of
7000/7000 (5000x2-3h). In the two important military campaigns too his contribution was far from satisfactory.

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

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

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

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

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1 See Appendix B-3 for details of their mansabs and appointments.
2 M.U. II, pp.179-83
admitted in imperial service and given a small *mansab* of 500/400. After joining the imperial service he served in various expeditions against Jujhar Singh Bundila, Qandhar and Balkh-Badakhshan campaigns under Prince Dara Shukoh, Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh. At the time of his death in 1647 he held the rank of 4000/4000. During this short period of his service (13 years) his *mansab* was increased from 500/400 to 4000/4000. After his death in 1647 his eldest son Ratan who was already in services and held the *mansab* of 400/200 was promoted to the rank of 1500/1500 and Mahesh Das’s brother Jaswant Singh was also assigned the *mansab* of 500/250. Ratan like his father was also deputed to serve in different campaign of Shah Jahan’s reign (i.e. Qandhar, Balkh-Badakhshan, Chittor, and Deccan) and rose to the rank 2000/2000. He was killed in the battle of Dharmat (April 1656) against Aurangzeb.

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

After the accession Bhim was taken into imperial service. He performed meritorious service in various expeditions until his death (1647). At the time of his death he held the rank of 1500/1100. Prithvi Raj Rathor was also assigned the rank of 1500/600 after Shah Jahan accession. He was

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1 Lahori, Ib, p.9, 68, 313; *M.U.*, III, pp 445-46
2 Lahori, II, p.294, 554; *M.U.*, III, pp 445-46
3 Ibid
4 *M.U.*, III, pp 445-46
5 Lahori, II, p.635, 729; *M.U.* III, pp 445-46
6 Lahori, II, p. 748
7 Salih, III, p. 262
8 Salih, III, p. 458
10 Lahori, II, p.730
11 Lahori, Ia, p.186
closely attached to the Emperor and was deputed to serve in almost all the important campaigns. In the campaign against Khan-i-Jahan he showed rare feats of valour.\(^1\) He was seriously injured in hand to hand fight with Khan-i-Jahan lodi and was sent back to Agra for treatment.\(^2\) He was raised to the rank of 2000/800 and after recovery sent to serve in several other military campaigns.\(^3\) In 1644 he was made in charge of the fort of Daulatabad\(^4\) and in 1646 of the fort of Agra\(^5\). At the time of his death (1656) he held the rank of 2000/2000\(^6\). After his death his brother Ram Singh and sons Kesri Singh and Jagat Singh were admitted in imperial service and awarded the ranks of 500/200,\(^7\) 600/200\(^8\) and 700/300\(^9\) respectively.

Jagmal son of Kishan Singh Rathor, the Younger brother of Raja Suraj Singh Rathor was also admitted in imperial service and given the mansab of 1500/800.\(^10\) However, he was killed in 1628 in the battle fought against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. As his son apparently was a minor his brother Hari Singh was admitted in service. He was assigned the rank of 1000/600 and the Gaddi of Kishangarh was also conferred on him.\(^11\) Hari Singh remained loyal to the Emperor and was raised to the rank of 1500/900.\(^12\) After his death in 1644 he was succeeded by his nephew Rup Singh Rathor (son of Jagmal).\(^13\) The Emperor awarded him the rank of 1000/700 and the Jagir of Kishangarh was also assigned.\(^14\) He served in Qandhar, Balkh-
Badakhshan and Chittor campaign and received rapid promotions. In the war of succession he was on Dara’s side and was killed in the battle of Samugarh. At the time of his death he held the rank of 4000/3000.

Karamsi Rathor son of Rao Chandrasen was also promoted to the rank of 1500/800 after Shah Jahan’s accession. He was killed in the battle fought against rebel Khan-i-Jahan Lodi in 1630. His sons Shyam Singh, Jagannath, Ram Singh, Mohan Singh, Nand Ram, Hansa Ram and Har Ram were taken into imperial service and given small mansabs of 600/400, 700/300, 1000/600, 250/80, 300/100, 300/100, and 400/150 respectively.

Shyam Singh Rathor was appointed Qiledar of Sahar in 1644 and Fanjdar of Baklava in 1647. At the time of his death in 1650 he held the rank of 1500/600. Ram Singh another son of Karamsi Rathor was also given important position at the court. He was raised to the rank of 3000/1500 and deputed to serve in Balkh-Badakshan and Qandhar campaigns. In the battle of Samugarh where he was killed, he was on Dara’s side.

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1 Salih, III, p.157,269; Lahori, II, p.727; Waris,a, pp.202-5
2 Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp.24-25; M.U., II, p.268
3 Waris a, p.198; M.U., II, p.268
4 Lahori, Ib, p.306. under Jahangir his mansab was 1000/300.(Tuzuk-p.143)
5 Lahori,Ib, p. 319
6 Ibid, p. 317
7 Lahori, II, p.198; M.U.II, p.266
8 Athar Alai, Apparratus, p.159
9 Ibid, p.134
10 Ibid, p.159
11 Ibid, p.162
12 Waris, a, p.13
13 Waris, b, p.263
14 Lahori, II, p.731; Waris,b, p.263
15 Lahori,II, p.198; Waris-b, p.260; M.U.II, pp.266-67
16 Alamgirnama., p.102.