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THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE JODHPUR STATE C. 1212 to 1947 A.D.

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The western part of Rajasthan, the land of the legendary Rathor Rajputs, generally known as Marwar before 1947, lies between latitude 24' 36' and 27' 42' N. and longitude 70' 6' and 75' 24' E. It covers an area of 36,071 sq. miles and was the largest state in *Rajputana* in point of size.¹ The military history of Jodhpur is a record of heroic deeds of the Rathor rulers and their clansmen. A momentous era began around A.D. 1212 when *rao* Siha reached Marwar and at the outset established his sway over Pali area and built a citadel for himself on the bank of the river Kali which is known as *Siha rao-ka-kheda*. But from the military point of view *rao* Jodha was the most noteworthy successor of *rao* Siha, whom we can regard as the most successful initiator of the medieval school of war technology. It was he who reorganised the army on the "famous *rajputi* model"² which was followed by his successors and can be studied under the following heads:

Recruitment, Jagir and Pay:

The army of Jodhpur consisted of five divisions – infantry, cavalry, elephant, camel corps and artillery – and it can be said after studying the military records preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives that every Rajput was considered to be a soldier in the state as soon as he was able to hold a sword or musket. In the initial stages of home training of men, women and children village martial games and practical warfare were undertaken and soon they attached themselves to a *jagirdar*. It is with the advent of the military reforms of *rao* Maldeo that we find greater centralization of the recruitments. During the entire period of our study, there was no ban to join the army for any community as this is clearly reflected from the contemporary sources. But any person who wanted to join the army had to apply to the recruitment *daftar* through the office of the *bakhshi* who prepared the statement and presented it to the *maharaja* for approval. This statement was known as *chehra*; it was preserved permanently in a *bahi* known as *haqiqat bahi* and contained the full details

- 1 *Administrative Report 1947*, Government of Jodhpur State, Jodhpur, 1946, pp. 3-5; Reu, V.N, *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors*, Jodhpur State Publication, Jodhpur, 1943, pp. 1-2.
- 2 Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Military System of the Rajputs*, Ph. D thesis, University of Jodhpur, 1978 (in press) – Henceforth RKS Thesis.

about the applicant. After the approval of the particulars, the candidate had to appear before the recruitment *daftar* for required formalities and then only was he officially appointed in the rank. Most of the appointments were made in the lower grades. The ruler usually acted on the recommendation of the *bakhshi*. When an appointment was first announced, usually the rank and the salary of the new entrant was stated but the actual work to be entrusted to him was decided later on.³

It is relevant to note here that the *mansabdari* system of the Mughals and the *jagirdari* system of the Rajputs were improvements upon the *iqta*⁴ system

3 *Jagir Misal Fauj Jodhpur*, V.S. 1810/3348, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner, Henceforth RSA. *Fauj Bahi Bakshikhana*, V.S. 1778/3; *Kagzat Bakshikhana, Bahi No. 8*; *Pargana Record Piaz Bakhshi* 1884 A.D. File No. 1132; *Haqikat Bahi No. 29, 33*; *Tawarikh-i-Jagirdaran*, p. 7; *Haqikat Bahi No. 52*; *Audha Bahi No. 3*, V.S. 1787; *Bahi Fauj Jodhpur* V.S. 1788; *Bahi Daftar Bakshikhana*, V.S. 1888; *Khas Rukha Parwana Bahi No. 9*; *Sanad Bahi No. 156, Haqikat Bahi, No. 28*, V.S. 1818, *Misal Jagir Jodhpur*, V.S. 1878; Compare the couplet "*Kurab sir satay milta hain, dam satay nahin*" means an honour (*jagir*) was reserved for noble sacrifices (military services) and was not to be granted in lieu of money payment (could not be purchased). See, Hardayal, *Tawarikh Jagirdaran Raj Marwar*, Jodhpur, 1893, p. 4; Vayas, R.P. *Role of Nobility in Marwar (1800-1873 A.D.)*, Delhi, 1969, p. 173; Sharma, G.N. *Growth of Feudalism in the Early Medieval Rajasthan*, RS, Agra, 1970, pp. 204-5.

4 According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica: Iqta*, in the Islamic Empire of the Caliphate, land granted to army officials. The *iqta* system was established in the 9th century when insufficient tax revenue and litter booty from campaigns made it difficult for the government to pay army salaries. The system remained in force in Iran 932-1062; Seljuqs 1038-1194, Ayyubid 1169-1250; Ilkhans 1256-1250; Mamluqs 1250-1517 and also among the Bedouins, Kurds, Turkmen and serviced Mongol invasions. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol. V, 15th ed, Chicago, 1973, pp. 416-17. The *iqta* system was also adopted by the Sultans of Delhi where it was a territorial assignment and its holder was known and designated as *iqtadar* or *muqti*. Like *jaqirs*, the *iqtas* were also the main instrument for transferring agrarian surplus to the ruling class and its soldiery. So far as the Delhi Sultanate is concerned, the ordinary meaning of *Iqta* in Indo-Persian literature is an Assignment of revenue conditional on future service. It was the *muqti*'s duty to maintain a body of troops available at any time for the king's service. The *muqti* had to collect the revenue due from his charge, and, after defraying sanctioned expenditure, such as the pay of the troops, to remit the surplus to the king's treasury. Tusi, Nizamulmuluk, *Siyasatnama*, Tehran, A.H.S. 1348, pp. 120, 121, 152, 153; Cf. Siraj, Minhaj *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, XXVI-XX; Barni, Ziyauddin, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, pp. 60-61, 140, 220, 222, 323; Afif, Shams Siraj, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, pp. 136, 143; For Details, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Lewis, Ménage, Pellat and Schacht, Leiden, 1971, Vol. III, pp. 1088-1090. Moreland, W.H., *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Delhi Reprint, 1968, pp. 217-221; Habib, Irfan, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Delhi, 1982, Vol. I, pp. 68-70; Ashraf, K.M., *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi 1970, pp. 86-87; Topa, Ishwari, *Government and Politics During the Sultanate Period*, Bombay; 1936, pp. 138-51; Habib, Irfan, *Economy of the Delhi Sultanate*, IHR, Vol. IV, Part II, 1978; Habib, Mohammad and Nizami, Khaliq Ahmad, *Comprehensive History of India*, Delhi, 1982, Vol. V, pp. 226-27, 288.

of the Sultans of Delhi. No doubt that there was some semblance between *mansabdari* and *jagirdari* but simultaneously there were a few essential differences which were adopted to fulfil the requirements of the time and track, though the designation and official works were similar up to some extent, their functions were quite different. The middle age in India in general, and Jodhpur in particular, saw the domination of feudalism. The *maharaja* as a rule gave out land as a reward for services, usually of a military nature. In the course of history this system in terms of army, *tankha* or for that matter revenue, was based on the *jagir* or *pattadari* system and not on *mansab*. As such, a major part of state territory was assigned against *jagir*. The *patta* entitling the assignee to collect revenue for the maintenance of the *jagiri* force was also called *sanad*, *patta* or *haq pattadari*. The *jagir* was assigned under certain terms and conditions which the holder had to fulfil. The service obligations, along with the arms as well as the breed of the horse and the place of the holdings, were invariably mentioned in it. The practice of granting *jagir* in lieu of military service was one of the most prominent features. The grantee or a *pattadar* was also obliged to accept certain obligations, which was known as *chakri*. The *chakri-ka-patta* also contained in it the specific number of *aswars*, *payaks*, *barkandaz*, beasts of burden and *barood-ban* which were meant to be maintained by a *jagirdar*. The granting of a *patta* was a set procedure wherein the grantee had to furnish a *jakho* or *zamani*. The *jagirdar* also paid the *qaid* money at the time of assignment of a *jagir*. The privilege granted to a *jagirdar* was mentioned in the *patta*. For the maintenance of troops, a *jagirdar* was empowered to collect revenue from the *jagir*. But the ownership of the peasants remained un-disturbed. The *jagirdar* also considered himself a part of the *bhaibant pratha* in which he considered himself to be a co-sharer of the state. The *maharaja* was only a *primus inter pares*. The advent of the Mughal in *Rajputana* brought about a fundamental change in their relationship. Their relations with their sovereigns now became that of a servant and a master resulting in the *patta* system based upon hierarchy of ranks. It was during the time of *maharaja* Sur Singh (1595-1619 A.D.) that the old concept of *bhaibant* was replaced by hierarchy of ranks. After the death of the grantee the *maharaja* had the option to bestow the same *jagiri patta* upon his son or relative. He could increase, reduce, and even confiscate a *jagir*, too. The *jagirs* were transferable in principal but the *pattas* remained with the grantee so long he served faithfully. As is revealed from the *patta bahi* of Jodhpur, most of the *chakri pattas* were granted on the borders of the state to safeguard the frontiers. After Jaswant Singh the land given to an officer in lieu of his military services or to maintain his respectability, or to one who agreed to serve the *raj-shree-Jodhpur* whenever called upon, was also called *shirayat jagir*. There

were different kinds of *jagirs* and *shirayat jagirdars*, such as *rajvis*, *graya*, *thakur*, *bhomiya*, *chakiridar*, *ulfati*, *rajlok*, *hajurka*, *punyaudak*, *sasan*, *tazmi*, *rasora*, *bhog*, *bhanij*, *devsthan*, *danki*. All the above mentioned *jagir*, or for that matter, *jagirdars* can be classified into three categories: (i) Members of the ruling family known as *rajvi*, (ii) fiefholder known as *bhomiya* or *jagirdar*, (iii) chief officials such as *divan*, *bakhshi*, *kiledar*, known as *tazimi*, *kurabwala*, *shirayatwala* etc. The *jagirdars* enjoyed various privileges. The *jagirdar* of Pokran and Ahua enjoyed the privilege of attesting civil and military orders and grants. The *thakur* of Merta and Bagri enjoyed special honour. Maharaja Sur Singh made some changes in the *jagiri* system on the Mughal pattern, but these changes were of minor nature. For example, some *jagirdars* were given the new title of *umaraos*, where as others were given the traditional title of *jagirdar* or *bhomiya* or *thakur*. The *umaraos* of Jodhpur, while entering the *darbar* hall of Jodhpur, paid *mujra* and *kornish* to the ruler and touched his feet. From his time some villages in each *jagir* or *pargana* were kept as *khalsa* villages, while the rest were assigned to *jagirdars* in lieu of their military service. To keep a check over the *jagirdars*, the Mughal policy of changing the *jagir* after or within three to four years was adopted. But this system proved harmful for the villagers because the *jagirdars* did not take pains to improve their respective *jagirs* and remained busy getting the maximum out of it. Therefore this system had to be abolished and a hereditary system was once again enforced. It is relevant to note here that the Indian form of feudalism differed from the European both in the predominance of state ownership of the land and the continued existence throughout most of the country up to the present day of a rural community based on a caste system. But at the same time nowhere in the Indian historical sources is there any document establishing the monarch's ownership of the land. By Indian law the ruler collected taxes only because he defended against invasion. However, in practice, this state tax was levied in such amounts as to make it a feudal rent, whose collection the ruler granted to his military commanders. So far as the *mansabdari* system is concerned the *mansabdar* formed the ruling group in the Mughal Empire. Almost the whole nobility, the bureaucracy as well as the military hierarchy, held *mansab* and the officer was known as *mansabdar*.⁵

5 The term *mansab* indicated under the Mughals the position of its holder in the official hierarchy. A *mansab* by itself did not constitute any office; but apart from determining the status of its holder, it also fixed his pay while it laid upon him the obligation of maintaining a definite number of troopers with horses and equipment. According to Abul Fazl, it was in the 18th regnal year 1573-4, that the *dagh* was introduced, and the ranks of the imperial officials were fixed. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 69; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 123-4, 180-90; Badauni, too, relates the *mansabs* directly to the number of *mansabdars'* troopers (*tabinan*), Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 190; Mutamad Khan says: The

Akbar and Aurangzeb realized their military importance and tried to alienate them from their *maharajas* and for this Mughal emperors enrolled some of them as *mansabdars* and induced Nagor, Merta, Idar and Jalor to accept his sovereignty. Consequently, the loyalty of some *jagirdars* were transferred to the Mughals, thus weakening their military powers.

The *jagirdars* were paid partly in *jagir* and partly in cash. Petty officials were always paid in cash. The state helped its officials in times of need as well. Advances were made to them on furnishing adequate security. An official appointed newly to a high command needed money and sometimes borrowed it from private money-lenders by furnishing adequate *adana*. The frequent transfer of *jagirs* often created confusion in accounts. The result was that the settlement of accounts was not promptly made. *Jagirdars* were also fined *zurmana*, *tafawat*, *duno*, etc. and the amount was deducted from their pay by order of the *bakhshi*. The system of horse loan and pension benefits were also in practice, but for important persons only. So far as I have ascertained, there was no pension list under that express name. No retiring allowance could be claimed as of right. Of course, when a prominent *jagirdar* retired from active military service, we hear sometimes of his being granted a piece of land for *guzara* or being granted land as *mafi*. The pay scales were attractive. The maintenance of a large standing army cost the state a major part of their revenues. It has been estimated that at times more than 50 % of the state's budget was spent on the maintenance of state forces. But the burden was not felt by the people because defence and protection were the two most important functions of the time. In cases of emergency, loans were raised by

mansabs were fixed according to the capacity for maintaining and organising a contingent', *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, p. 288. Nizamuddin Ahmad also provided valuable information, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 456; Lahori, Abdul Hamid, *Badshahanama*, Vol. I, pp. 292-312, 717-37. For details-William, Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, London, 1903, pp. 3-11; Aziz, Abdul, *Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, London, 1945, pp. 3, 16-25, 147-9; Sharma, S.R., *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 6, 176-81; Habib, Irfan, *The Agrarian system of the Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 264-65, 317-51, 334-38; Ali, Athar, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1968, pp. 38-60; Moosvi, Shireen, *The economy of the Mughal Empire – 1595*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 201-19. Besides these, under mentioned articles are also of eminent value: Moreland, W.H., *Ranks (Mansab) in the Mughal state service*, JRAS, London, 1936, pp. 650-5; Habib, Irfan, *The Mansab system, 1595-1637*, Proc. IHC, 1967, pp. 232-49; *Mansab salary scale under Jahangir and Shahajahan*, *Islamic culture*, Vol. LIX, No. 3, 1985; Moosvi, Shireen, *Evolution of the Mansab system under Akbar*, JRAS, London, No. 2, 1981, pp. 173-85. For an excellent account of *jagirdari* system, please see Tod, Col. James, *Rajasthan ki yudha sewa vishyak jagirdari pratha*, ed. by Sinha, R.R, Bankipur, 1936, pp. 1-168.

the state. It can be accepted that *jagirdari pratha* remained the backbone of the army of Jodhpur ⁶.

Honours, Rewards and Distinctions:

The *jagirdari* system was highly influenced by the *mansabdari* system, and so also the system of rewards. Various types of honours such as ornaments, swords, daggers, *pagris*, *palkis*, horses, elephants with rich trapping, kettle drums, *nishans*, *panjah*, money grants etc. were conferred. The system of entitlement was based on *rajputi* customs and *upadhi* such as *rao*, *raoraja*, *maharaja*, *tahkur*, *rajvi*, *sahib bahadur mukhitiyar*, *hakim*, *ekevri tazim*, *hath-ka-kurab*, *bav pasav*, *sirayat*, *doharitam*, *khargbandi*, *siropav*, *hath-kasiropav*, *palki-ka-siropav sarpech*, etc. were granted to the subjects.⁷

6 *Haqikat Bahi* No. 27, pp. 620-621; *Audha Bahi* No. 3, V.S. 1789, pp. 33-34; *Bahi Bakhshikhana* V.S. 1818, pp. 131-45; *Fauj Kilajat Jodhpur*, V.S. 1803; *Bahi Fauj Ki*, pp. 13-18; *Merta Thane-re-Bahi* V.S. 1781, pp. 1-9, 35-49, 103-8; *Jalore Thane-re-Bahi* V.S. 1807, pp. 35, 38, 39-41, 43-57; *Tankha-re-Kagzata-re-Bahi*, V.S. 1835, pp. 65-89; *Patta Bahi* No. 18 V.S. 1803; *Bahi Bakhshikhana*, V.S. 1804; *Jalor Kanvensara-re-Bahi* V.S. 838, pp. 3-17; File No. 31 *Jagir Misal Jodhpur* V.S. 1889, pp. 6-9, Jodhpur Archives, henceforth JA; *Bahi Bakhshikhana* V.S. 1787, pp. 3-28, *Kumpawat Maheshdasot Kantalia-re-Khyat*, pp. 59, 68-70; *Haqikat Bahi* No. 41, pp. 28-29, 98-105, 385-87. RSA.

7 *Titles, honours and privileges*, File No. C. 1/7-A, Vol. I, pp. 18-34; *Haqikat Bahi* No. 4, p. 131; *Haqikat Bahi* No. 51, pp. 142-44. *Basta* No. 40 *Book* No. 7; *Khas Rukka parwana Bahi* No. 9, pp. 8-16, 17-23; *Sanad Bahi* No. 10, pp. 103-8; *Haqikat Bahi* No. 37, pp. 135, 137-161-62; Hardayal Singh, Munshi, *Majmuce Halat wa Intjam Raj Marwar*, 1883-84, Litho-copy, Jodhpur, 1884, pp. 360-68; Hardayal, *Tawarikh Jagirdaran*, Jodhpur n.d. pp. 3-8; compare the couplet:

“*Riya Kharwa Raipur Auwa Aasopi
Bagri Kananon Khivsar Aathon Vishal Anop.*”

Haqikat Bahi No. 27, pp. 618-623; *Haqikat Khata Register* No. 70, pp. 18-21. It is relevant to note here that usually the *maharaja* held six festive *durbars* in a calender year viz. *Akha Teej*, *Dushera*, *Dewali*, *Holi*, *Rakshabandhan* and on his own birthday in which *upadhis* were conferred. *Haqikat Bahi* No. 44 and 49; Sharma G.D, *Rajput polity*, Delhi, 1977, 106-18; Ojha, G.H, *Jodhpur Rajya Ka Itihas*, Vol. I & II, Ajmer, 1936, Hardayal, M, *Tawarikh Jagirdaran Raj Marwar*, Jodhpur, 1911; Sharma, Dashratha, *Lecture on Rajput History*, Delhi, 1970, chapter on *diwan* Nansi of Jodhpur; Sharma, Padmaja, *Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur*, Agra, 1972, 108-61; Alavi, A, *New Light on Mughal Cavalry*, Medieval India, Vol. II, Aligarh, 1972, pp. 70-98; Qaisar, A.J, *Note on the Date of Institution of Mansab under Akbar*, Proc. IHC, 1961, pp. 155-7; Sharma, G.N, *Were the Rulers of Rajasthan Zamindar?*, RS, Agra, 1970, pp. 206-8; Chandra, Satish, *Medieval India, Jagirdari System*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 32-9; Sharma, G.D, *Jodhpur Hakumat ri Bahi*, Meerut, 1977, pp. 133-46; Sharma, Dashratha, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 705-14; Sharma, Mathura Lal, *Kota Rajya Ka Itihas*, Kota, 1939, Vol. II, pp. 136-45; Bhadani, B.L, *Pargana Merta Jodhpur* IHC Proc. 1975; Khan, I.A, *The Middle Class in the Mughal Empire*, Proc. IHC Session, 1975, pp. 833 (i) 1-24; Grover, B.R, *Nature of Land Rights in Mughal Indian History*, IESHR, Vol. I, p. 1; *Nature of Raqba-bandi Todar Mali 1001 Fasli wa Tappah-*

Discipline and Drill:

In the beginning, they had no written military code and regular daily drills. But when a *jagirdar* was present at the capital he took his turn for a week's duty, which was known as *thikri pehrah*. He also paraded his troops for imperial review⁸ under the *jharokha-darshan*. When the army marched to battle, sometimes defensive works were thrown up⁹, the playing of *chaugan*, *sekargah* and *kilabandi* kept the *dal* active and made some sort of preparedness among them necessary. Soon the rulers of Jodhpur enforced a strict system of discipline, but after the death of Ajit Singh it was hampered by family feuds and jealousy. Ultimately, Man Singh was forced to obtain the services of European instructors for this purpose, and then only the disciplined units of Jodhpur succeeded in achieving the highest point among the native forces and displayed matchless chivalry even in the world wars.¹⁰

Military Personnel:

The officers after *maharaja* were *diwan*, *bakhshi*, *vakil*, *daroga-i-selekhkhana*, *pheelkhana*, *baroodkhana*, *topkhana*, *shutarkhana*, *nakkarkhana*, *kotwal*, *kiladar*, *faujdar*, *diyodidar*, *purohit*, *dhabhai*, *mirdha*, *khansama*, *ahalkar*, *mir munshi*, *dastri*, *nayab*, *potedar*, *hakim*, *thanedar*, *daroga*, *wakianavis*, etc. Let me explain in brief the positions, powers and functions of these officers. The *diwan* was the king's minister par excellence. As his department arranged for the payment of salaries, all transfers, postings, promotions, retirements, resig-

band-hi, IHRC, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 35-60; Cohn, B.S., *Structural Changes in Rural society, Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed. Frykenberg, R.E, London, 1969, RKS Photo copy pp. 6-19; Nurul Hasan, S., *Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal India*, Bombay, 1973, pp. 17-18; *Zamindars under the Mughals*, Delhi, 1971, pp. 2-23; Khan, A.R., *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the Reign of Akbar*, Simla, 1977, pp. 68-81; Compare, *Taqsim, Arhsatta, Madad-i-mash, Ijara and Patta documents* RSA Bikaner, Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, 'Marwar Jodhpur', Kurukshetra University Research Journal, Vol. XVI-XVII, 1982, pp. 21-9.

8 Compare Gaj Singh's camping activities at *thana* Sadri, Mohamad Kambu, *Amal-i-Saleh*, p. 72; Lahori, Abdul Hamid, *Badshahnama*, Vol. I, pp. 171-72-73; *Jodhpur-re-Khyat*, Vol. I, p. 128. And Jaswant Singh's encampment at Lahore, Kabul, Samugarh Khajwa, Ujjain, etc., see Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol. II, pp. 506-627; Compare the horses' show of Nagor, cattle fair of Jodhpur, Polo matches and Guard of Honours held in honour of the Emperors, Viceroys and Governor-General, such as Akbar, Shahjahan, Field Marshal Viscount Allenby, Lord Birdwood and Major General G.A.H. Peatty, etc. Pancholy, Brij Raj, *Pancholy-ki-khyat*, Khivsar Ms. ff. 6 (a) to 172 A. Cf. *RKS Thesis*, pp. 260-79.

9 See *Pancholy ms.* op. cit., ff 6 A - 12 A, 30 A - 30 B, ff 153 (a) - 172 (B).

10 Cf. *Kharita Bahi* No. 12, 13; *Haqiqat Bahi* No. 1036; *Kharita Bahi* No. 10, RSA; *Foreign Political Consultation* No. 32, 1834 Nos. 34-66 National Archives of India, New Delhi, henceforth NAI; *Kharita* of Governor General to *maharaja* of Jodhpur, *Sardar Risala File Jodhpur*; *Hath Bahi* No. 4; *Khata Bahi* No. 6, *Jama-kharch File* No. 43 RSA.

nations, absences from duty, and dismissals were reported to him. The *diwans* of Jodhpur often proved great and successful military commanders as well. *Diwan* Singhvi Inderraj performed spells of military duty and acquitted himself creditably.¹¹ Later, his successors also performed such functions. *Diwan* enjoyed the authority of appointing *kotwals*, *darogas*, *faujders*, *wakiyanavis*, *munshi* and other officials. Like other Rajput rulers, it seems to me that in Jodhpur too, the principle of appointing a non-Rajput as *diwan* was followed.¹² *Bakhshi*, the chief military adviser, also worked as the Inspector-General of the *jagirdar's* contingents and a paymaster, holding annual reviews of troopers. He was usually the king's chief adviser in recommending honours, increments, awards and also supposed to be an expert of the veterinary science. His office was known as *bakhshikhana*. A *munshif*, *dabir*, *karkun*, reader, and a *munshi* helped him in the discharge of his duties. He kept descriptive roll of soldiers, horses, camels, elephants, and oxen and sent the attendance certificate under his stamp affixed to the office of the *diwan*.

- 11 Compare the military success of the *diwans* of Jodhpur, particularly of Singhvi Inder Raj. It was he who had brought Man Singh from the fort of Jalor to Jodhpur and installed him on the throne of Jodhpur in the teeth of opposition on the part of Dhonkal Singh. Again, it was Inder Raj who had successfully foiled the siege of Jodhpur and dispersed the confederacy formed against Man Singh by his own kith and kin to support the cause of Dhonkal Singh, the pretender. See Couplet "*Padhtey ghera Jodhpur, Aayo dal ju Asanbha (...) Aabha dingtey Indadha tey didho bhujthambha*" Also see his letter: "*Singhvi Indraj kasya suprasad banch jo tatha pachli ratra Jaypurwala kunchkar gaya aur morcha vikhar gaya sun thane badon jas ayon (...) aj sun tharon diyoron raj hai maharan Rathoron ron bansa resi ne o raj karsi unthraj ghar sunahsan man rahasin (...) Bhadva sud I. V.S. 1864 Ra*" Also compare the couplet:

"*Beri maran mirkhan raj kaj indraj
maiton sarney nath re nath sudharay kaj*".

It may be added here that by his subtle diplomacy, prowess and political acumen he had compelled the neighbouring states of Bikaner, Jaipur and Udaipur to acquiesce in the terms favourable to Man Singh. No wonder that he rose in his estimation and enjoyed his implicit confidence. *Khas Rukha*, *Basta* No. 34 File No. 40, pp. 107-108; *Oswal Jati-ka-itihās*, 6 pp. 60-61, RSA.

- 12 Compare the appointment of Singhvi Inderraj, Akhey Chand and Gulraj. The famous *diwans* were Netsi, Dev Dutt Joshi, Govinddas, Maheshdas, Ragunath, Fatehmal, Surat Ram, Raj Singh Kumpawat, Uttam Chand, Singhi Jeetmal, Surajmal, Inder Raj, Ganga Ram, Akhey Chand, Shambhu Joshi, Gulraj, Fateh Raj, Gambheermal, Jodh Raj, Kusal Raj, Haji Mohammad Khan, Mr. J. Tylor, Munshi Fazullahkhan and Lt. Col. Sir Donald Field C.I.E. It is relevant to note here that except Govinddas and Maheshdas all were non-Rajputs. *Marwar-ki-khyat*, Vol. III, *Tawarikh Jodhpur*, *Basta* No. 40 Book No. 7; *Basta* No. 34 File No. 40; *Basta* No. 34 File No. 40; *Audha Bahi* Nos. 8, 9, 11, 18, RSA; Shyamal Das, Kavi-*raja*, *Vir Vinod*, Udaipur State Publication n.d., p. 866; *Foreign Political Consultation*, Rajputana Agency Office File, No. 13-14; *Secret Consultations*, No. 102; *Foreign Political Consultation*, Nos. 13-14. NAI.

Jaswant Singh's chief *bakhshi* was assisted by associate *bakhshis*, such as *tan bakhshi*, *desh-ka-bakhshi*, *bakhshi-i-kila*, *bayad bakhshi* and the *piyad bakhshi*. Like the *diwan*, a person of the non-military class was normally appointed to this post.¹³

Next came the *vakil*, who was the representative at the Mughal court. He watched the political as well as military activities at the Mughal court and kept his ruler acquainted with the important military events. Though he did not enjoy the rank of a minister, his was a post of honour, repute and considerable importance.¹⁴ *Daroga-i-selekhkhana* was in charge of the armoury. Likewise other departments were also headed by a *daroga*. *Kotwal* was in charge of a city and *kiladar*¹⁵ was a fort garrison master. *Faujdar* was in charge of *pargana*. *Wakianavis* and *daroga-i-dakchoki* were appointed by the rulers to run the civil and military post.¹⁶

Infantry, Cavalry, Elephant and Camel Corps:

The infantry formed a miscellaneous unit¹⁷: It included swordsmen and *bhalabardar* among the combatant services, and spies, guards, wrestlers, porters,

13 Cf. *Bahi Fauj Bakhshikhana Jodhpur*, V.S. 1787, 1796, 1788, 1989, 1803, 1868; *Audha Bahi* Nos. 6, 7. It is mentioned in the *Audha Bahi* No. 7 that the *bakhshi* was expected to be an expert of the veterinary science. The *bakhshigiri* was almost hereditary. According to Col. Sutherland, there were apparently two or three classes of ministers, who alternately succeeded to the office of the *bakhshi*. See, A letter from Col. Sutherland to Wedlock dated Oct. 20, 1839, *Foreign Political Consultations*, Feb. 24, 1840, No. 34 (Para 16) NAI. It is relevant to note here that often a Singhvi *gharana* holds this post, however, sometimes a suitable *bania* with military skill was also chosen; *bhandari*, a famous *bania gharana*, frequently shared this responsibility. Bhim Raj Thanvi Samburam, Bhaiya Shivdan, Jagannath Bal Krishna, Daulatram, Swami Ram, Gulraj, Inder Raj, Banraj, Fateh Raj Singhvi and Amar Singh Bhandari were the famous *bakhshis* of Jodhpur Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Rajput Bakhshi*, Journal of RISS, Bissau 1974, pp. 30-32.

14 Important *Vakils* during the period under review were; Shayamdas, Amar Singh, Dinanath, Vayas Jai Karan, Govindas, Karam Si and Bhandari Amro. Cf. letter from Maharaja Abhay Singh to *bhandari* Amaro dated 2nd day of the darkhalf of Kartika V.S. 1787; letter dated 5th day of the darkhalf of Chaitra V.S. 1875, File concerning *Khato-Kitab, Dholian-ka-kothar*, RSA.

15 The famous *kiladars* were, Gulraj, Sobhawat Keshri Singh, Fateh Singh, Udai Karan, Nathkaran, Jaiso and Khichi Sunder Das, *Haqiqat Bhai* No. 9, *Jalore Convansar-re Bahi* V.S. 1803, J.A.

16 Cf. *RKS Thesis*, Chapter on the Army Personnel.

17 The rulers of Jodhpur also employed the Pindaris and Marathas. Gopal Trimbak Rao was employed by Abhay Singh, on recommendation from Malhar Rao Holkar in Feb. 1747, on a yearly salary of rupees four hundred. Sometimes maratha deserters also secured jobs. The infantry of Hira Singh and Dan Singh were employed by Man Singh. Cf. A letter from Maharaja Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 3rd day of the bright-half of the Bhadrpada V.S.

sappers and miners, carpenters, water carriers and camp followers of various kinds among the non-combatants. Later on, musketeers were also employed. This decentralized organization proved very useful, particularly during hand to hand fighting, which was the most common mode then. The infantry used bows, arrows, swords, lances and the battle axe.

The rulers began to pay more attention to the *aswaran* because they saw the Mughal tactics using cavalry and their excellence on horse-back¹⁸. They realized that a fast-moving cavalry was very useful in sudden attacks. The cavalryman and his horse were both well protected, the horse was caparisoned with steel and plate and the soldiers with mail and a head protector. The soldier had two swords, the scabbard of one was attached to the saddle, besides he had bow and arrow, mace and battle axes. The foot soldiers were provided with long bows and arrows, besides swords and daggers. *Jodhpuri* horses were famous for their swiftness and power. Their famous horses were: *Gajturang*, *Fathey*, *Pukh Raj*, *Surajpasav*, *Arjan*, *Kanak*, *Kalash*, *Yudha Singar*, *Mdanmura*, etc. The wages of a *sawar* depended upon the kind of horse he rode.¹⁹ It is relevant to note here that there was a great demand for horses because, apart from the enormous military demand, the animal was also commonly employed for conveyance, pleasure-riding, *chaugan* and racing. The choice animals found a ready market for the army and the fondness for horses was by no means confined to the officers' class. The military experts were equally anxious to revise their old-time ideas and were slowly substituting elephants by horses. Thus there was a great demand for the supply of horses, specially from the time of *rao* Jodha ji. Traders, cultivators, peasants and villagers had to pay duty taxes at varying rates for the purpose. The Rajput rulers monopolized horse trading and fixed the prices of the market sales of horses.

Sometimes the authorities also encouraged horse trading by giving facilities and privileges to Muslim traders, remission in taxes, granting loans, building *bazars*, giving shelter and protection along the highways, providing safety and security, and instructing the officers not to harass the horse traders.²⁰ For the maintenance of state cavalry taxes were levied on the people of Jodhpur. Every cultivator had to give a share of the grass produced in his field. It was

1865 *Arzee Bahi* Nos. 4, 5; *Hath Bahi* No. 3; Barhat Bishan, *Vijay Vilas*, *Grantha* No. 25, *Basta* No. 14, RSA. Cf. *RKS Thesis* Chapter on the Infantry.

18 Irvine, William, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, New Delhi, 1962, pp. 37-40; Cf. *RKS Thesis*, Chapter on the Cavalry.

19 *Jalor convensar ri Bahi* V.S. 1847, 1848; *Jalor Hukumat re Kagzat* No. 89; *Fauj re Chabutra re Bahi* V.S. 1891, J.A.

20 Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *The Bazar*, All India Seminar jointly organised by the Indian Council of Historical Research and the Department of History, Sukhadia University, UR, India, 23 October, 1989.

one bullock-cart load of grass per plough of land. Later on, it was converted into cash at the rate of eight annas per bullock-cart.²¹ *Nal bandi* or *nal bar* tax was realized for keeping up the *sawaran-i-Jodhpur*. *Rukhawali-ri-bachh* was another tax. In the *pargana* Malani the villagers had to supply milk for the young horses, and this custom was known as *seedbar*. Later on, it was made a tax along with the *khichri* tax. Villages which did not pay *khichri* had to pay *rasadbav*.²² During the time of royal encampment the villagers had to arrange *ghas*, *ghee*, *dudh*, *rassi*, *mekh* and *chob* for tying up the horses through the *chobdar's* office.²³ The fodder was also provided by the villagers. The leaves of *moth* were used as fodder, which was known as *korad* tax. In the area adjacent to Mewar, *birghas* was also levied at the rate of one *paisa* per head of cattle.²⁴ During the winter season warm clothes were provided to the horses, and for this a tax, named *ghoda kambal*, was levied, which was collected from the *pargana* of Merta, Mallani, Bilara, Jaitaran, Jalore, Nagor and Maroth.²⁵ Horses were regularly purchased from far and near; Nagor, Bikaner, Phalodi, Makrana, Umar Kot, Nadol, Pali, and Jalore appeared to be the main trading towns.²⁶ Besides Persian and Arab merchants, the *marwari vyopari* also imported horses.²⁷ A *Rajasthani* verse, composed by a court *charan* refers to the very extensive and lucrative trade and records Hormuj, Arab, Rum, Kandhar, Kabul, Uzbekistan, Khurasan, Makran, Gujarat, Sindh etc. from where good quality horses were procured for the Kingdom.²⁸ Up to the 19th century Persian and *turki* horses were supplied through the markets of Sindh, Gujrat, Ajmer and Merta. Mughal emperors also used choice Persian horses as gifts to acquire *rajputi* supports. A Persian horse named *badraftar* was pre-

21 File No. 29/4 Part 1, 1893 *Mahakma Khas havala*; File *hakumat lag* 1893.

22 *Marwar Hakumat ri bahi NO. 17 Jaswant Singh re raj ri*, pp. 136-141.

23 *Hakumat ri lag bag 1895 Chobdar re bach Jodhpur*, pp. 81-83.

24 *Daftar Hazuri bahi Dargaba Merta Fauj kharch 1803 ri*.

25 *Ghoda Kambal Jalor Bahi* V.S. 1865 RSAJ.

26 Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Purba*, Panjab University Research Journal, Vol. XX, No. 1, Chandigarh, 1989, pp. 1-23.

27 *Sanad Parwana Bahi Jodhpur* V.S. 1823, RSA.

28 Compare the couplet:

"*Hurmajji kachi mukrani*

Khandhar Herrabi Khursani

Arabbi rumi ujbakka

Samhadi sambar kandakka

Badkksi Kabil rohai (...)

Multana Sindhu Thattai (...)

Lahari Hansi Hinsari (...)

Ajmera (...)", Gadan, Keshodas, *Gajgunrupak-Bandha*,

Rajasthani Text, Ms. No. 99, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, pp. 179-80, henceforth RORIJ.

sented to *maharaja* Jaswant Singh by the Emperor and Akbar, Jahangir, Shahajahan and Aurangzeb did likewise.²⁹ In spite of many references, it seems to me that owing to their cost Persian horses remained a very coveted breed for the use of a *aswar*, and only the *rajvi* and *khurabwala* trooper could afford them.

Elephants were used for two co-related operations of the army in the actual warfare, and to carry supplies.³⁰ The heavy cannons could only be taken to the battlefield by numbers of elephants and were known as *gajnal*, *hathnal*, or sometimes *chhatnal*.³¹ The elephants were provided with armour, girths, blankets, neckropes, bells, hooks, quivers, banners, hurling contrivances for stones, and lances. On the back of each beast seven warriors took their seats. Two of them carried hooks, two were excellent archers, two swordsmen and, finally, a man with a lance and the banner of the state. Elephants were used either in a block or in a line to break the gates of forts. Heavy iron chains and swords were tied to their trunks and were wielded by the elephants against the enemy. Famous elephants were *Dariyao Josh*, *Jagannath*, *Ganesh*, *Lekh Sunder*, *Murat Singar*, *Pukh Raj*, *Mam Raj*, *Gaj Tilak*, *Madhukar*, *Junak Rao*, *Fauj Singar*, *Bhaktawar*, *Skhvidan*, *Hatni Rangeli*, *Hathni Sahib*, *Harni*, *Rama*,

29 I have given some 294 names of the war horses. Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *LSSS Journal of History* NSC, 1974, pp. 1-22.

30 Kavia, Kamidan, *Suraj Prakash* Ms. No. 67, RORII, pp. 5-7; *Rathoran-ki-khyat*, Vol. I, *Tafsil* Maldeo and Jaswant Singh, RORI, Udaipur; Bhatta, Ranchor, *Rajprashasthi Mahakavya*, Sanskrit inscription on the wall of lake Raj Samundra, V.V. 30:1:3.

31 *Havala Bahi* Nos. 3, 4; *Jodhpur Hakumat-ri-Bahi*, Sitamau Text, pp. 83-108, 111-23; *Bahi Fauj Jodhpur* V.S. 1869; *Gajnal* and *Hathnal* – The words mean literally “elephant barrel” or the cannon which was transported by elephant; Fazl, Abul, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 113; however, Irvine is of the opinion that “they were carried on elephants back” therefore known as *gajnal*. Cf. Irvine, William, *op.cit.*, p. 135. But we have definite information that *gajnals* or *hathnals* could not be taken on elephant's back up to the battlefield as they were too heavy to pull even by numbers of elephants. Only sippa-guns were taken to the battlefield on elephant's back. Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Kachhwahatopkhana*, SS University Journal Udaipur, 1973, Vol. XXIV-2-3, pp. 86-90. It has already been pointed out by me that sometimes *gajnals* were transported by as many as twenty elephants or more than a hundred oxen, so how could they be used from the elephant back? It may be stated here that only *shippa* or small cannon could be placed on the elephants back, but for transport only and dismounted before it was discharged. Heavy cannons were transported and pulled by elephants, and that is why they were known as *gajnal*, *hathnal* or even *gajnalika*. Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Rajputi Topkhana*, Journal of NSSS, 1972, pp. 11-12. So far as *chhatnal* is concerned the word means literally 'barrel mounted on roof top or on the boundry wall, moatwall, fortwall and on city walls'. Some *chhatnals* are still displayed on the fortwall of Jodhpur. Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Mehakma Pheelkhana Abhilekh*, Journal of Pratap Research Institute, Udaipur, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 33-34.

Gajapuran, Manglo. Net Singar etc.³² After the introduction of firearms, the importance of elephants decreased because the elephants could not face the firearms and when wounded they ran back trampling the soldiers of their own army.

According to Kautilya the camel is very useful in desert battles.³³ It was also a geographical requirement of the state which favoured the camel as an animal of military transport. The system of fighting from their backs was innovated by *rao* Jodha Ji. Maldeo felt the ardent necessity of a separate *shutarkhana* followed by Ajit Singh and Abhay Singh. The rulers of Jodhpur utilized camels in their Gujrat and Deccan expeditions. During an expedition every camel was loaded with gun-powder bags and riders were provided two guns, banners and kettle drums. In due course, police duties were also assigned to the camel corps.³⁴

Arms, Armoury and Artillery:

The arms may be divided into three categories: (i) Swords and shields (ii) maces, battle-axes, spears, daggers, (iii) the *kaman, ban* and firearms. They also used some peculiar arms such as *sirohi-ki-nipni, manashahi, ramshahi, jezah, sainthi, ballam, panchmukhi, katar, katari, jamdhag, khanjar, pesh-qabza, tegha, tir, tukka banduq, shutarnali, jazail, banduq, ghordaham, sherbachah, dhamaka, ghabarah, deg, gaznal, hathnal, rehkalah, organ, kisanwa, ramban* and *firangitamancha*.³⁵ Cannons and muskets were unknown to them before the battle of Khanwa. They learnt the use and importance of *topkhana* after they came into contact with the Mughals. In the beginning,

32 Compare the paintings of Mehrabgarh, Nagor, Jalor, Siwana, Pokran and Jodhpur; *Bahi Bakhshikana Jodhpur* V.S. 1769; *Rathoran-ki-khyat, tafsil* Udai Singh, Sur Singh, Gaj Singh, Jaswant Singh, Ajit Singh, Abhey Singh and Vijay Singh, Text No. 11, RORI Udaipur; *Bahi Pheel Khana Jodhpur* V.S. 1763; 1808; 1809; 1810; RSA.

33 Chanakya, *Arthashastra*, Kangle (ed.) Bombay, 1965, IX, 1; Jodha's military activities in Marwar, specially in the area of Nagor, Chhapar, Janglu, Ajmer, Pokran, Phalodhi, Sambhar, Sojat, Nagor Merta, Godwad, Jaitaran, Fatehpur, etc., *Rathoran-ki-khyat*, Vol. I, pp. 3-38; Bikaner and Jaisalmer expeditions of *rao* Maldeo, *Marwar-ki-khyat*, Vol. I, pp. 18, 73-74; *Nansi-ki-khyat*, Vol. I, pp. 108, 113.

34 Compare Jaisalmer, Bikaner and Balkh expeditions of the camel *risala*, Bhatt, Jagjiwan, *Ajitodaya* Sanskrit Ms. P.P. Library, Jodhpur, VV. 24 ff, 35-36; *Bahi Shutarkhana* V.S. 1787, RSA and the couplet "*Jodal baden Balahk tey*" Cf. *RKS Thesis*, chapter on the camel corps.

35 For the descriptions, see the couplet:

*"pag pag nejha gadiya
pag pag gadhi dhal
bibi puchen khan ne
jag keta Jagmal"*.

Badar, Daddhi, *Virmayan*, V.V. 1-1 ff. 1-11, RORI.

cannons were mostly procured from Ahamdabad, Agra and Delhi, and the *sikligars* of Jodhpur began manufacturing them with the help of Mughal technicians. Their famous casting centres were Nagor, Merta, Pokran and Jodhpur. Some guns were also purchased from Gujrat. Sindh, Bijapur and Burhanpur. The British provided them with some modern arms, such as light machine guns, mortars, field guns, pistols, rifles and even aeroplanes, which are preserved in the Ummad Museum and the Fort Museum of Jodhpur.³⁶ The department of arms was known as *mahakma selehkhana*. The Rathors were considered perfect swordsmen and marksmen, and therefore were known as “*Ran Banka Rathor*”.³⁷ There was regular and constant production of armaments in the state. The ordnance department was known as *baroodkhana*. The department of *topkhana* used to cast heavy cannons. The cannons used by Jodhpur can be classified as heavy and light.³⁸ The record left by the Rajput artillerymen cannot be regarded as a glorious one. The Rajput of Jodhpur, like other rulers of *Rajputana*, never excelled in heavy artillery. The lesson taught by General De Boigne,³⁹ in the battle of Merta, is a landmark in the annals of

36 *Bahi Selehkhana Khichi Jodhpur* V.S. 1788-1809. Some of them are still displayed on the fortwall of Jodhpur. The first aeroplane which was presented to Ummad Singh of Jodhpur by the British authorities, reached Jodhpur on November 27th 1924 and is preserved in the Arms Section, Fort Museum Gallery, Jodhpur. Some *Jodhpuri* arms are also displayed in the National Museum, Red Fort Museum Delhi, Ummad Palace Jodhpur Cf. *RKS Thesis* Chapter on the Arms.

37 See couplet:

“*Bal hath banka devra
kartab banka godh
hara banka garh men
ran banka Rathor.*”

Cf. *RKS Thesis*, 'Prologue'.

38 *Bahi Fauj Kila Jodhpur* V.S. 1879: *Bahi Kila Mehrabgarh* V.S. 1784 RSA. A Government of India University Grant Commission sponsored research tour was undertaken by me in September, 1981. During this tour I found displayed numbers of cannons, machine-guns and field-guns with valuable guns inscriptions on the fortwall of Jodhpur. Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, “*Guns Inscriptions of the Rajputs*”. 7th All India Epigraphical Conference Calcutta, 30th December, 1981.

39 De Boigne was one of the most upright and able soldiers then in India. He was born Benoit La Borgne at Chambéry in Savoy on March 8th, 1751, the son of a hide merchant of moderate means. Belonging to a border state he spoke French and Italian with equal fluency, and received by the standards of that time a tolerably good education at the Jesuit college in his native city. His family intended him to become a lawyer, but his own inclination was towards soldiering, for which his massive physique suited him. But there was no place for the son of a hide merchant among the shabby nobility who formed the officer corps of King Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, who then ruled Savoy, so the young La Borgne ennobled himself by changing his name to de Boigne, and crossed the border into France.

Indian artillery. It appears from the records that they neither attained the required excellence in gun casting, nor did they succeed in obtaining the available technological knowhow. Therefore, ultimately, they were compelled to accept a British umbrella for the purpose.

Forts Fortification and Siege Craft:

Strong forts were built and were well watched and garrisoned. The strongest of them was the renowned fort of Jodhpur followed by Nagor, Jalor, Siwana, Sambhar, Neemaj, Auwa, Bagri, Khivsar, Asop, Pokran and Merta. Every fort had its own commandant, called the *kotpal kiledar* or *kiladar*, assisted by a number of junior officers who were well versed in the repair works and handling of siege devices⁴⁰ such as constructions of *sabat*, *gargaj*, *pashib* and bastions. The main cities were protected by *shaharpanah*.⁴¹

But he had learned the art of war in good schools – in the Irish brigade that fought at Fontenoy – in the army of Catherine II against the Turks and in the native army of the East India company at Madras in the very stress of the first Mysore war. He therefore knew the principles of scientific warfare, and he had learned how to apply them to the people and conditions of India, especially of *Rajputana*. It was he who succeeded in defeating the 'chivalrous' army of Jodhpur in the battle of Merta with the help of his modern artillery. Cf. *RKS Thesis*, Chapter on the European Officers.

- 40 The officers were known as *rahbardar*, *rakhwalas*, *sharkhabarias*, *payaks*, *sirehwalas*, *diyodibardars*, *daroga-i-darwazas*, *durgpals*, *kotpals*, etc. Besides officers, *karigars* of Jodhpur were also well versed with the contemporary siegecraft and siege devices as the two undermentioned documents clearly reveal:

Document No. 1

Patra No. 33

Mohar

Seal

"Shree hazur samvat 1874 ukrahey ki garhi Chogh Singh

Kilaranot ko (...).

kot hatyo so tikee bheeta lak reha gayai

ar huzur ko bulavo ayon (...)

so ratya rat kam zari rakhya ro izaro diyon (...)

tira divaya 32, ban nisani (...)

sonisani bandhi (...)

gaj ka man 2 mu 211 dar man 2 ka

311 mu diyan (...)

kot dhala bhut beldar mathey gir pari

tayane chout acen tinka diyan 2 sudi 4 ne tekri uppar

morchha bandha tika diya 541 Sai Ka diya (...)"

The next document also reveals the same feature of the siegecraft technology.

Patra No. 28

Mohar

Seal

The Intelligence Service, Banners and War Music:

After recruitment, agents were put through a rigorous training in the techniques of adopting disguises, changing appearances, science of signalling, secret writing, detection and identification of criminals, manipulating public opinion and dissensions in the enemy ranks. In the war *harawals* were assigned intelligence work. According to the advice of war thinkers *mina, meo, gujars* or *sindhi* were appointed in this department.⁴²

It was a common practice to use flags, ensigned “*ran banka Rathor*” or “*jai mata ji*”. Soldiers wore painted decorative insignia on their shields. The flag of the *jagirdar* was carried on horse-back and the flag of the *maharaja* was carried on an elephant. The banners were also used by *faujdar*s. Numbers of insignia were presented to the rulers of Jodhpur by the Mughals for their active participations. Similarly, war music was popular and *nafiri, turahi, bheri, dhol, nad, singha, danka, shanai, kori, khartal, bigul, dhonsa, banzo, damroo* and *nagara* were their main instruments which were used to announce the victory. After the advent of Europeans western music and instruments were also employed.⁴³

“*Siyān khazana Badava sudi 10 samvat 1784
Shree hazur (...) Pavanta ki gari Hari Singh
Kilaraoot kila radhi hueen (...)
morcha bandhi kareen (...)
morcha bandhya (...)
so sivaya beldar suka sukka sai kam
karayon tayane raj ka rupeea diyan
173 (...)*”

V.S. 1784, RSA Bikaner. For siegecraft technology the letter of Maharaja Abhya Singh, dated 12th day of the bright half of Kartik Vikram Samvat 1787; A letter of Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bandari dated 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra. V.S. 1787, *Rau's copy* RSA.

- 41 *Bahi Siyahnamah Hawala-i-fauj Jodhpur* V.S. 1818; *Bahi Bakhshi-khana Jodhpur* V.S. 1788, 1818; *Siyah-i-khazana ke Abhilekh* V.S. 1789, RSA. For *pashib, sabat, gargaj* and *shaharpanah* Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Delhi Sultanate Kalin Sanya Prabhandha*, C. 1206-1526, Journal of M.M. Research Institute, Deoria, 1977, pp. 46-52.
- 42 *Arthashastra*, op. cit., XI, XII, XVII, XXV, also XXXVII and XXXVIII Cf. Trivedi, S.D, *Secret Services in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 30-31. Cf. *RKS Thesis* Chapter on The Intelligence Service.
- 43 *Havala Bahi* No. 3. Compare the war banners, insignia *Mahi maratib*, China 1900, Panchmark flag, Afghan war, *Kaiser-i-Hind* flags Ummed Museum, Jodhpur; *File No. C 1/7-A, Vol. I, Sardar Risala Military Band File Basta* No. 2. RSA. Cf. *RKS Thesis, op.cit.*, Chapter on the War Music, Songs and Instruments.

Camp:

Each contingent had the shelter of a tent consisting of a cotton cloth raised on two sticks. The kinds of tents were numerous, from *tambu*, a mere low awning, up to the huge imperial *khema*. There were different kinds of tents in use such as *lal tambu*, *shahi tambu*, *shamiyana*, *shamah*, *kanat*, *tambu*, *kargah*, *rajvithakarano*, *khema*, *sarpardah*, *peshkhana*, *derabhar*, *chandni*, *chowki*, *milni*, *vitan* etc. Some of the tents were of an enormous size. One such tent is in the collection of *maharaja* Gaj Singh Ji of Jodhpur and was displayed in the Festival of India, 1985, in the United States of America. A good account of the mode of pitching a camp is to be found in Bernier's account and *Nancy's khayat*.⁴⁴

The Military Expeditions:

The *maharaja* maintained a stable at the capital besides one each at Nagor and Merta. Animals meant for the *maharaja's* use were kept apart as *khasa* or *darbari*. When an expedition was organised, officers were informed to come fully equipped, through the *bakhshi* to join the expedition at a place named in the *sandeso*, *sarkar-ro-kagad* or through *pati pakhen*.⁴⁵ A commander along with a *wakia-navis* and *manzal* of the expedition were then named, who then explained the plan of campaign in the *subhat hall* of a *garh*. The commander present at the capital, camp or in the *darbar* then was given leave to proceed, if necessary, advances were given to them for distribution to their soldiers. For provisions, orders were sent to the *kiladars*. Officers were instructed to keep the roads open and prevent any help coming to the enemy or the rebels from other directions. The provisions were provided by the *banjaras* who followed the army. For lengthy operations and in distant expeditions the supply of provisions from outside presented a very difficult problem. The Central Asian expeditions and the Deccan operations of *maharaja* Jaswant Singh illustrated this weakness of the army. The pathans made procuring local supplies impossible for him, and so did the Marathas in Deccan. The *banjaras* had to supply the armies from elsewhere. When the provisions came, the enemies fell upon the

44 Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, A.D. 1656 to 1668, Delhi ed. 1972, pp. 360-61; *Nancy-ki-khyat*, pp. 218-32; For a brief description of the tent of *maharaja* Gaj Singh: *Times of India*, New Delhi, 1 December, 1985, p. 4; also Irvine, William *op.cit.*, pp. 195, 198.

45 *Kagada-ri-Bahi*, V.S. 1803; *Bahi Merta Ki* V.S. 1789; *Nagor re mal khane re bahi* V.S. 1806; *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. I, p. 177; A letter from Ram Singh to Bhawani Singh of Danta dated 4th day of the bright half of Ashadha V.S. 1810. I am thankful to Dr. Manohar Sharma for this information. For the practice of *Pati-pakhen* Cf. *RKS Thesis op.cit.*, System of Expeditions.

carvans bringing them and compelled the army of Jodhpur either to order off large contingents for guarding the incoming supplies or die of starvation.⁴⁶

Usually the expeditions started at a lucky moment selected by *gyotishis* or *purohits*, and the army marched looking for auspicious signs. Every night when the army encamped, night watch was provided by various *jagirdars* in turn. Spies and scouts obtained intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts and movements, and in order to make enemy advance difficult, the adoption of a scorched earth policy was preferred. The army marched by easy stages; the usual speed on march was about 10 to 15 miles a day. The place where battle would be joined very often depended on the defenders. That is why many battles were fought on famous battle-fields. When the armies faced each other it was customary to divide them in several wings.⁴⁷

Military Aims, Formations and Tactics:

Their primary aim was to defend their mother-land from the invaders. Sometimes they had to fight to keep their *vachana* or *qaul* and therefore, believed in "*pran jaya par vachana na jayan*."⁴⁸ General Montgomery says, "the master principle (of war) is sound selection of aim to be sought and steady maintenance of that aim. All other principles are subsidiary to this. With the clear

46 Keshav Das, *Gaj Gunrupak Bandha*, Text No. 99, pp. 20-22, 27, 146-157, RORII; *Bahi Bakhshi Khana* V.S. 1798, 1801, 1818; *Bahi Misal Jagir* V.S. 1818. Compare, Kabul and Kandhar Expeditions, *Marwar-ki-khyat tafsil* Jaswant Singh; *Bahi Pokran ki*, V.S. 1818, RSA.

47 *Jalor Kanvensar-re-Bahi* V.S. 1789, 1791, 1793, RSAJ; Compare, Nagar, Ishwardas, *Fatihat-i-Alamgiri*, Rotograph No. 42, AMU ff. 66 (A) - 69 (B), 70 (A), 71 (B), 121 (A); Jaitdan, Barhat, *Jaitdan-ki-khyat*, pp. 58-61, RSA; Bernier, *op.cit.*, pp. 187-88; *Halkaron-ke-patra* Letter dated Phalgun Sudi 2 V.S. 180, *Kufianigarnama re Kagdo ki Bahi*, V.S. 1803, V.S. 1804; RSA. *Pancholy's Ms.*, ff. 6-12-153; *Jaipur Akhaba-rat* 9th regnal year of Emperor's reign, Sitamau Collections, Kaviraja, *Muraridan-ri-khyat*, f. 11, RSA; Sayamaldas., *Vir Vinod*, p. 827; Ishwardas, *op.cit.*, f. 50 (b). Compare the formation, advancement and battlefields of Pokran, Phalodi, Merta, Harmara, Sumel, Nagor, Jodhpur, Jalor, Siwana Dharmat, Kabul, Kandhar, Jamrud, Attak, Decon under Mughal commands and their participations in the battle of Haifa, Gaza, Palestine, France, Germany, China, Kabul, Egypt, East Africa, Belgium, Turkey and Seria under British command, Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Rajput Imperial Troops in the World Wars*. Dessertation D.A.K. NAI New Delhi, 1976, pp. 23-26.

48 Compare, The *qual* of Kupa and Jaita and the couplet:

"*Girri thera gar main lambi bandhi khajoor*
Jaita Kupa ladiya Sawarg neron ghar door"

sacrifices of Siha, Jodha, Salkha, Tida, Gogadeo, Champawat, Askaran, Inderraj, Jaita, Kupa, Chunda, Arrakmal, Sawai Singh, Sardul Singh Saktesh, Bhati Gaj Singh, Ajit Singh, Durga Das, Thakur Mohkam Singh of Balunda, Mukand Das Khichi, Raghunath Bhatti, Ranchor Jodha, etc. for a common cause and *vachana*. Cf. *RKS Thesis*, Chapter on The Military Aims.

view about the aim only the other principles can be made operative." And it appears that all the operations conducted by the army of Jodhpur, during the Mughal era, were guided by unambiguous and specific aims. The battles of Pali, Mandor, Merta, Pokran, Sumel, Kabul, Kandhar, the Deccan expeditions and later their joining the British/Indian Armed Forces, the operations in World Wars I and II justified their military policies and aims. As regards their relations with the Mughals, it appears from the *Rajasthanis* as well as from the Persian sources that, in the beginning, Jodhpur's ultimate aim was to preserve and to keep its sovereignty intact, but after the death of Aurangzeb, their immediate aims in the battle of Ajmer, Sojat, Merta, Nagor, Makrana and Jodhpur were to humiliate the Mughals by challenging their military powers and to achieve the status of an independent state. But with the British they had a different aim. They appreciated the mental grit and valour of the British officers and soldiers and wanted to get them enrolled in their army with modern weapons and to obtain technological knowhow. Towards the other states and contemporary Maratha chiefs their views were different. They wanted to establish their own overlordship and military supremacy over them.⁴⁹

During pre-Akbari era, it was usual to divide an army into three divisions, called *harawal*, skirmishers and cavalry. The three wings always marched in this order and normally deployed for battle with the main battle, i.e. the most honourable command and usually led by the *maharaja* or his deputy, in the centre, the vanguard on the right as the second most honourable command, and the rearward battle better known as *chandawal* on the left. After 1650, the order of battle was changed and roughly speaking as follows: First came skirmishers. Next was placed the artillery protected by *barood-banwala*. Behind the gun stood the advanced guard; a little behind it were the right and left wings. Then, at some distance, was the centre where stood the *maharaja* on his elephant or horse. Almost all the famous battles of Jodhpur were invariably conducted by the *maharajas* of the times in person. The most decisive point of a battle was, however, the death or disappearance of the leader. If he was known to have been killed, or could not be seen on his elephant, the troops desisted at once, and the greater part forthwith sought their own safety in flight,

49 *Akhbarat*, 24th regnal year, dated November 16, 1681, Sitamau Collections. *Akhbarat*, 24th regnal year, dated 13 July 1661; 24th regnal year dated 22 September and 13 November, 1681; for more information, *Jodhpur-ki-khyat*, pp. 268-9; Ms. *Rajrupak*, pp. 22-35; *Ajitodaya*, Canto 17 v.v. 12-17, canto 18, v.v. 1-6 and 99-106, Canto 20 v.v. 20-26; Ishwardas Nagar, *opc.cit.*, ff. 81-167; *Akhbarat* 44th year dated 16 November 1700, RSA; Compare, Military relations of Jodhpur with Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Udaipur, and Jaipur state. Right from the time of Akbar down to the British, Jodhpur always did try to capture the *illakas* of Bikaner, Sambhar Nagor, Merta, Chapar, Satalmer, Phalodi, Pokran, Jaisalmer, Ajmer Godwar, and numbers of intensive wars were fought for this purpose.

therefore, Rajput generals abandoned the custom and started to appear on horseback.⁵⁰ Challenges to single combat seem to have been not unusual between men of lower and upper rank. Generally individual prowess would give a general challenge to single combat. Many times and with uniform success they were accepted by *jagirdars*. Each contingent was perfectly independent in its manoeuvres. In the beginning, at the time of actual fighting, they rushed on the enemy without the least apprehension.⁵¹ They directed all their energies to the spot on which their existence depended, and this place became the centre of their main operation. Generally the *harawal* placed themselves in the front lines. When the ranks were exhausted the soldiers in the rear advanced slowly and gradually to take their places. Their fighting capacity was unchallenged, and during the entire period of our study they remained famous for their bravery, dash and gallantry.

A close examination of the tactics during the period under review will reveal a certain process of evaluation which was the inevitable result of the far reaching military changes introduced by the rulers. Therefore, during 1566-1947 tactics was the one element to be the most drastically revolutionized. The supremacy of the armoured horseman over infantry had been finally established at the battle of Sumel in 1551, and for the next two and a half centuries feudal cavalry dominated the battlefields of the Indian sub-continent. But during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries new weapons and new tactics (introduced by the British) created an infantry arm capable of defeating cavalry on the open battlefield.

I shall deal with these developments in detail later; first let us take a look at the tactics commonly employed in the first half of the sixteenth century, and which remained in use throughout the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries. It is a popular conception that the armies of Jodhpur were unskilled,

50 Rao Maldeo, Chandersen, Jaswant Singh and Ajit Singh, all were fond of horses and almost all the battles were invariably fought and conducted from horse back by them.

51 "Pag pag nejha gardiya
pag pag gari dhal
bibhi puchain khan ne
jag keta Jagmal."

Compare, Rathori charged on the batteries of General Count De Boigne in the battle of Merta, which was fought on September 10, 1790, *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IX, pp. 610, 737, NAI, New Delhi; compare, Battle of Dharmat and Rathori *fauj* in action. Particularly the dashing charges of Ratan Singh. Manucci, Nicolao, *Storia Do Mogor*, English trans. ed. Irvine, William, Calcutta, 1971, Vol. I, pp. 259-60; *Ratan Raso*, pp. 126-7. Also compare Ajit Singh's great escape, Mughal-Rathor conflicts and the battle array, *Ajitodaya*, Canto 6, vv. 91-93; compare, battle of Sumel, *Jodhpur ki khyat*, Vol. I, *Nainse-ki-khyat*, Vol. II; Vanwart, R.B., *Life of Sir Pratap Singh*, Jodhpur University Library copy n.d., pp. 38-63.

undisciplined mobs, led by men with no knowledge of tactics, and that battles were little more than a free-for-all in which the strongest individuals survived, and the army with the most cavalry emerged victorious. I hope to show that, in the light of recent studies, this is a misconception. The *jagiri* infantry, in particular, is written off by many authors as an ill-armed, undisciplined rabble, of no use except for menial tasks in the camp or at a siege, yet history records a far different story: at Sumel the Jodhpur infantry was defeated because it was unsupported by mounted cavalry and heavy artillery, but on the other hand, the Jodhpur lancers were victorious in the battle of Hefa, Gaja and Palstine because they were supported by modern weapons, which were given to them by British armed forces. It seems to me that much of the confusion stems from a failure to recognise the distinctive types of infantry which existed during the thirteenth centuries. Contemporary records and manuscripts portray ordinary foot soldiers uniformly equipped and quite heavily armoured, indicating they played a far more important role than the manuscripts themselves imply. These were the mercenaries, the bowmen, spearmen and swordsmen. However, it is usually also believed that the unarmoured and poorly armed rabble of the feudal levy was totally at the mercy of the cavalry; so it was in defeat, as were the mercenaries, but in *mêlées* these light troops could create such havoc amongst the horses that trappers had to be used, while the *jagirdars* were forced to wear complex leg armour to protect their lower limbs from the long knives, axes, swords and polearms of the rabble.⁵² The main problem seems to have been not the fighting quality of the troops, but the inability to maintain discipline over them once battle commenced, for loyalties within an army (of Jodhpur) were widely divided, the nobles were jealous of each other and arrogant towards the infantry, and even rulers could not control such internally divided armies. Because of this there is a great deal of truth in the belief that after the first charge a battle degenerated into a series of individual combats in which even the *jagirdars* took part. Sometimes, the *jagirdars* were fiercely proud and could rarely be prevailed upon to follow a set of detailed orders. If a chance occurred to strike the enemy before their rivals, the *senapati's* plan would be forgotten, and they would lead their command straight for the enemy, frequently running blindly into ditches, bogs or hedges. This made it difficult to

52 Compare limbs injuries of Goga Deo, Tidaji and consequently their deaths and defeats. "The Rathor defeat at Merta was decisive". Writes Prof. Parihar: "They did not fight in a combined effort to push back the onslaught of General De Boigne but carried their swords under the individual leaders. Their artillery was weak. The *Nagas* were most undisciplined and untrained. The whole force lacked efficient mobility and rapidity." See, Parihar, G.R., *Marwar and the Marathas 1724-1843 A.D.* Jodhpur, 1968, p. 126; regarding their running blindly into ditches, bogs or hedges. Cf. Sharma, Pushpa, *Merta ka yudha ka Akhbar*, N.S. Research Journal, Bikaner, April 1980, Vol. XII, pp. 20-25.

launch a co-ordinated attack, or even to hold back a reserve, for every *jagirdar* wished to be in the front line and regarded it as a slur on his honour to be held out of the main action. Due to the above mentioned reasons the battles of Sumel, Samugarh, Tunga, Harmara Merta and Nagor were regarded as the most confused battles of Jodhpur, where the Rajputs, though they fought dexterously, remained a failure. Therefore, again the ardent necessity for reorganisation of the planning system was felt, and this was only materialized during the British-Jodhpur collaboration era.⁵³ It is relevant to note here that the wars of medieval period were largely sieges, pitched battle being an exception rather than a rule. The country was full of forts, and the tendency of every chief was to fight from within a fortified place. The siegecraft employed was generally the same as had been in use since the 12th century and was backward both in its theory and practice. Sieges were, as before, prolonged affairs, some of them lasting for months together. Usually, the first step in a siege was to surround the place and stop all egress and ingress. All sorts of stratagems were tried to secure a short cut to success, such as apprehension of families of the garrison, intrigues with gatekeepers, offers of temptations,⁵⁴ devastation of the country around, and the use of similar other devices. But if nothing availed, the investment was made more rigorous with a view to starving out the garrison; but this being a prolonged affair requiring a considerable amount of time and patience, a regular technique of trench approaches, bombardment and assaults was put into operation. First of all, a reconnaissance was made. Then positions for different batteries and lines of approach were determined. Usually, the *bakhshi* or the senior most prominent *jagirdar* was entrusted with a battery and a line of approach. This done, bombardment was opened on the walls of the fort and work on the trenches was started. As the trenches were being carried forward the batteries were moved ahead and the firing continued. It is relevant to note here that the trenches were open, and not underground passages like those of the Europeans, with the result that they were not very safe. The garrison could easily spot their position and line of advance and dig out counter trenches to hinder the advance of besiegers. Troops followed in the trenches, fully ready to meet any sallies or sorties from within the fort. When the trenches were carried close enough to the ditch, open trenches being no longer possible, covered passages were dug out which opened out into the

53 It is relevant to note here that Major Watson was appointed to reorganize Jodhpur *raisala*, and he did it successfully. Cf. *RKS Thesis*, Chapter on the British Collaborations.

54 Compare, The Sieges of Jodhpur, Merta, Nagor, Pokran, Jalor, Siwana and Ajmer. For intrigues with gatekeepers and annexation of the fort of Jalor, through temptation. Ghulam Miyan, *Tarikh-i-Palampur*, pp. 75-81; Asopa, Ram Karan; *Marwar-ka-Mool Itihas*, pp. 130-31.

ditch and through which assault could be made. At this point, it was customary to spring mines under the fortifications. If successfully worked, they could cause wide breaches and enable the storming parties to enter the fort. Sometimes counter mines were sprung by the garrison causing heavy losses to the invaders. The final act was the storming of the fort. It was an extremely risky job and as far as possible was avoided. Invariably, it was preceded by an appeal to the garrison to make a surrender. In the event of the failure of such appeals, storming was inevitable. For this purpose, assaulting columns were organised to make a forced entry into the fort either by escalade or through the breached gates or walls. A terrible hand-to-hand fight then took place in which both the besiegers and the besieged displayed feats of great valour.

Defence of a fort was comparatively much easier, particularly when a sufficient number of heavy guns were mounted on its walls.⁵⁵ First of all, attempts were made to give battle to the enemy outside the fort. In case the enemy's force happened to be too powerful, all the gates were closed and the most dependable guards were put up for their defence. Guns were fired through embrasures in which every fort of any consequence abounded, occasional sallies or sorties were made to arrest the advance of the enemy's trenches and batteries. Counter-trenches and counter-mining were often made use of for this purpose. When the enemy troops were right at the foot of the walls powder pots or other combustibles were generally thrown on them, causing disastrous burns. The last step in the defence was to put up a bold hand to hand fight at the breaches or the gates stormed by the enemy. It may be added that treachery being a most likely occurrence in such situations, a close watch had to be maintained all along on all subjects.

State Military Position in Retrospect:

In the annals of the military history of India beginning with the coming of the Turks down to the dawn of the nineteenth century, the Rajputs were a force to reckon with. They bore the brunt of defending the country against foreign invaders beginning from the time when the Turkish tempest beat upon the western flank of the country. They were tossed time and again, sometimes beating the invader, while at others dragged in undignified manner. The vicissitudes of fortune made them appear a pale warrior at one time, while a cherished hero at the other.

55 The forts of Jodhpur and Nagor were very well protected and mounted by heavy guns which were brought from the Deccan by Jaswant Singh, Ajit Singh, Abhay Singh and Vijay Singh. Some of them were also presented by the Mughal emperors. Cf. *RKS Thesis*, Chapter on Siegecraft.

The reason for the decline in fighting capacity, particularly against the Mughals, Pindaris and the Marathas, has been made difficult to assess due to partial and inaccurate treatment of the subject by focussing on some particular point of view. The doctrines of *Ahinsa* and *Karma*, the caste system, the recruitment system, generally mentioned as the main reasons for the downfall, cannot be accepted in the light of the facts presented in this article. The rulers of Jodhpur had adopted the pattern of the Mughal army in *Marwari* setting and after the military collaborations.⁵⁶ The new school of medieval war technology proved its superiority in their Kabul, Gujrat, Bijapur, Ahamadabad and other expeditions. Let us take a look at the process of deterioration of military power of Jodhpur during the latter part of the seventeenth century and after. The system could have worked, but unfortunately it required a powerful sovereign to execute it. After the death of *maharaja* Ajit Singh and Abhay Singh in 1724 and 1749, respectively, the affairs of the kingdom of Jodhpur fell into less competent and weak hands. The court factions now came into full play and created an atmosphere of intrigues and counter-intrigues. Political stability was the main victim, and in less than twenty years there were as many as five changes of government, three of which were accompanied by violence and blood-shed. Under such conditions the army could not remain unaffected. Its support was sought by rival parties, and it played a leading role in the various revolutions which occurred during this period. This affected its pay, discipline, organisation, control, comand and composition. Taking advantage of such weaknesses the Marathas and Pindaris overrun the various parts of the state and, consequently, the *maharaja* became a puppet in their hands. It is needless to say that their enemies always attempted to exploit the dissension and disunion of the Rathor *jagirdars*.⁵⁷ A military system cannot survive its military

56 Bhati Govinddas, The *pradhan* of *maharaja* Sur Singh, organised the military system of the Jodhpur state on the Mughal pattern. Hereafter, the designations of the officials, such as *pradhan*, *senapati*, *nayak*, *pandit*, *purohit*, *mahadannayaka*, *dandnayak* etc. were changed and the new officials came to be known as *diwan*, *bakhshi*, *hakim*, *karkun*, *kiledar*, *kotwal*, *daroga*, *potedar*, *daftri*, *kharnawis*, *daroga-i-dak chauki*, *silehdar*, *piyadbakshi*, and *munshi*. *Jaipur Akhabarat*, 9th regnal years of Emperor's reign, Sitamau Collection; *Ishwardas*, f. 60 (b); *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. III, Persian Text, pp. 176-77, *Akhabarat*, 3rd year of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's reign, pp. 169-70. A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 12th day of the bright-half of Kartik V.S. 1787, dated 2nd day of dark-half of Kartika V.S. 1787; Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari, dated 14th Day of the bright-half of Chaitra V.S. 1787, RSA; *The Proceedings of The Indian History Congress*, 1936, p. 301; *The Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XXIV, 1948, p. 110; *The Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1939 session, pp. 112-15; *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XX.

57 Compare, Confrontation between Bakht Singh and Ram Singh, rivalry between Bijay Singh and Ram Singh, struggle between Bhim Singh and Man Singh which ultimately lead to the

weaknesses long. Therefore, the military interest of Jodhpur suffered and was ultimately safeguarded by the British Government of India.⁵⁸ After fruitful discussion and prolonged negotiations, Man Singh, on the assurance given by the British, again resumed the reign of the Government, and his son Chattar Singh concluded a treaty with the British and brought Jodhpur under their civil and military protection. After the arrival of British officers a new era of the military history of Jodhpur began. The European officers unitedly raised a mighty army, not in numbers but in striking capacity and comprising all the three arms trained on the European model, mostly British. The predominant

marathagardi in the state. Compare, Interferences of Mahadji Sidhia, Malhar rao Holkar, Jankoji Sindhia, Amir Khan Prindari, Lakhwa data, and De Boigne, also of the role of Dhokal Singh, Sawai Singh, Dev Nath, Sakhat Singh followed by a number of murders and massacres. Cf. 'Rule of Factions', Vayas, R.P., *op.cit.*, pp. 47-78. For more references S. Chaturvedi, *Holkar-Sindhia Rivalry in Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1984; Banerjee, A.C., *Rajput States and the East India Company*, Calcutta, 1951; Irvine, William, *Later Mughal*, Vol. I & II, Delhi 1971; Sarkar, J.N., *Fall of Mughal Empire*, Vols. I to V, Agra, 1971; Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740*, Bombay, 1959.

- 58 Cf. Serdesai, G.S., *Historical Papers regarding Mahadaji Sindhia*, Letter Nos. 575, 587; Apte and Dongra, *Selection from Chandrachud record*, Vol. II, Letter Nos. 78, 80, 82; *Delhi yethil Marthayanchi Raj Karne*, Letter Nos. 16, 17; While writing about the Pindari activities in the Jodhpur state Col. James Tod, the then British Political Agent of Western Rajputana, says: "Maharaja Man Singh was successful in throwing out his formidable enemies out of Marwar with the assistance of the Pathan chief, Amir Khan Pindari, whose influence in his own state increased so much that he became the arbiter of Marwar." See, Tod, Col. James. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1971, Vol. II, p. 115. Commenting on it Prof. Vaya writes that "Man Singh soon found that he was no longer the master of his own dominions. Factionsness and intrigues spread all over the state." *Role of Nobility in Marwar*, p. 45. I too found numbers of unpublished Archival documents in the Rajasthan State Archives revealing Pindaris interference and military activities in Marwar such as *Haqikat Bahi* Nos. 6, 26, 28, *Basta* No. 40 File No. 13; *Arji Bahi* Nos. 3, 5; *Haqikat Kharita Bahi* No. 9; *Halkaron-ke-Patra* – letter dated Phalguna Sudi 5, V.S. 1866, V.S. 1867, RSA. Compare the rivalries between Pokran Thakur Sawai Singh and *maharaja* Man Singh. See the couplet:

"Bari maran Mirkhan raj kaj Inderraj

Mheto sarne nath re Nath sakare kaj"

Foreign Political Consultant, November 16, 1807, No. 1, NAI; *Tawarikh Jodhpur Basta* No. 40, *Book* No. 7; Surya Mal, *Vansabhaskar*, p. 3978; Shiv Nath Singh, *Kumpawat Rathoran-ka-Itihas*, n.d. Jodhpur, pp. 105-106; *Residency Agency Office Historical Records* Nos., 226, File No. 14A and Record No. 227, Vol. VI, 1839 RSA; *Secret Consultations*, February 6, 1818, No. 102, NAI; Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sands*, Vol. III, pp. 128-38; NAI; *Kharita Bahi* No. 12; *Kharito-ki-Bahi* No. 10, *Dholiyon-re-Kothar* File No. 38, RSA. "The Secretary to the Supreme Government observed that, though the State of Jodhpur was not of much importance from the pecuniary point of view, yet the proverbial bravery of its people would provide the Government a powerful body of auxiliaries. For the services of the British Government and the allied states." Cf. *Secret Consultations*, October 28, 1817, No. 26, NAI, New Delhi.

arm of the preceding period, i.e. the cavalry, was now relegated to a secondary position. Moreover, there were great improvements effected in weapons and tactical units. A new unit of the Jodhpur Legion was raised, and Major Dowling was appointed the first commandant of the Jodhpur Legion. The new system of tactics, which was extensively employed hereafter, was British. It was naturally so, because the principal instructors were the officers of the mighty British Empire. In respect of training there was almost a complete shift from the Mughal to the British system. Maharaja Ummed Singh, Sir Partap Singh, and Sardar Singh spared no pains to popularise the new system. While no change was made in the uniform of the irregular infantry and cavalry, a distinct uniform was now adopted for the regular units, which consisted of colourful dress, with the result that the army looked much more impressive and imposing. There was a definite advance in the matter of equipping the army with better weapons. We also find certain improvements in the manufacture of ammunition. The capacity of the Jodhpur military workshop was further improved. Among the factors which might be responsible for this, was the meeting of *maharaja* Man Singh with Col. Sutherland and the visit of Captain Ludlow. The constitution of the army of Jodhpur underwent some far-reaching changes during this period. The advent of Europeans was also responsible for improvements in the art of casting guns. Some guns were presented by the British and are presently displayed on the fortwall of Jodhpur, telling the story of British-Rajput friendship and military cooperation.⁵⁹

59 *Haqikat Bahi* No. 36, *Kharita Bahi* No. 10, RSA; *Foreign Political consultations*, October 19, 1834 No. 32; *Foreign Political Consultations*, February 8, 1836, Nos. 64-66, NAI. The Jodhpur Legion Units with new weapons were posted at Burgon, an area of insurgency, which was now named Erarpura. It is relevant to note here that Major Dowling, the first commandant of the Jodhpur Legion, named the place Burgon as Eranpura after his native island's name 'Eran' and the city is still known as Eranpura. *Rajasthan Agency Office Records* File No. 115, *Record* No. 264; *Arji Bahi* No. 6; *Col. Sutherland's Report* dated June 1839 para II, RSA Bikaner, Compare restructuring of the units of Jodhpur *risala* and local levy which were converted into Jodhpur lancers and Eranpura regiments. Prominent among them were Jodhpur lancers, *Sardar risala*, Imperial services *risala*, Jodhpur battalion of Indian infantry. First Sq. of Jodhpur lancers, First Jodhpur Imperial lancers, Mounted Camel Corps, Flying Corps, Sardar infantry and Fort guards, etc. *Historical Record* 229, File No. 14A Jodhpur, Vol. VIII; *Foreign Political*, February 14, 1842 Nos. 33-34; *Col. Sutherland's Letter* dated January 3, 1841 and October 2, 22, 1841 NAI, New Delhi; *Haqikat Bahi* No. 36, *Kharita Bahi* No. 10. A British report preserved in the National Archives of India, aptly observes: "The army of the Jodhpur was in a state of hopeless disorganisation. There were about seven or eight thousand mercenaries but as their pay had been in arrears about half of them were expected to desert when called to duty." See *Foreign Political Consultations*, July 29, 1828, No. 24; August 8, 1828 No. 25, NAI, New Delhi; It was only possible when Col. Sutherland intervened and from then a uniformity was adopted in the distribution of the pay. The army was reorganised on modern lines

But inspite of all this progress a number of serious shortcomings still remained, namely (i) the irregularity of payment, which greatly hampered discipline; (ii) the lukewarm attitude of the *jagirdars* towards the new mode of training; (iii) the discontent among officers on account of the Europeans being given higher salaries and more importance; (iv) the disaffection created by disparity in the rates of pay for officers of the same rank; (v) the rivalry among the *jagirdars*.⁶⁰ Therefore, the Government of Jodhpur requested the British Agent to settle the factional rivalries and to reconcile the short-comings. It is relevant to note here that during the state of anarchy Col. Sutherland, Gen. Lawrence, Metcalf, Brig. Holmes, Col. Keatinge, Col. Low, Col. Spires, Maj. Malcom, Maj. Morrison, Maj. W.I. Eden, Capt. Ludlow, Capt. Brooke, Capt. Hamilton, Cap. Hardcastle, Capt. Monek Mason, Capt. Nixon, Lt. Impey, Lt. Walter and Richard Shakespear, etc. rendered valuable services to restore peace and order, which remained till the accession of the Jodhpur state in the Union of India.⁶¹

and the personnel were paid regularly. Cf. *Col. Sutherland's Letter* January 3, 1841, *Rajputana Agency Office Records* Nos 223, 264, RSA.

- 60 Cf. Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Military System of the Rajput States During 'Grand Anarchy' 1707-1857 A.D.* International Review of History, Meerut, 1971, Sharma, Ravindra Kumar, *Atharahvin Shatabdi Mein Rajput Sena Mein Annya Tatva*. Quarterly Journal of Rajasthan Sahitya Samiti, 1973, pp. 11-32. Cf. *Role of Nobility in Marwar*, op.cit., Vagaries of Raja Man Singh, pp. 47-48, 79-113.
- 61 *Foreign Political Consultations*, August 16, 1828, No. 18; *Foreign Political*, August 29, 1828, No. 15; *Foreign Political*, March 15, 1841, No. 37, NAI: *Haqikat Bahi* No. 13, pp. 13, 207-68; *Haqikat Bahi* No. 12, p. 220, 300; *Arji Bahi* No. 6, pp. 203-208, RSA; Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. III, pp. 132-139; Reu, V.N., *Marwar-Ka-Itihas*, Jodhpur, 1930, Vol. II, pp. 432, 435, 439; Cf. *RKS Thesis*, Chapter on the European Officers and Military Collaborations. It is relevant to note here that Rathor Peru Singh and Major Saitan Singh Rathor of Jodhpur, who were recruited and trained under British defence set up were awarded *Pram Vir Chakras*, the highest award of the Government of India, for their extraordinary courage, dash, gallantry and leadership provided to the Indian Army in the war of 1947 and 1962 respectively.
- 62 Words from several local Rajasthani languages used in my research paper are listed in the following Glossary:

Glossary:

A	abhilekh	: record, document
	adana	: insurance coverage
	ahalkar	: petty revenue official; revenue assessor
	ahinsa	: non-violence
	akbari	: of Akbar's age
	akhabarar	: news, newsletter, newspaper
	akhateej	: a festival
	arsatta	: accounts book
	arzee	: application
	aswar	: trooper, cavalryman
	audha bahi	: officers record ledger containing official letters and informations
B	badraftar	: faster than whirlwind
	bahi	: ledger, record book
	bakhsi	: commander-in-chief; pay master
	bakshi-i-kila	: bakhsi of a fort
	bakshis	: pay master of the troops; commander
	ballam	: a kind of lance
	ban	: arrow
	banduq	: gun
	bania	: a merchant
	banjara	: itinerant grain-merchant
	banzo	: a kind of instrument; a stringed musical instrument
	barood-banwala	: rocket thrower
	basta	: packet, bundle, cloth covered packet
	bav pasav	: a kind of reward
	bayad bakhsi	: bakhsi of a province
	bhaibant	: family members; of royal subject; classman
	bhalabardar	: arm guard; lance bearers
	bhandari	: store-keeper; a family of Jodhpur
	bhaniij	: sister-in-law's property
	bhawan	: palace
	bheri	: sophisticated model of flute
	bhog	: religious grant
	bigul	: a kind of musical instrument
	birghas	: jangle's bush tax
C	carvan	: a company of merchants
	chakridar	: feifholder; vassal
	chandawal	: rear guard
	chandni	: encloser used in the night camp
	charan	: court poet, bard
	chaugan	: polo
	chehra	: face; identification; record
	chhatnal	: gun mounted on roof top of the fortwall
	chob	: a pointed, iron plated stick
	chobdars	: a stick or staff; a sentry, a watchman, personnel to keep vigil over the royal entrances and exits
	chowki	: small tent with seat; station

D	dabir	:	accountant
	daftar	:	office; unit
	daftri	:	clerk, accountant
	dagh	:	mark; branding
	dakho	:	bond
	dakkhana	:	post office
	dal	:	group; contingent
	damroo	:	a kind of musical instrument
	danka	:	drum stick
	danki	:	donated land
	darbar	:	court; monarch
	darbari	:	courtier
	darbari	:	tent used by the courtiers
	daroga	:	head; superintendent of a department
	daroga-i-dakchoki	:	chief of the post office
	daroga khana	:	office of the superintendent-in-chief
	daroga-i-pheelkhana	:	chief of the elephant corps
	daroga-i-selekhana	:	chief of the armoury
	darogha-i-darwaza	:	superintendent of city defence forces
	dastri	:	clerk
	dayodidar	:	chief of the royal palace
	degh	:	a kind of sword
	dera	:	big tent
	derabhar	:	tent pitched outside the front of city
	desherah	:	a festival
	desh-ka-bakhshi	:	commander of the forces
	dhabhai	:	half brother
	devasthan	:	religious
	dewali	:	a festival
	dhamaka	:	small cannon
	dhol	:	drum; a kind of big kettle-drum
	dhonsha	:	a kind of musical instrument
	diyodibardar	:	gate keeper
	Divan	:	finance minister
	doharitam	:	a kind of special honour
	dudh	:	milk
	duno	:	a tax, double duty tax
	durgpal	:	fort garrison master
E	ekvaritam	:	a kind of privilege bestowed by the rulers of Jodhpur
F	fauj	:	army
	fauj bahi	:	army record register; ledger
	faujdar	:	district officer
	firangi-tamancha	:	imported revolver
G	gajnal (ika)	:	elephant barrel-gun
	gaj sena	:	elephant corps
	gargaj	:	a redoubt in front of a fort
	garh	:	fort; fortified palace
	ghabarah	:	a kind of cannon
	gharana	:	family, house of

	ghas	:	grass
	ghee	:	clarified butter
	ghoda kambal	:	tax on horse's woolen cloth and blanket
	ghordaham	:	cannon mounted on horse-cart
	graya	:	native, local
	guzara	:	livelyhood; salary; a kind of reward
H	halkaron-ke-patra	:	letter of revenue official
	haqikat bahi	:	ledger of events; record book
	haqpattadari	:	right of collection
	harawal	:	vanguard
	hath bahi	:	hand written ledger containing official order, events, news etc.
	hathnal	:	elephant barrel-gun
	hath-ka-kurab	:	reward; a kind of privilege bestowed by the rulers of Jodhpur
	hath-ka-siropav	:	a kind of reward
	havala bahi	:	reference ledger register government of Jodhpur State
	hazurka	:	royal officials; on king's service
I	ilaka	:	territory
	iqta	:	fief
	iqtadar	:	fiefholder
	itihas	:	history
	izara (ijara)	:	lease, rent
J	jagir	:	a fief
	jagirdar	:	feudal lord; chief of a district
	jagiri fauj	:	fief army
	jai mata ji	:	slogan of the Jodhpur Army; in the honour of goddess Durga
	jama-kharch	:	income and expenditure
	jamdhag	:	a kind of sword
	jarokha-darshan	:	appearance; morning court; first appearance
	jazail	:	cannon
	jazah	:	lance
	jodhpuri	:	of Jodhpur
	jyotishi	:	astrologer
K	kagada-ri-bahi	:	ledger of government despatches
	kagzat	:	documents
	kaisar-i-hind	:	Emperor of India medal
	kaman	:	bow
	kanat	:	enclosers
	kanvensar	:	land revenue ledger
	kargah	:	simple tent
	karigar	:	workman
	karkun	:	a revenue official
	karkun	:	land official
	karkun	:	person appointed to look after the affairs of a jagir, particularly to measure the land and to assess the revenue
	karma	:	deed
	karod	:	a kind of tax
	katar	:	poinard made with a hilt
	katari	:	a kind of dagger
	katipaya	:	few of them

kavia	:	poet; a cast
kaviraja	:	state poet
khalsa	:	land; government's property
khanjar	:	a kind of dagger
khansama	:	servant
khargbandi	:	coronation ceremony; by sword; presentation of the sword at the time of coronation
kharita	:	official letter
khartal	:	a kind of music instrument
khas	:	special
khasa	:	special tent
khata	:	accounts register
khato-kitab	:	correspondence
kheda	:	fort; capital; founded by
khema	:	simple tent
khichiri	:	access to organised troops
khurabwala	:	privileged jagirdars
khyat	:	bardic narration; history
kilabandi	:	fortification
kiladar	:	commandant of the fort
kilajat	:	fort; garrison
kisanwa	:	a kind of matchlock
kori	:	a kind of drum
kornish	:	a way of saluting
kotpal	:	commandant of fort
kotpal	:	fort garrison master
kagada-ri-bahi	:	ledger of government dispatches
kunwar	:	prince
kurabwala	:	a noble of repute
L lal tambu	:	red tent
M madad-i-mash	:	religions grant
mafi	:	exemption; provide; allotment
mahakma	:	office
mahakma selekhana	:	department of armoury
mahakavya	:	epic
maharaja	:	title of the ruler of Jodhpur
mal khana	:	revenue department
manashahi	:	sword of Man Singh
mansabdari	:	rank; gradation; system
manzal	:	distance officer
marathagardi	:	atrocities of the Marathas
marwar-ki-khyat	:	bardic history of Jodhpur
marwar-ki-khyat	:	history of Marwar
marwari	:	Jodhpur's; people of Marwar; custom; language
mehatvapuran	:	important
mekh	:	nail; a small pointed iron spike
meo	:	a tribal community among the Indian, Indian Muslims
milni	:	evening tent
mina	:	a tribal cast of Rajasthan

	mirdha	: the commander of contingent; superintendent, better known as mir-i-dha
	mir sikar	: superintendent of excursion and hunting department
	mirmunshi	: chief revenue official
	misal	: file
	mohar	: seal, stamp; royal mark
	mukhtiyar	: revenue officer; land owner
	mundiyar-ki-khyat:	history of Jodhpur written by Mundiyyar Barhat family
	munshif	: accounts clerk
	muqti	: a fief holder
	muzra	: salutation
N	nad	: a kind of drum
	nafiri	: a pointed flute
	naga	: a monk, irregular soldier
	nagara	: kettle-drum
	nakkarkhana	: kettle-drums department
	nishans	: letter written by an imperial; mark; unit; flag
	nalbandi	: a tax for the maintenance of Persian horse
	nalbav	: a tax for the maintenance of cavalry horse
	nansi-ki-khyat	: history of Jodhpur written by Nansi
	nayab	: deputy
O	organ	: a kind of cannon
P	pagri	: turban
	paisa	: a coin
	palki	: palanquin
	palki-ka-siropav	: a kind of honour
	panchmukhi	: a kind of sword
	panjali or panjah	: palm; mark; finger; print; mark on official letter
	pargana	: district
	parwana	: message, letter
	pashib	: towers, the round of a ladder, the declivity of mountain, a foot stool
	pati pekhan	: invitation; request to join
	pati-pakhen	: invitation letter; card; urgent message
	patta	: certificate; order
	patta	: certificate of grant; land grant
	pattadari	: certificate holder
	payak	: soldier; footman
	peshkhana	: tent used for serving food
	peshqabza	: one-edged dagger
	pheelkhana	: elephant corps; stable; department of elephants
	potedar	: keeper of treasury; daily accounts keeper
	pratha	: system; tradition; practice
	punyaudak	: religious land grant
	purohit	: minister of religious affairs
Q	qaid	: bond; guarantee
	qual	: promise; commitment
R	rahbardar	: watchman; scout
	rajasthani	: language; inhabitant of Rajasthan
	rajlok	: religious land grant given in charity to Brahmins

rajputana	:	land of the Rajputs; a province
raj marwar	:	state of Jodhpur
rajputi	:	gallantry; tradition; system; of the Rajput
rajvi	:	relative of the maharaja; younger brother of the ruler; a cast
rajvithakarano	:	royal tent used by princess
rajya	:	state; government
rakhwala	:	guard; watchman
rakshabandhan	:	a festival
ramban	:	a kind of matchlock
ramshashi	:	sword of Ram Singh
ran banka rathor	:	matchless (bravery of Rathore) in the battle field
rao	:	ruler; chief; a title
rao raja	:	king; ruler; a title, monarch
rasadbav	:	supply tax; tax for provisions
raso	:	literature, epic, poem
rasora	:	kitchen, adjoining land
rassi	:	rope for tiding cannons
rathoran-ki-khyat	:	history of Rathors
rekhalah	:	cannon driven by oxen
risala	:	cavalry unit
rukha	:	letter
rukhwali-ri-bachh	:	a tax for providing security and protection
S sabat	:	covered path used for breaching
sahib-bahadur	:	honourable sir; brave; respected person
sainthi	:	sword
sanad	:	certificate; order; grant
sandeso	:	message
sarkar-ro-kagad	:	government letter; message, royal orders
sarpardah	:	embroidered tent
sarpech	:	the jewel of turban
sarpech	:	a string of flowers worn round the head in the form of a turban, embroidered piece of cloth put on the turban
sasan	:	temples land grant
sawar	:	trooper
sawaran-i-jodhpur	:	trooper of Jodhpur
seed bar	:	wood tax; fodder tax
senapati	:	commander-in-chief
shahi-tambu	:	royal tent
shamah	:	evening tent
shamiyana	:	big tent
shanai	:	a kind of flute
sharkhabaria	:	news correspondent posted in and around fortwall, city wall
sherbachah	:	small gun
shutarkhana	:	department of camel corps
shutarkhana	:	camel corps unit office
sikargah	:	hunting ground
sikligar	:	blacksmith; gunmaker
singha	:	a kind of flute made of deer horn
sirayat	:	a kidn of reward

	sirehwala	:	watchman
	sirohi-ki-nipni	:	sword of sirohi
	siropav	:	special role of honour
	siyah khazana	:	confidential document
	siyahnamah	:	confidential document
T	tabinan	:	protected soldiers; cavalryman
	tafawat	:	a tax; fine
	tafsil	:	description; narration; account; history
	tafsil	:	narrationi chronicle
	tambu	:	cotton tent
	tan-bakhshi	:	pay master general
	tankha	:	pay; salaries
	taqsim	:	division, distribution
	tawarikh	:	history
	tazmi	:	noble of royal blood; an officer related to the king
	tegha	:	a kind of sword
	thakur	:	chief of a fief
	thana	:	police office; superintendent office
	thanedar	:	superintendent of police
	thikri pehrah	:	round the clock duty; duty by turn
	tir	:	arrow
	topkhana	:	artillery
	tukka	:	small arrow
	turahi	:	a kind of flute
	turki	:	of Turkish breed; from Turkistan
U	ulfati	:	levy for assessment also land given in charity
	upadhi	:	a title; norm de guerre
	umarao	:	a noble of repute
V	vakil	:	literally an attorney; an authorised representative of the ruler in the Mughal court
	vayopari	:	businessman; trader
	vitan	:	velvet tent
W	wakiyanavis	:	news-writer
	waqya	:	event
Z	zamani	:	bond
	zurmana	:	fine; punishment

* I am deeply indebted to my teacher Professor Harbans Mukhia, Chairman, Department of History, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi, who invoked my interest in the history of Rajput nobility and initiated me in this discipline. I am equally obliged to Maharaja Gaj Singh Ji II of Jodhpur for his kind permission to use his magnificent library and museum.