

The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen

The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen, 1565-81

and

The Demise of the Kingdom of Sojhat, 1581-83

Those who were loyal to [their] master (*sāmdharmī*) were with Candrasenjī. And the good-for-nothings (*harāmkhōr*) of the kingdom¹ met with the Turks and became military servants [of the Mughal Emperor]. MRK, p. 50.

On the night of December 2, 1565, about nine in the evening, Rāv Candrasen, the Rāṭhor ruler of Jodhpur (1562-81), came down from the fort above the city along with his retainers and several important Rajpūt *thākurs*. They took the camels and horses provided for them by the mother of Ḥusayn Qulī Khān, commander of the surrounding Mughal army to whom Rāv Candrasen had ceded Jodhpur, and set out into the darkness, bound for Bhādrājan, a village about forty-eight miles to the south-southwest. In the morning, Ḥusayn Qulī Khān and Rāv Rām, Rāv Candrasen's half-brother, ascended the fort with their retainers. They killed the few remaining Rajpūt soldiers who had chosen to remain inside to fight to the death, and took formal possession. The long siege of 1565 was over. Within a few days Rāv Rām departed for his *jāgīr* of Sojhat, his hopes of gaining Jodhpur for himself dashed by Ḥusayn Qulī Khān, no doubt acting under orders from the Mughal Emperor, Akbar. Thus began the *Turkāno*, or period of "Turkish" (i.e., Mughal) rule of central Mārvār, which was to last until 1583, when Rāv Candrasen's elder brother, Moṭo Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot, ascended the throne of Jodhpur with the full support of Akbar.²

Historians who have studied the history of Mārvār in the period from the end of the siege in 1565 to the accession of Udaisiṅgh nearly always have focused on Rāv Candrasen himself. To many, he was a *svātantrya vīr*, or independent hero, who boldly defied the Mughals and never acknowledged their authority. As such, he becomes merely one of a pantheon of Hindu nationalist champions, like Rāṇo Pratāp of Mevār and the Marāṭhā leader Śivājī, who opposed Muslim rule. This viewpoint not only overlooks some contradictory details of Rāv Candrasen's career, but also devalues the importance of other events in Mārvār not directly involving Rāv Candrasen.

¹ Literally, "throne" (*gādī*).

² For an account of the siege of Jodhpur in 1565, see Richard D. Saran, "The Mughal Siege of Jodhpur, 1565: A Forgotten Imperial Episode" (unpublished paper).

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Norman Ziegler, in a seminal article on the Rajpūts of Mārvār and the Mughals,³ took a different approach, emphasizing the political culture of the Rajpūts rather than dwelling on specific events or the actions of rulers. He established the importance of brotherhood (*bhāibandh*), marriage alliance (*sagāi*), and Rajpūt *dharma* (which one might define both as Rajpūt duty and as Rajpūt honor) in Rajpūt thinking, but occasionally he came precariously close to saying that Rajpūt actions can *always* be explained by their ideology, which he in turn partly infers from their actions.⁴ His use of only three Rajpūt biographies—themselves incomplete at best, inaccurate at worst—is also questionable. How representative were these three? Were there other Rajpūts whose lives did not fit his model? Nor did Ziegler examine in depth the constantly evolving Mughal policies, moving as they did from a big stick to a big carrot and back again over the years, trying different methods to subdue and assimilate the highly diverse regions of Rājasthān. In sum, he produced a brilliant assessment of Rajpūt political culture, but one at times perhaps overly separated from the events he hoped to explain.

In the follow essay I have a twofold purpose. First, to explore Rāv Candrasen's later years in detail, something that has not been done by any modern historian. The best analysis of the years 1565-81 is by Maṅgīlāl Vyās,⁵ but he evidently did not know about the invaluable *Udaibhāṇ Cāmpāvat rī Khyāt*,⁶ and he ignored the *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt*.⁷ Nor did he make use of the *Mūndiyār rī Khyāt*, a late text, but one that provides a unique look back at earlier events. Furthermore, Vyās wrote in Hindī, a language to which many have no access. Unfortunately, no English account approaches Vyās's in accuracy or length. Older Hindī histories of Rāv Candrasen's reign by Ojhā⁸ and Reū⁹ certainly have their uses, but they are

³ Norman P. Ziegler, "Some Notes on Rajpūt Loyalty during the Mughal Period," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, edited by J. F. Richards (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1978).

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵ Maṅgīlāl Vyās, *Jodhpur Rājya kī Itihās, Saṃvat 1496 se 1637 Vi. San. 1439 se 1580 Ī* (Jaypur: Pañcsīl Prakāsan, 1975, pp. 183-211).

⁶ For a discussion of the sources used for this paper, see Appendix A, "Sources."

⁷ His bibliography mentions the *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt* (Vyās, *Jodhpur Rājya kī Itihās*, p. 312), as well as a long list of other works he knew about but did not consult.

⁸ G. H. Ojhā, *Jodhpur Rājya kī Itihās* (2 vols. 2nd ed. Jodhpur: Rājasthanī Granthāgār, 1999 [1936]).

⁹ B. N. Reū, *Mārvār kī Itihās* (2 vols. Jodhpur: Archaeological Department, 1938-1940).

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incomplete, out of date, and biased. A recent collection of articles in Hindī about the Rāv shares these flaws.¹⁰

My second purpose is to revisit Ziegler’s approach to Rajpūt political culture with reference to the events of Rāv Candraseṇ’s long struggle with the Mughals. Ziegler has asserted that Rajpūts believed serving the Mughal Emperor was no different than serving a local ruler or *thākur*. Is that a wholly valid statement? Or were there some serious concerns among Rajpūts about entering Mughal service? Furthermore, he has suggested that Rajpūt tradition equated the Emperor with Rām, a *kṣatriya* cultural hero from whom several Rajpūt royal families claimed descent.¹¹ Is this a correct assessment? By examining Rāv Candraseṇ’s reactions to the Mughals, and the Mughals’ attempts to deal with him, I hope to illuminate what I have termed the “politics of resistance” from 1565 to 1583 and to provide some answers to the above questions. Finally, I have included a short account of Rāv Candraseṇ’s sons, 1581-83, as a sort of final judgment of his successes and failures.

Rāv Candraseṇ, 1565-81

Part I

From Bhādrājaṇ to Nāgaur, 1565-70

After [the siege of 1565 Kūmpāvāt Prithīrāj] went to the Emperor in Delhī, and he became an Imperial military servant. And Jodhpur was entrusted to the Sayyids. And in Jodhpur the period of Turkish rule began. The period of Turkish rule lasted eighteen years, and in the [Jodhpur] domain the struggle to recover the land¹² lasted [that long as well]. Rāv Candraseṇ waged a fierce fight to recover the land.... There were many skirmishes [and] battles. MRK, pp. 49-50.

¹⁰ *Svatantrya Vīr Rāv Candrasen: Jodhpur kā Śāsak, 1562-81 Ī.*, ed. by Hukamsiṃh Bhāṭī (Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Śodh Saṃsthān, 2001).

¹¹ Ziegler, “Some Notes on Rajpūt loyalty during the Mughal Period,” p. 235.

¹² *Dhaṅgo vikheṛo* = struggle or fight (*dhaṅgo*) + *vikheṛo*, either an adjective made from *vikho*, a period of distress, a time when lands are lost, or a version of *bakheṛo*, “fight, struggle, trouble.” If the latter, the translation would be: “... and in the [Jodhpur] domain the fighting [and] troubles lasted [that long as well].”

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Having lost Jodhpur in 1565, Rāv Candraseṇ, defeated, dispossessed, but not destroyed, took up residence in Bhādrājaṇ¹³ for the next several years. Bhādrājaṇ was a small town, headquarters of a *tapho* (sub-district) of Jodhpur Pargano. At the time of Naiṇsī's great survey of the villages of Mārvār (his *Vigat*) undertaken during the 1650s and 1660s, Bhādrājaṇ Tapho contained ninety-five villages, thirty of which were deserted. Of the twenty *taphos* of Jodhpur Pargano, Bhādrājaṇ was fourth in the number of villages, but only sixth (in the year 1659-60) in revenues.¹⁴ To Rāv Candraseṇ, the discrepancy between his new circumstances and his former situation in Jodhpur must have seemed immense. No longer would he have been able to reward followers with lucrative land grants (*paṭos*). Nor would the limited revenues of Bhādrājaṇ allow him to maintain anything like the lifestyle he had enjoyed while living in Jodhpur. Still, he was the legitimate ruler of Mārvār in the eyes of the Rāṭhoṛs, even those who personally disliked him. As such, he retained considerable influence. He also retained the allegiance of the small garrison at Pokaraṇ Fort¹⁵ in northwestern Mārvār, separated from his lands at Bhādrājaṇ by the Mughals and their supporters, who were holding Jodhpur City and its surrounding *taphos*.

Unfortunately for historians, Rāv Candraseṇ's first five years in Bhādrājaṇ are poorly documented by the available Rājasthānī sources. If indeed he had numerous skirmishes and battles with the Mughal occupiers, no record of the details is extant. One short account of Rāv Candraseṇ's reign states that "the Turks stayed in Jodhpur [City]. They used to do much damage."¹⁶ What sort of damage is not clear. Mughal Persian chroniclers also mostly ignore Mārvār during the years 1565-70. Rajpūt genealogies are more forthcoming, but their short biographical notes are frequently undated. They mention events without revealing where they took place. They focus almost entirely on the doings of Rajpūts and disregard the remainder of the population. Despite their limitations and biases, they often provide information of considerable value.

Naiṇsī, in his genealogy of the Jeso Bhāṭī Rajpūts, has written that Jeso Rāysiṅgh Vīramdevot was in Bhādrājaṇ during Rāv Candraseṇ's years there.¹⁷ At some point the Rāv sent

¹³ The town of Bhādrājaṇ is forty-eight miles south-southwest of Jodhpur.

¹⁴ See *Vigat*, 1:204, 287 (total numbers of villages and deserted villages), and *idem*, 1:169 (revenues). "Pargano Jodhpur," *Parīśiṣṭ* 2 in *Vigat*, 2:428-29, gives different enumerations of village types in Bhādrājaṇ as reported in two other contemporary surveys and a different number of total villages as reported in one.

¹⁵ Pokaraṇ Fort is in the town of Pokaraṇ, eighty-three miles northwest of Jodhpur.

¹⁶ AB, p. 96.

¹⁷ NK, 2:167.

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Rāysiṅgh, Rāṭhoṛs Vairsal Prithīrājot, Gopāldās Māṇḍaṇot, and Uhaṛ Jaimal to loot a caravan. Rāysiṅgh died fighting there. Another genealogical note mentions that Jeso Īsardās Vīramdevot, Rāysiṅgh's brother, died fighting along with him when Rāv Candrasen dispatched the contingent against this caravan.¹⁸ Rāv Candrasen was nearly always short of cash during these years, and when he left Mārvār in January of 1575 he was nearly destitute. At one point he had received 60,000 rupees for a large ruby he sold to the Rāṇo of Mevār, Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvat, perhaps around 1569, when he married one of his daughters to the Rāṇo.¹⁹ They were soon spent. Probably the raid on the caravan was only one of several ordered by Rāv Candrasen, who had to maintain a retinue of around five hundred and a large family. Other Rajpūts were resorting to banditry as well. Māṇḍlot Rāṭhoṛ Udaisiṅgh Bhojāvat was killed in Gūndoc village²⁰ during the Turkāṇo helping Rāv Candrasen's nephew, Pratapsī Rāymalot, loot an entire caravan of horses (*sobat*).²¹ Good horses could cost as much as rs. 5,000 apiece. Looting them rather than paying for them eliminated one of a Rajpūt *ṭhākur*'s major expenditures.

Genealogies also mention “Turk” (i.e., Mughal) attacks on Rajpūt *gūḍhos* (fortified, long-term camps or hideouts). For some examples, a Bhāyal Paṃvār Rajpūt, Hemrāj Khīndāvat, died fighting when the Mughals came upon his *gūḍho*.²² Similarly, Jaitmālot Rāṭhoṛ Abho Pātalot was killed when the Mughals came upon his.²³ Finally, Karamsot Rāṭhoṛ Nagraj Dhanrājot was killed defending his *gūḍho* during a Mughal attack.²⁴ One shall never know precisely where these *gūḍhos* were or when they were attacked; the authors of the genealogies probably did not know themselves.²⁵ Rajpūts lived in *gūḍhos* only when they were driven from

¹⁸ NK, 2:169.

¹⁹ Jahangir, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, translated, edited, and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 174. For the wedding, see below, p. 10.

²⁰ Gūndoc village is fifty miles south-southeast of Jodhpur.

²¹ UCRK, 1:446. For other examples of Rajpūt banditry in this period, see *idem.*, 1:346 (Mālā Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Sādūl Karamsīyot) and 1:380 (Cāmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ Goyand Jesāvat).

²² NK, 1:196.

²³ UCRK, 1:105.

²⁴ UCRK, 2:260. For other examples, see *idem.*, 1:476, 479, 2:272.

²⁵ A skeptic might rightfully question whether these attacks can be dated to 1565-70. I would suggest that this period, directly after the Mughals assumed authority over Jodhpur and its surrounding *taphos* (subdistricts), is the one in which the local Rajpūts would be least accustomed to Mughal rule and most likely to resist it by not paying

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their former villages, either by enemies or by famines. During the years of occupation, the cause was usually direct Mughal pressure on the villages, as when they forced the evacuation of Setrāvo²⁶ because its ruler, Devrājot Rāṭhoṛ Jīvo Abhihaṛot, would not meet with them even though he had eleven wives to worry about during his period of exile.²⁷ Sometimes the Rajpūts struck back. The *Udaibhāṇ Cāmpāvat rī Khyāt* records in a biographical note about Jaitāvat Rāṭhoṛ Bhopat Devīdāsot that in the period of Turkish rule in Mārvār, Bhopat's *gūḍhos* and the *gūḍhos* of Hardās Mahesot²⁸ and the Karamsot Rāṭhoṛs were near Ghāṇārī Chīmṛīyā village.²⁹ When a local Mughal commander, Vījlī Khān, attacked the *gūḍhos* there, these Rajpūt *ṭhākurs* got away.³⁰ Afterward Bhopat formed a retinue and went and killed Vījlī Khān.³¹

Perhaps the most serious clash occurred on either December 25, 1567, or January 9, 1568. A Mughal officer, Ismā'il Qulī Khān, and his retainers attacked Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Lakhmaṇ Bhadāvat's *gūḍho* (Naiṇsī calls it a *koṭ* or fort) near Jojāvar village.³² They thoroughly looted it. Naiṇsī states that Lakhmaṇ was killed; other sources are ambiguous. The men were not imprisoned, however, and the Rāṭhoṛs subsequently caught up to the Mughal contingent near Kādu village³³ as it was returning to its base. They killed many of them. Four elephants were cut down.³⁴

any land revenue. Non-payment would have led to Mughal troops being sent to delinquent villages to enforce collection. The Rajpūts would have responded by abandoning the villages and constructing *gūḍhos*, which the Mughals would have attacked wherever they found them.

²⁶ Setrāvo village is fifty miles northwest of Jodhpur. It was the headquarters of Setrāvo Tapho (subdivision) of Jodhpur Pargano.

²⁷ UCRK, 1:134.

²⁸ For a biography of Karamsot Rāṭhoṛ Hardās Mahesot, see UCRK, 2:252.

²⁹ Not located.

³⁰ Literally, "These *ṭhākurs* picked up the die" (*īṇe ṭhākure pāso līyo*). The meaning of the idiom *pāso leṇo* is uncertain; I'm assuming it means to get another chance (in this instance to escape). It seems to be a synonym for *pāso deṇo*, "to slip away, to escape."

³¹ UCRK, 1:273.

³² Jojāvar village is in the Goḍhvār region some twenty-eight miles south-southeast of Sojhat.

³³ According to Naiṇsī, Kādu (also called Kāṇḍhu and Kārū) village was located in Sojhat Pargano, ten *kos* (about twenty miles) from Sojhat in the Nivās Kūṇ (extreme south). It probably is Kadu on AMS Map NG-43-10, which is

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These few examples suggest that the occupation of central Mārvār was not easy either for the Mughals or for the Rāṭhoṛ Rajpūts in these early years. The Rāṭhoṛs had been through a similar period during 1544-45, when Sher Shāh Sūr invaded Mārvār. They knew the places to hide, where the least accessible areas were (in the hills of Sīvāṇo Pargano and in the western Arāvallī mountains), and how to bide their time. The Mughals could feel completely secure only in their larger military outposts. They had trouble tracking Rāṭhoṛ movements. They did plunder or destroy a few Rajpūt hideouts, but in no instance did they succeed in winning any sort of permanent victory. But events in Mārvār took second place to those in Mevār and Būndī, where Akbar's armies won two great victories.

Of all the Rajpūt polities, none worried the Mughals more than Mevār. They well remembered the great Sīsodīyo ruler, Rāṇo Sāngo, whom Bābar had defeated with difficulty in 1527. Sāngo had died in 1528, and for the next three decades Mevār was weakened by an attack in 1535 by the Gujarāṭī Sultān, Bahādur Shāh, succession disputes, and the rise of neighboring Mārvār under Rāv Mālde. In the 1550s Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh began to regain some of the lost prestige of his dynasty. For awhile he and the Mughals were aligned in opposition to Hājī Khān, one of Sher Shāh Sūr's former supporters, but in the 1560s their alliance fell apart. By late summer 1567, Akbar was preparing to attack the heavily fortified Sīsodīyo capital, Cītoṛ. Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh left Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Jaimal Vīramdevot in charge of its defense and fled to western Mevār. The siege lasted from October 20, 1567 to February 23-24, 1568. Losses on both sides were considerable. Akbar, who generously had allowed Rāv Candrasen to ride away from Jodhpur when it was taken in 1565, followed his conquest of Cītoṛ by ordering the massacre of approximately 30,000 of Cītoṛ's defenders. It was an unmistakable message to the remaining independent Rajpūt rulers of the region.

A year later, Akbar's soldiers attacked Riṅthambhor Fort, which was in the hands of the Hāḍo Cahuvāṅ ruler of Būndī, Rāv Surjan Urjanot, one of Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh's allies. Akbar arrived at Riṅthambhor on February 10, 1569, and the ensuing siege did not end until March 19, when Rāv Surjan capitulated. In contrast to his policy at the end of the siege of Cītoṛ, Akbar

one mile southeast of Āūvo, a large villages twenty-one miles south of Sojhat. Kadu does not appear on more recent Rājasthān Census Atlas maps of this area. *Vigat*, 1:403-404, 410, 414, 434-435, 452-453.

³⁴ For details concerning this clash and its possible dates, see AB, 98 (December 25, 1567); UCRK, 1:276-277 (December 25, 1567); *Vigat*, 1:68-69 (January 9, 1568). Regarding the elephants, Raghubir Singh and his associates read one line of the note for Lakhmaṅ Bhadāvat in UCRK incorrectly as: *Mugal nāg hāthī 4 paṛāyā*. N. S. Bhāṭī has provided the correct reading, *Mugal nāthā hāthī 4 vaḍhāyā*, in his *Rājasthān ke Aītihāsik Granthom kī Sarveksaṅ*, 3 vols. (Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Granthāgār, 1989), 3:96. For further information about the Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛs and Lakhmaṅ Bhadāvat, see MRMR, 2:162-168.

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treated Surjan and his sons well and did not order any sort of reprisal for the month-long resistance. This was the second half of the message begun at Cītoṛ: the Emperor would be generous if resistance ended. He would be ruthless if it did not.³⁵

To Rāv Candraseṇ and the other uncommitted Rajpūt rulers remaining in Rājasthān, well aware of these events, the need to make a decision was imperative. Would they join the growing Mughal Empire, or would they continue to follow the increasingly difficult path of remaining independent? Some modern historians have suggested that after 1569 further resistance was futile and so the decision to submit to Akbar was logical and probably inevitable.³⁶ It was not inevitable; it may not have seemed entirely logical at the time. Those Rajpūts with long memories may have recalled the Mughals being driven out of India by the Sūrs, and then, not that many years later, the Sūr dynasty collapsing when Humāyūn and Akbar returned from Persia. Akbar's position in 1569 was not as secure as his victories over Mevār and Būndī would suggest. Why then should Rajpūts submit when they might wait on events for awhile? Why, in the words of Prithīrāj Rāṭhoṛ of Bīkāner, sell oneself in Akbar's shop?³⁷ On the other hand, the rewards received by the Kachvāhos of Amber when they entered Mughal service certainly must have appealed to those Rajpūts contemplating Imperial military service. In Mārvār itself, Rāṭhoṛs Prithīrāj Kūmpāvāt and Rāv Rām Māldevot had done well by allying with the Mughals.³⁸

³⁵ In this context Abū-l-Faẓl has written, "The chastisement of the stiff-necked ones who cocked the cap of pride, and whose heads held the brain of turbulence, as well as the cherishing of the obedient who bow themselves beneath the burden of submission and move swiftly under, are for great princes the most exquisite form of religious worship." AN, 2:489.

³⁶ E.g., John F. Richards, who wrote: "The fall of these great forts [Cītoṛ and Rīṅthambhor] demonstrated the reality of Mughal power for every warrior in North India. Outright defiance to the Mughal Emperor was not possible; submission or death was the only choice." J. F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire (The New Cambridge History of India)*, pt. 1, vol. 5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 27.

³⁷ Prithīrāj Rāṭhoṛ was the son of Rāv Kalyāṇmal (1542-74) of Bīkāner and a reknown Ḍiṅgal poet. He wrote a famous poem around 1578 in praise of Rāṇo Pratāp of Mevār, who, unlike many other Rajpūts, was refusing to go to Akbar's "shop" (i.e., refusing to submit to Akbar). Prithīrāj himself was in Mughal service at the time. See "Introduction," in *Velī Krisana Rukamaṇī rī Rāṭhoṛa rāja Prithī Rāja kī kahī*, ed. by L. P. Tessitori (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1919), for a discussion of Prithīrāj and his poetry.

³⁸ By 1573 Prithīrāj Kūmpāvāt had assumed a position of some influence with Akbar due to his knowledge of local politics in Mārvār. He had been given both Bhorundo village (thirteen miles northwest of Ajmer) and then Bilāro village (forty-one miles east-southeast of Jodhpur) as his *jāgīr*. Rāv Rām Māldevot held Sojhat Pargano from the Mughals between 1564 and early 1573. For a short biography of Prithīrāj Kūmpāvāt, see MRMR, 2:308-312. Unfortunately this biography was compiled before the authors had full access to the information in UCRK, 1:309.

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Rāv Candrasen's actions during 1569 seem to indicate the turmoil in his mind during this period. He left Bhādrājan for Būndī early that year, "completely alone" according to the *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt*,³⁹ and "with a single retinue of horses" according to the nineteenth-century *Mūndiyār rī Khyāt*.⁴⁰ Shortly after his arrival in Riṅthambhor, he married the daughter of Rāv Surjan Hāḍo on February 21, 1569, which would have been during the siege. Naiṅsī states that he received a dowry of fifteen horses, an elephant, and jewelry worth rs. 15,000.⁴¹ The *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt* differs, indicating that the elephant was ornamented and rs. 105,000 were given in cash along with fifteen horses.⁴² The *Mūndiyār rī Khyāt* agrees that fifteen horses were given but says that Rāv Candrasen received two elephants and jewelry along with rs. 15,000.⁴³

One wonders exactly how such a marriage could take place during a siege. Perhaps the date, February 21, is wrong, even though it is the one agreed upon by four different Rājasthānī chronicles.⁴⁴ The marriage with the daughter of Rāv Surjan at such a time might well have irritated Akbar (assuming he knew about it) and have been taken as a sign of Rāv Candrasen's continuing unwillingness to compromise with the Mughals. And what did Rāv Surjan gain from it? Rāv Candrasen was incapable of rendering military assistance at this point. Perhaps he undertook the dangerous journey to Riṅthambhor partly to encourage a wavering Rāv Surjan in defense of the fort. In the end, Rāv Surjan capitulated to Akbar's forces and Rāv Candrasen headed back to Bhādrājan with a new wife, cash to pay retainers, and military supplies in the form of horses and one or two elephants.

Later that same year, on November 11, 1569, Rāṅo Udaisiṅgh of Mevār (ca. 1537-72), driven out of Cītoṛ by the Mughals in 1568, came to Navsar village in Mārvār. Rāv Candrasen joined the Rāṅo there and went with him to Jaisālmer. The Rāṅo had informed the Bhātīs of Jaisālmer that he expected them to marry a daughter to him, but upon his arrival, they shut the

³⁹ JRKK, p. 107, which reads *chaṛāīs*. RRK, 1:107 has the correct reading, *chaṛā hīj*.

⁴⁰ MRK, p. 50.

⁴¹ *Vigat*, 1:69.

⁴² JRKK, p. 107; RRK, 1:107.

⁴³ MRK, p. 50.

⁴⁴ JRKK, p. 107; MRK, p. 50; RRK, 1:107; *Vigat*, 1:69. No other sources mention the marriage.

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gates to the city and had him told that, since they did not summon him, they had no such obligation. So Rāv Candrasen brought the Rāṇo back to Bhādrājaṇ and married his daughter Karmetī Bāī to him on December 9, 1569.⁴⁵ Probably it was during this period that Rāv Candrasen sold his large ruby to the Rāṇo for rs. 60,000.

Once again Rāv Candrasen had made an alliance with a Rajpūt ruler who was engaged in a struggle with the Mughals. If Akbar knew about this, he must have been displeased. Any sort of combined resistance to his advance into Rajasthan was potentially a serious problem. But Rāv Candrasen was making other alliances which indicated he might be willing to submit to Akbar. He married a daughter, Āskumvar Bāī, to Kumvar Mānsiṅgh Kachāvho, undoubtedly knowing that one way to approach the Emperor was through the Kachvāho family.⁴⁶ And he married Āskumvar Bāī's sister to Akbar himself.⁴⁷ Very likely both marriages took place not long before the autumn of 1570, when Akbar was in Nāgaur, and Rāv Candrasen came there with five hundred retainers, ostensibly to become an Imperial military servant. If so, his previous marriage alliances with the Hāḍos of Būndī and the Rāṇo of Mevār may have been undertaken to provide cash to pay a suitable contingent with which to present himself to the Emperor in Nāgaur. They may have had nothing to do with any preparation to form a coalition of disenchanted Rajpūt leaders in resistance to the Mughals.⁴⁸

Part II. From Nāgaur to Muḍāro,

December 13, 1570 to Early January, 1575

⁴⁵ JRKK, p. 107-108; MRK, p. 50, RRK, 1:107; *Vigat*, 1:69. AB, p. 80, indicates that the marriage of Karmetī Bāī to Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh took place before the trip to Jaisalmer, an unlikely sequence.

⁴⁶ Another daughter was married to Mānsiṅgh's son Sabalsiṅgh. MRMR, 2:39.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:38. The marriage to Akbar was a *ḍolo* marriage, in which a bride is sent in a litter or sedan chair from her natal home to the groom's residence (i.e., a marriage not requiring Rāv Candrasen's presence).

⁴⁸ Vyās, *Jodhpur Rājya kā Itihās*, pp. 192-193, mentions the marriage to the Rajpūt rulers of Būndī and Mevār, but attaches no particular significance to them. He does not mention the marriages to the Kachvāhos and to Akbar.

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Sixteen years had gone by while Emperor Akbar ruled in Delhī. The *bhomīyos*⁴⁹ from all ten directions came and met with [him in Nāgaur]. DV, p. 14.

In this year [1570] Candarsin, son of Maldeo, ruler of Marvar, came to do homage to the Emperor [in Nāgaur]. MT, 2:137

On Saturday, September 23, 1570 Emperor Akbar set out for Ajmer to visit the shrine of Khwājā-Mu'in ud-dīn. He spent several days at the shrine and dispensed gifts to the attendants there. He also issued orders for renovating the great fort at Ajmer. Then, on November 3, 1570, he left Ajmer for Nāgaur. Upon Akbar's arrival at Nāgaur on November 16, the new provincial governor, Khān-i Kalān,⁵⁰ arranged a great feast for him. In the next few days, Akbar issued an order to repair an old tank in Nāgaur. Then he got down to the real purpose of his visit. In the words of Abu-I-Faẓl, the author of the *Akbar Nāma*, Akbar had come to Nāgaur to "put things in order and administer justice."⁵¹ Putting things in order included meeting with the great men of western Rājasthān and accepting their submission.

One of those who arrived with submission in mind was Rāv Kalyāṇmal Jaitsīyot, the ruler of Bīkāner, 1542-74. He married two of his family's women (i.e., Vīkī Rāthorṇīs) to Akbar: Śrī Bhāṇmatī, who was the daughter of his brother Bhīmraj Jaitsīyot, and Rājkuṃvāri, the daughter of another of his brothers, Kānh Jaitsīyot.⁵² Kānh had died fighting against Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur in 1542, and his daughter must have been at least twenty-eight when she was married to Akbar. The Mughal Persian chronicles mention only her, the daughter of "Kahān," Kalyāṇmal's brother. She became an "inmate of the harem," to paraphrase Abu-I-Faẓl.⁵³ On December 4, 1570, Akbar allowed Rāv Kalyāṇmal,

⁴⁹ *Bhomīyo*: a local landholder, local ruler.

⁵⁰ Khān-I Kalān (Mīr Muḥammad Khān) was appointed governor of Ajmer, Jodhpur, and the frontiers of Gujarāt in October-November, 1570. Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Mughal Assignment System during Akbar's early Years, 1556-1575," in *Medieval India I: Researches in the History of India, 1250-1750*, ed. by Irfan Habib (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 101.

⁵¹ For the chronology of Akbar's activities September-December, 1570, and Abu-I-Faẓl's remark, see AN, 2:517-518.

⁵² DV, p. 14.

⁵³ AN, 2:518. See also MT, 2:137, TA, 2:362.

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enormously fat and unable to mount a horse, to return to Bīkāner, but he retained Kalyāṇmal's more competent son, Rāysiṅgh. He ordered Rāysiṅgh to “attend on the victorious stirrups,” implying that Rāysiṅgh became one of the group of young, upcoming men who formed part of the Emperor's personal contingent.⁵⁴

Another important ruler who married a daughter to Akbar and submitted during these weeks was Rāvaḷ Harrāj (1567-77) of Jaisālmer.⁵⁵

Rāv Candrasen probably had already married his daughter Rukhmāvatī Bāī to Akbar when he left Bhādrājaṅ for Nāgaur on November 21, 1570,⁵⁶ accompanied by five hundred horsemen.⁵⁷ He was one of at least six important Rāṭhoṛs to go to Nāgaur, including his son Rāysiṅgh Candrasenot (Rukhmatī Bāī's brother), his brother Udaisiṅgh Māldevot, and three half-brothers: Rāymal Māldevot, Bhojrāj Māldevot, and Ratansī Māldevot.⁵⁸ Rāv Candrasen himself met with Akbar on December 13, 1570.⁵⁹ According to the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, he was enrolled as a military servant of the Emperor at this time.⁶⁰ The *Akbar Nāma* notes that he was received with royal favors.⁶¹ Nothing in their two brief accounts indicates any sort of problem arose, but two Rājasthānī sources imply that the Rāv was offended by a particular remark of Akbar's. Observing the appearance (*rūp*) of the Rāv, Akbar observed: “You have met me in order that

⁵⁴ TA, 2:362.

⁵⁵ AN, 2:518-259.

⁵⁶ AB, p. 80. According to *Vigat*, 1:69, he left Bhādrājaṅ on November 22.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:69.

⁵⁸ JRKK, p. 108.RRK, 1:108; *Murārdān*, p. 605; UCRK, 2:87. UCRK, 2:87 suggests that Bhāṅ Māldevot, not Bhojrāj Māldevot, was among the brothers at Nāgaur, but it is much more likely that it was Bhojrāj, who entered Akbar's service at some point, achieved a high rank, and later died fighting in Gujarāt. For these two brothers, see *Murārdān*, p. 617.

⁵⁹ AB, p. 80; *Vigat*, 1:69. Other dates given by three Rājasthānī khyāts: *MRK*, p. 50: April 11, 1571; *Murārdān*, pp. 598-599: November 9, 1572; UCRK, 2:79: 1566-67; UCRK, 2:87: June-July, 1570. AN, 2:517, 523 indicate that Akbar arrived in Nāgaur on November 16, 1570 and was in the Panjāb at the end of January, 1571, so these *khyāt* dates are impossible for his meeting with Rāv Candrasen.

⁶⁰ TA, 2:362.

⁶¹ AN, 2:518.

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you do not meet Kalo Khān.”⁶² Kalo Khān, the Khān-i Kalān of the Persian chronicles, was the recently appointed governor of Ajmer Province.⁶³ To Rāv Candraseṇ, the remark may have suggested that he met with Akbar out of fear that he would soon face an attack on Bhādrājaṇ by the Khān if he did not come to Nāgaur. Such a remark would have been deeply offensive, particularly since the Rāv had fought long and ably at Jodhpur in 1565. It may have been a problem of translation; Akbar might have spoken in Persian which Rāv Candraseṇ would not have known, and so they would have required a translator to communicate.

Sources also differ about what happened next. It is clear that Rāv Candraseṇ maintained the appearance of submission and left his young son, Rāysiṅgh, thirteen years old, with Akbar at this time.⁶⁴ Another son, Ugraseṇ, perhaps remained with Akbar or was sent to Būndī.⁶⁵ Then Rāv Candraseṇ either left immediately, or after a meeting in a garden with his brother and half-brothers. One source indicates that they swore an oath of some kind at this meeting.⁶⁶ Possibly it was an oath to keep quiet about the Rāv’s plans. Afterward Udaisiṅgh, Bhojrāj, and Rāymal all became Imperial military servants. Udaisiṅgh was to have a long career in Mughal service; Rāymal received Sīvāṇo Pargano from Akbar;⁶⁷ Bhojrāj rose to a high rank (*mansab*) of 1,500.⁶⁸ Rāv Candraseṇ returned to Bhādrājaṇ. He soon began plundering and attacking Mughal contingents. Any sort of a chance for accommodation with the Mughals slipped away like a vapor under a rising sun.

⁶² JRKK, p. 108. V.S. Bhargava, in his *Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, A.D. 1526-1748* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966), p. 46, has translated this passage, *Monūṃ mīliyo he jyū[m] Kālā Khān mat mile*, as “As he [Rāv Candraseṇ] is handsome he should not meet any black man lest his heart be tarnished.” This translation cannot be justified by the text in the published version of the JRKK; perhaps Bhargava had only a defective copy of this *Khyāt*. The RRK, a slightly different version of the JRKK, has the reading: *Monuṃ mīliyo hai jīhūṃ Kalākhān sai mat mīlai* (1:108). The meaning is the same. Nainsī does not mention this remark and says only that Akbar observed Rāv Candraseṇ’s appearance (*sūrat*) and was pleased. *Vigat*, 1:69.

⁶³ One source refers to a nickname of Khān-i Kalān’s, Miṅhāriyo, or “Bracelet-maker.” I have no certain explanation for this nickname, which may be derogatory (perhaps a reference to Khān-i Kalān’s paternity). AB, p. 80.

⁶⁴ JRKK, p. 108; RRK, 1:108; UCRK, 2:87; *Vigat*, 1:69. Rāysiṅgh was born on September 6, 1557. UCRK, 2:82.

⁶⁵ UCRK, 2:87 maintains Ugraseṇ did not stay with Akbar, while *Vigat*, 1:69 says that he did.

⁶⁶ UCRK, 2:87.

⁶⁷ *Murārdān*, p. 605; *Vigat*, 1:69, 2:219.

⁶⁸ *Murārdān*, p. 617.

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Clearly Rāv Candrasen had come to Nāgaur with the intent of becoming an Imperial military servant. He had arranged the marriages of two of his daughters to facilitate a meeting with Akbar. He arrived in Nāgaur with a considerable retinue of five hundred horsemen, enough to insure that Akbar would treat him as a serious candidate for an appointment. He left his young son Rāysingh with Akbar, a sign that he had accepted Imperial service. The Mughal chroniclers were convinced that he had. Why then did he not do so? Two reasons seem most plausible.

First, he may have anticipated being given more than he received from Akbar. His advisors would probably have cautioned him not to expect Akbar immediately to return the city of Jodhpur and its great fort, especially since Cītor and Riṅthambhor had recently been conquered with so much difficulty. Candrasen had not made the conquest of Jodhpur in 1565 easy for Akbar's army, and Akbar would have had the long resistance of that year in mind in 1570. But Candrasen certainly would have hoped for the eventual return of Jodhpur. And he might have reasonably thought that he would receive a greater portion of Jodhpur Pargano than his current home, Bhādrājaṅ. Or he might have expected Sīvāṅo Pargano, which went instead to his brother Rāymal. It seems at most Akbar only offered him Bhādrājaṅ and perhaps Pokaraṅ Pargano, where Candrasen's men already controlled the fort. Surely being treated little or no better than his brothers would have rankled Candrasen.

Second, there is the insulting remark Akbar is alleged to have made about Candrasen's fear of meeting Kalo Khan. One must remember that Akbar and Candrasen were young men, both less than thirty in 1570, both from prestigious dynasties, both impetuous at times. Perhaps Akbar could not resist a bit of gloating after his recent conquests. To Candrasen, a Rajpūt in a culture intensely concerned with honor and hierarchy, a demeaning remark about his courage and, by implication, his subordinate status would have been insulting and infuriating. Other Rajpūts exploded with rage in such situations, even when they were in the Mughal *darbār*. Candrasen probably hid his anger well until he safely escaped from Nāgaur. But it seems certain that he had made up his mind to reject Mughal service by then.

December 13, 1570 to August 12, 1572

From Nāgaur to Kāṅujo

And Candrasenī took leave from the Emperor and came back to Bhādrājaṅ. And he went from Bhādrājaṅ into the mountains of

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Pīp[lod] in the vicinity of Sīvāṇo. And while he had horses, he began to carry out lootings [and] robberies. MRK, p. 150

The Rājasthānī sources agree that Rāv Candrasen, after returning to Bhādrājan, soon left for Sīvāṇo.⁶⁹ He took the fort there away from his half-brother, Rāymal, who went to Mevār.⁷⁰ Then he left for the hills of Pīplod⁷¹ near the fort. Years before, from 1544-46, his father, Rāv Mālde, had stayed in these low but rugged hills. Rāv Mālde had small forts built in Pīplod, Kuṇḍal,⁷² and Gaḍo.⁷³ It was a fine area in which to hold out against invaders, but its resources were meager. Rāv Candrasen could not maintain a large contingent there. Nevertheless, he managed to carry out a successful attack against the forces of Khān-i Kalān. He destroyed the Khān's military outpost in Mahelī,⁷⁴ a small village south of the Lūṇī River.⁷⁵ But he did not have the ability to confront the Khān indefinitely. On February 24, 1571, he reached an agreement with the Mughals, according to which he would pay Khān-i Kalān nine *lākhs* of *pīrojīs*.⁷⁶ In return, the Khān would end his operations and the Lūṇī River would become the

⁶⁹ JRKK, p. 108; MRK, p. 50, UCRK, 2:78, *Vigat*, 1:69.

⁷⁰ *Vigat*, 2:219.

⁷¹ Pīplod (also Pīplāṇo or Pīplāṇ; Pīplūm on Map One) is four or five miles southwest of Sīvāṇo. Naiṇsī remarks that Pīplod was a fine village, although small. Rāv Mālde had a fort built on a hill here during the period 1544-46. *Vigat*, 2:251-252.

⁷² Kuṇḍal village is ten miles southwest of Sīvāṇo. Naiṇsī records that at one time Kuṇḍal was a large settlement and the center of the local *thākūrāī* (little kingdom) of the Paṁvār Rajpūts. There is a large hill nearby where Rāv Mālde stayed after he was driven from Jodhpur in 1544. At that time he had a fort with walls twelve feet thick built on the hill. *Vigat*, 2:251. See Map One also.

⁷³ Gaḍo (also Gaḍhī; Gurā on Map One) village is five miles west-southwest of Sīvāṇo. Naiṇsī describes Gaḍo as a large village, "a place to stay during a period of distress." Rāv Mālde had a wall built around the fort during his stay in Sīvāṇo from 1544-46. *Vigat*, 2:253.

⁷⁴ Mahelī (Meli on Map One) village is five miles north-northeast of Sīvāṇo. *Vigat*, 2:244-245.

⁷⁵ For the battle of Mahelī, see JRKK, p. 108; MRK, p. 50; *Vigat*, 1:69.

⁷⁶ JRKK, p. 108; RRK, 1:108. These sources indicate Rāv Candrasen paid ten *lākhs* of Sher Shāhī *takos* on February 24, 1571. AB, p. 83 indicates he agreed to pay ten *lākhs* of *phadiyos* but at this time paid only one *lakh*. *Tako*: a copper coin; *phadiyo*: a small silver coin. A *pīrojī* was a Fīrozshāhī rupee, issued during the reign of Fīroz

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boundary between the Rāthorṣ and the Mughals. Rāv Candraseṇ did not have the funds to make the entire payment, and so he handed over two hostages to the Khān, to be held until the full amount was made. As it happened, Rāv Candraseṇ never paid anything more, and these two men, Pañcolī Sāraṇ Netāvāt and Bhaṇḍārī Dhano Ḍabarot, were held until Khān-i Kalān died several years afterward.⁷⁷

According to one source, Rāv Candraseṇ abandoned Bhādrājaṇ when he made the pact with the Khān.⁷⁸ Other sources indicate he had already left Bhādrājaṇ before the agreement to do so.⁷⁹ Then he stayed in Sīvāṇo for nine months, after which he took his *vasī*⁸⁰ and Mahājaṇs to Kāṇujo, a village of eastern Jaitāraṇ Pargano,⁸¹ in the V.S. year 1628 (July 7, 1571 to July 10, 1572).⁸² If indeed he did abandon Bhādrājaṇ on February 24, 1571 and then remained in Sīvāṇo for nine months, he must have left for Kāṇujo no later than the end of November, 1571. But

Shāh Tughluq, Sultān of Delhī 1351-88, worth more than the other two coins. In either case the Rāv paid only a small portion of what he owed.

⁷⁷ AB, p. 80; JRKK, p. 108; RRK, 1:108; *Vigat*, 1:69.

⁷⁸ JRKK, p. 108 states: “On [Saturday], February 24, 1571, [Rāv Candraseṇ] made the pact and entrusted Bhādrājaṇ [to the Mughals]. And the Rāvji went to Sīvāṇo. Afterward the Rāvji’s Rajpūt Dāso Pātaloṭ fought a battle with Kalo Khān in the village Mahelī, where many Mughals were killed.”

⁷⁹ MRK, p. 50, implies this; *Vigat*, 1:69 states it clearly. It seems probable that Rāv Candraseṇ agreed formally to give up Bhādrājaṇ only after the battle of Mahelī as part of the pact with Khān-i Kalān. By this reckoning, he left Nāgaur, returned to Bhādrājaṇ, then went to Sīvāṇo and began a series of attacks including the one at Mahelī. Subsequently he came to an agreement with the Khān and handed over Bhādrājaṇ on February 24, 1571. Afterward the Lūnī River became the boundary between the Rāthorṣ and the Mughals, and Rāv Candraseṇ remained in the Sīvāṇo region.

⁸⁰ *Vasī*: the people or subjects bound to an important Rajpūt who lived either in his village or town of residence (*vās*) or in nearby villages under his control and who performed various services for him according to their status, receiving in exchange his protection. Typically the *vasī* of an important man contained persons of many *jātis*, including a contingent of Rajpūt warriors, peasants such as Jāṭs, Sīrvīs, Paṭels, etc., Vāṇiyos, Brāhmaṇs, Cāraṇs, and members of the the lower *jātis*: Kumbhāṛs, Mālīs, Sutrārs, and others. *Vasīs* were divided among sons either before or upon the death of a Rajpūt *thākur*, each inheriting son taking his part of the *vasī* and going to live on his share (*vaṇṭ*, *grās*) of the paternal lands, a process referred to in the sources as *judāī* (“separation”).

⁸¹ Kāṇujo village is approximately fifteen miles southeast of Jaitāraṇ town. See Map Two.

⁸² AB, p. 80, 86; *Vigat*, 1:69.

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according to Naiṅsī, while Rāv Candrasen was in the hills around Ghughroṭ,⁸³ he helped Rāṭhoṭ Māṅḍaṅ Kūmpāvāt in a fierce confrontation with some Devṛo Cahuvāṅs.⁸⁴ Māṅḍaṅ had engaged in this battle only after leaving Mevār upon the death of Rāṅo Udaisiṅgh Sāṅgāvāt on February 28, 1572.⁸⁵ Most likely the battle occurred on May 11, 1573.⁸⁶ At that time Rāv Candrasen supposedly was settled in Kāṅujo. Also, when Rāṭhoṭ Devīdās Jaitāvāt visited Bhādrājaṅ in 1572, Rāv Candrasen was staying there.⁸⁷ Seventeenth-century chroniclers and modern historians alike have all assumed that Rāv Candrasen moved from Bhādrājaṅ to Sīvāṅo to Kāṅujo in an irreversible progression. In truth, he retained control over Sīvāṅo until April, 1576, and may have revisited there several times between 1571 and January, 1575, when he finally fled Mārvār. As for Bhādrājaṅ, the Mughals did not occupy the town until shortly after August 12, 1572, and then only briefly. Rāv Candrasen likely spent some time in Bhādrājaṅ as well as Sīvāṅo after February 24, 1571. The Mughals also had less concern with him in 1572-73, when they invaded and occupied Gujarāt. He probably was able, if he wished, to move around southern Mārvār unimpeded for awhile. However, it is certain that he was no longer in Bhādrājaṅ when Khān-i Kalān was attacked there by a Rajpūt assassin in late August, 1572.⁸⁸

⁸³ Ghughroṭ village is four or five miles south-southwest of Sīvāṅo. According to Naiṅsī, Ghughroṭ, although it had no fort, was a good place to stay during difficult times, primarily because of its water supply and surrounding hills. *Vigat*, 2:255-256. See Map One also.

⁸⁴ NK, 3:128. For more details about this encounter, see below, pp.

⁸⁵ “Bāt Māṅḍaṅ Kūmpāvāt rī,” in *Aitihāsik Tavarikhvār Vārtā* (MS no. 1234, Rājasthānī Śodh Saṁsthān, Caupāsṅī), p. 68 indicates that Rāṅo Udaisiṅgh was building a palace for Māṅḍaṅ when he died; *Mārvār rī thikāṅām rī Vigat*, ed. by Hukamsiṅh Bhātī (Caupāsṅī, Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Śodh Saṁsthān, 1998), p. 43 says that Māṅḍaṅ left Mevār for Mārvār after the Rāṅo “went” (*calīyo* = died). For Rāṅo Udaisiṅgh’s date of death, see G. H. Ojhā, *Udapur Rājya kā Itihās*, 2 vols. (2nd saṁskaraṅ. Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Granthāgar, 1999 [1928]), 1:421.

⁸⁶ The date of Sīho’s death, May 11, 1573, comes from the Sindhal Rāṭhoṭ genealogy in UCRK, 1:38. The Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṭ genealogy gives 1570-71 for the date of his death, which is before Rāṅo Udaisiṅgh died. Thus it cannot be accepted. See UCRK, 1:291.

⁸⁷ AB, 1:265; “Bāt Rāṭhoṭ Devīdās Jaitāvāt rī,” in *Aitihāsik Tavarikhvār Vārtā* (MS no. 1234, Rājasthānī Śodh Saṁsthān, Caupāsṅī), p. 71. These sources indicate Devīdās was a *sanyāsī* for ten years, from his supposed death in 1562 until 1572, when he decided to return to his old life as a Rajpūt warrior. Shortly afterward he encountered Rāv Candrasen in Bhādrājaṅ.

⁸⁸ Akbar dispatched Khān-i Kalān to Gujarāt as part of an advance guard of 10,000 mounted men on August 12, 1572, and the Khān arrived in Bhādrājaṅ shortly afterward. Akbar himself left Ajmer on September 1, 1572 and reached Bhadrājaṅ on October 20. But he spent some time hunting, whereas the advance guard would have moved more quickly. See AN, 2:540, 3:6-7; MT, 2:144; TA, 2:370.

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August, 1572 to Summer-Fall, 1573

Kāṇujo

Kāṇujo [is] ten *kos* from Jaitāraṅ [town] in the east. [There are] fifty *halvos* of land [and] fine fields. Rāvāt Narāiṅdās, a Cīto Mer,⁸⁹ resides [here].... The Rāyapur River is nearby. During a time of trouble Rāv Candrasen lived here.... [It is] a place suitable to live [in] during a time of trouble. *Vigat*, 1:536.

Despite Naiṅsī's favorable description, Kāṇujo was a small mountain village. Fifty *halvos* were not that many. Two other Mer villages in the area, Cāṅg and Borār, had 100 and 200 *halvos* of land, respectively; Borār had a fort with walls twelve feet thick. Why did Rāv Candrasen choose to live in Kāṇujo? And why did he decide to come all the way from Sīvāṅo to a section of Jaitāraṅ Pargano that almost never was controlled by Rajpūts, but rather was under the authority of various Mer chieftains? These hill men were traditionally hostile to the Rajpūts. They raided their villages and killed many a Rajpūt who opposed them.⁹⁰

It would seem that one reason Rāv Candrasen came to this area was its proximity to Mevār, where a fellow ruler, Rāṅo Pratāp Udaisiṅhot (1572-97), was organizing resistance to the Mughals. Rāv Candrasen had married a daughter to Rāṅo Pratāp's father,⁹¹ and he was on good terms with Pratāp himself. He attended his coronation in 1572.⁹² Probably Rāv Candrasen reckoned that if he ever was forced out of Kāṇujo, he could go into Mevār and live (in fact this is

⁸⁹ The Mers are a tribal people living mostly in the hills of Rājasthān and Gujarāt. The best account of the Rājasthānī Mers is C. J. Dixon, *Sketch of Mairwara* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1850).

⁹⁰ Richard Davis Saran, "Conquest and Colonization: Rajpūts and Vasīs in Middle Period Mārvār" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1978), pp. 152-155.

⁹¹ See above, p. : MRMR, 2:38.

⁹² Ram Vallabh Somani, *History of Mewar: From Earliest Times to 1751 A.D.* (Jaipur: C. L Ranka & Co., [1976]), p. 219.

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exactly what happened in 1575). He knew he could not stay in Sīvāṇo if he kept refusing to pay the remainder of the penalty he owed the Mughals. The other possible choice, Pokaraṇ and its fort, which his men still controlled, was not strong enough to hold out against even a minor Mughal expedition. He would have been trapped if they besieged Pokaraṇ. And so he went to Kāṇujo.

The reason Rāv Candraseṇ picked Kāṇujo above Cāṅg or Borāṇ or some other Mer village seems to have been his good relationship with Rāvāt Pañcāyaṇ, the Mer ruler of Kāṇujo at that time, who performed many services for him while he stayed in the village. Rāv Candraseṇ had his wives and other family members with him. Since he was responsible for their safety, he had to be reasonably certain he would not have to abandon them if suddenly attacked by either the Mers or the Mughals and forced to flee. Very likely Rāvāt Pañcāyaṇ provided that certainty.⁹³

The Mughal Invasion of Gujarāt

1572-73

While Rāv Candraseṇ got used to living in the small mountain village that was his new home, Emperor Akbar prepared to invade Gujarāt. He left Faṭhpūr on July 4, 1572, and arrived in Ajmer on July 26. On August 12 he dispatched Khān-i Kalān to Gujarāt along with 10,000 troops as an advance guard.⁹⁴ The Khān soon reached Bhādrājaṇ and halted in the village, which Rāv Candraseṇ had abandoned some time previously. At this time the Rāv of Sīrohī, Devṛo Cahuvāṇ Mānsiṅgh Dūdāvāt, sent a small contingent of Rajpūts to greet the Khān and offer submission. Afterward the Khān called them up one by one. He was giving each some pān according to custom as he dismissed them when one pulled out a dagger and stuck it through his shoulder. The Khān's servants killed the Rajpūt immediately and "sent him to hell," in the words of al-Badāonī.⁹⁵ The Khān survived; Akbar was infuriated. He himself arrived in Bhādrājaṇ along with the rest of the Imperial army on October 20, 1572. He proceeded from there to Sīrohī and encamped in the town on October 24. Rāv Mānsiṅgh had fled, but a number

⁹³ AB, p. 80; *Vigat*, 1:70.

⁹⁴ AN, 2:538-540; MT, 2:143; TA, 2:372.

⁹⁵ MT, 2:144.

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of Rajpūts had taken refuge in a temple of Mahādev near Sīrohī. Others surrounded Rāv Mānsiṅgh's palace. Akbar dispatched some archers and swordsmen and had them all killed.⁹⁶

While in Sīrohī, Akbar appointed Vīko Rāṭhoṛ Rāysiṅgh Kalyāṅmalot, the future Rājā of Bīkāner, governor of Jodhpur and ordered him to maintain troops there and in Sīrohī in order to protect the Mughal army from attacks on its flanks while they advanced to Gujarāt. Akbar was particularly worried about the activities of Rāṅo Pratāp Udaisiṅghot in Mevār. After appointing Rāysiṅgh, he left Sīrohī with his army for Pattan, Gujarāt and arrived there on November 7, 1572.⁹⁷ The invasion and subsequent pacification of Gujarāt were to occupy Akbar for nearly a year, until September 13, 1573, when he left Pattan for Fāṭhpūr.⁹⁸

Rāysiṅgh was to remain in charge of Jodhpur for over four years, until late 1576.⁹⁹ He continued the policy of attacking troublesome Rajpūts in their home villages that had begun with the Mughal occupation of Jodhpur in 1565.¹⁰⁰ And he became a particular problem for Rāv Candrasen. The Bīkāner ruling family had no love for the Jodhpur rulers. They remembered with bitterness that Rāv Mālde had attacked Bīkāner in 1542 and killed Rāv Jaitsī, its ruler. One of Jaitsī's sons, Bhīmrāj, along with the dispossessed ruler of Meṛto, Vīramde, subsequently had appealed to Sher Shāh Sūr for help regaining their lost kingdoms. Sher Shāh had invaded Mārvār in 1543-44 and destroyed Rāv Mālde's army at the battle of Samel. He then restored

⁹⁶ AN, 3:6-8; MT, 2:144; TA, 2:372.

⁹⁷ AN, 3:8; DV, 15; MT, 2:144; TA, 2:372-373.

⁹⁸ For an overview of Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt, see A. L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, vol. 1, *Political History* (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala & Company, 1962), pp. 131-154.

⁹⁹ Rājasthānī sources are vague about Rājā Rāysiṅgh's stay in Jodhpur. According to Persian sources, after Candrasen left Jodhpur, Akbar gave it to Rāysiṅgh in late October or Early November, 1572. But the *Daḷpat Vilās* (DV, p. 15) indicates that Rāv Kalyāṅmal Jaitsīyot (1542-74) and Rāysiṅgh both were sent to Jodhpur at this time, and that Rāv Kalyāṅmal was still there early in 1573 (DV, p. 20). It seems unlikely that Rāv Kalyāṅmal, described as too fat to mount a horse (TA, 2:362) would have stayed long in Jodhpur if he did at all. It is more likely he remained in Bīkāner while Rāysiṅgh performed the actual duties in Jodhpur. Then, when Rāv Kalyāṅmal died on January 24, 1574, Rāysiṅgh became the first Rājā of Bīkāner and continued to hold Jodhpur. Akbar relieved him of his appointment there sometime in 1576. AB, p. 81 indicates he stayed in Jodhpur only two years, correct if the author was counting only 1574-76. *Vigat*, 1:68 says that Rāysiṅgh was in Jodhpur one and one-half to two years, from 1574-75 to 1577-78. Clearly this range of years is incorrect. JRKK, p. 109 states that Akbar gave Rāysiṅgh Jodhpur in 1574-75 and that he stayed one and one-half years, a date range which is very close to agreeing with the *Akbar Nāmā*'s chronology of Rāysiṅgh's years in Jodhpur. See also RRK, 1:108.

¹⁰⁰ UCRK, 1:467.

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Bīkāner and Merṭo to their respective rulers. Afterward the relationship between the rulers of Jodhpur and Bīkāner fell to a new low. Akbar did not improve it by appointing Rāysīngh.

Death of Sīho Sīndhal

May 11, 1573

Rāv Candrasen himself evidently did not hinder Akbar's invasion of Gujarāt. Nothing is known of his activities from August, 1572 until May 11, 1573, when he became involved in a deadly confrontation between Rāthor Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvāt and some Devṛo Cahuvāṇ Rajpūts. Māṇḍaṇ, an exceptionally fierce, determined Rajpūt, had left military service in Mevār sometime shortly after the death of Rāṇo Udaisīngh Sāṅgāvāt on February 28, 1572.¹⁰¹ He was on the trail of Sīho Sīndhal, who had left Mevār just previously to take up military service under Ghaznī Khān, the ruler of Jālōr (ca. 1568-85). His goal was to kill Sīho to avenge his brother's death. He eventually found Sīho within the domain of Udaisī Devṛo. When Māṇḍaṇ killed Sīho there, an enraged Udaisī took it as a personal insult to his authority. His retainers went after Māṇḍaṇ and his men, caught up to them, and attacked. Many men died. In Naiṣī's words, "There was such a heap of Rajpūt corpses!" Māṇḍaṇ was wounded but survived.¹⁰²

At this time Rāv Candrasen was not in Kāṇujo, but rather in the mountains of Ghughroṭ near Sīvāṇo. When he heard about this battle, he sent his retainers and had them kill all of Udaisī Devṛo's men.¹⁰³ It was a demonstration that he still had some ability to carry out significant military operations in Mārvār. He was no match for Imperial armies, but he could exert his sway over local Rajpūt *thākurs*. He also was able to move around Mārvār without attracting much attention from the Mughals. He was soon to prove just how great a nuisance he could be.

¹⁰¹ See above, p.

¹⁰² NK, 3:124-128. For a biography of Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvāt, see MRMR, 2:312-320. This biography unfortunately was compiled without the availability of additional information in UCRK, 1:38, 291-292 and in *Mārvār rī Thikāṇāṇ rī Vigat*, pp. 36, 43.

¹⁰³ NK, 3:128.

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Mevār, Rāv Candrasen, and Sīvāṇo Affairs

May 11, 1573 to March, 1574

While the Mughal army marched to Gujarāt during August-September of 1572, Akbar sent Jalāl Khān Qurchī¹⁰⁴ to Mevār to hold preliminary discussions with the new Rāṇo, Pratāp Udaisiṅhot (1572-97). Apparently nothing of substance was accomplished, and the Khān went back to attend upon Akbar in Ahmadābād on November 27, 1572.¹⁰⁵ Later, in April of 1573, Akbar sent Kachvāho Kuṃvar Mānsiṅh Bhagvāndāsot of Āmber¹⁰⁶ to Ḍūṅarpur, where he fought and defeated its ruler, Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ, on April 18.¹⁰⁷ Kuṃvar Mānsiṅh then proceeded to Udaipur. Some sources say he met directly with the Rāṇo, who had arranged a feast for him on the bank of the Udaisāgar Lake. Others maintain the Rāṇo sent his son, Amarsiṅh, to meet there with Kuṃvar Mānsiṅh, who took the Rāṇo's absence as an insult and left without even eating.¹⁰⁸ The *Rāvaḷ Rāṇājī rī Vāt*, a Mevār chronicle, notes that Rājā Mānsiṅh sent one of Rāṇo Pratāp's retainers, Bhīm Ḍoḍīyo, to ask the Rāṇo why he would not eat with him, whereupon the Rāṇo sent word back pointedly reminding Mānsiṅh that he was connected by marriage to the Emperor (a Muslim) and that he ate together with him.¹⁰⁹ According to Naiṅsī, Sīsodīyo Rāvat Khaṅgār Ratansiṅhot warned the Rāṇo that Kuṃvar Mānsiṅh was "of a singular nature," implying that there was something unusual or strange about him. Khaṅgār told the Rāṇo

¹⁰⁴ Jalāl Khān Qurchī was a personal servant (Arabic *khawāṣṣ*; Rājasthānī *khavās*) and favorite of Akbar's. AA, 1:531, no. 213; Shāh navāz Khān Awrangābādī, *The Maāthir-ul-Umarā, being Biographies of the Muhammadan and Hindu Officers of the Timurid Sovereigns of India from 1500 to about 1780 A.D.*, translated by H. Beveridge, revised, annotated and completed by Bains Prasad, 3 vols (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1941-64), 1:737; MT, 2:189; UCRK, 1:316.

¹⁰⁵ TA, 2:375; Somani, *History of Mewar*, p. 222.

¹⁰⁶ Rājāvat Kachvāho Kuṃvar Mānsiṅh Bhagvāndāsot, who subsequently rose to the highest *mansab* rank of any Hindū serving Akbar (7,000/6,000) and became Rājā of Āmber, 1589-1614.

¹⁰⁷ Somani, *History of Mewar*, p. 222. Āhāro Gahlot Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ Prithirājot ruled Ḍūṅarpur, a small polity in southern Rājasthān, from ca. 1549-80. The Āhāros of Ḍūṅarpur were the allies of the Rāṇo of Mevār.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Mevār Rāvaḷ Rāṇājī rī Vāt*, ed. by Hukamsiṅh Bhāṭī (Udaypur: Pratāp Śodh Pratiṣṭhān, 1994), p. 66.

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not to meet with Mānsiṅgh, but he did anyway. Mānsiṅgh became offended during the mean and left.¹¹⁰ In his *Akbar Nāmā*, Abu-I-Faḥl relates a slightly different story, stating that the Rāṇo did meet with Mānsiṅgh, but, “owing to his evil nature,” he would not agree to go to the Mughal court. He temporized and gave Mānsiṅgh leave to return to Akbar. Akbar sent two more missions to the Rāṇo, one in September and another in December, 1573. Both failed. The Rāṇo was consistently courteous, except perhaps to Kuṃvar Mānsiṅgh, but he never agreed to serve Akbar.¹¹¹ Instead, he began strengthening his defenses in western Mevār. He also began looking to ther Rajpūts unaligned with the Mughals for their support.¹¹²

Rāv Candraseṇ had maintained good relations with Rāṇo Pratāp. As noted above, he attended his coronation at Kumbhalgarḥ in early 1572.¹¹³ One may recall also that he had married his daughter to Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh, Pratāp’s father, in 1569.¹¹⁴ He may have moved his family to Kāṇujo to be closer to Mevār in case he had to flee from the Mughals once again. It seems probable that he and Pratāp formed some sort of agreement during 1573 or early 1574 in order to confront the Mughals more aggressively.

In March, 1574, when the new Imperial regnal year began on the eleventh, Akbar was in Ajmer. He received information that Rāv Candraseṇ had “rebelled” and strengthened the fort in Sīvāṇo, which Abu-I-Faḥl describes as “the strongest fort” in Ajmer Province.¹¹⁵ It was not the strongest, but it was one of the least accessible, situated in a mountainous area with several other, smaller forts nearby from which the Rāṭhoṛs could harass any besiegers.¹¹⁶ Once taken, it was difficult to hold because of the hostile neighborhood. Sultān Alā-ud-dīn of Delhī had conquered Sīvāṇo in 1308, but then his men abandoned it, perhaps out of sheer boredom induced by living

¹¹⁰ NK, 1:39.

¹¹¹ AN, 3:57; Somani, *History of Mevār*, p. 222.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 223-226.

¹¹³ See above, p.

¹¹⁴ See above, p.

¹¹⁵ AN, 3:113.

¹¹⁶ See Map One, “Sīvāṇo Region,” 1574-76,” and above, pp.

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at such a remote outpost. Akbar appointed Shāh Qulī Maḥrām,¹¹⁷ Rājā Rāysīngh (who had just succeeded his father, Rāv Kalyāṅmal, as ruler of Bīkāner),¹¹⁸ Shimāl Khān,¹¹⁹ Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Kesodās Jaimalot of Meṛto,¹²⁰ and others to go to Sīvāṅo and “chastise the presumptuous one, Rāv Candrasen. But he offered to be generous if Candrasen changed his ways.¹²¹

Akbar’s contingent set out first for Sojhat, where Rāv Kalo Rāmōt, the son of Rāv Rām Māldevot, had entered Mughal service and succeeded his father as ruler in May of 1573.¹²² Upon the approach of the Mughal force, Kalo abandoned Sojhat and fled to Sīriyārī (Sīrbārī in the *Akbar Nāmā*) village in the hilly region of southeastern Sojhat Pargano. The Mughal officers pursued him and burnt the fort. Kalo escaped from there and went to Gorambhrām (Koramba in the *Akbar Nāmā*), a large hill above Sāraṅ village, about two miles northeast of Sīriyārī.¹²³ When Kalo perceived that he was about to be taken, he submitted and brought his half-brother, Kesodās Rāmōt, and two of his supporters, Rāṭhoṛ Mahes Kūmpāvāt and Rāṭhoṛ Prithīrāj Kūmpāvāt, with him in order to re-enter Mughal Service.¹²⁴ Akbar then permitted Kalo to remain behind in order to “readjust his broken fortunes,” as Abu-l-Faḥl put it, while the Mughal expedition proceeded to Sīvāṅo.¹²⁵

¹¹⁷ Shāh Qulī Maḥrām Bahārlū, a Mughal commander of 3,500. He received his nickname “Maḥrām” (one who is admitted to the harem) because he had been allowed to enter Akbar’s harem, after which he was castrated. AA, 1:387.

¹¹⁸ Rājā Rāysīngh ruled Bīkāner from 1574-1612.

¹¹⁹ Shimāl Khān Chela, a Qurchī or armor-bearer of the Emperor. He reached a rank of 1,000 in Mughal service. AA, 1:491 (no. 154).

¹²⁰ Kesodās Jaimalot was the son of Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Jaimal Vīramdevot, Rāv of Meṛto 1544-57, 1562. Kesodās had been in Mughal service from 1570-71 onward. See MRMR, 2:359-362 for a short biography.

¹²¹ AN, 3:113.

¹²² AB, p. 82.

¹²³ *Vigat*, 1:465; AN, 3:113. The hill rises to a height of 3,066 ft.

¹²⁴ It may be that Prithīrāj and Mahes Kūmpāvāt, who both were in Mughal service previously, were sent to Kalo while he was hiding on the hill of Gorambhrām to persuade him to submit. It seems unlikely that they had joined him in his initial flight from Sojhat. Prithīrāj in particular never displayed any hostility toward or fear of the Mughals. See MRMR, 2:308-312, for biographies of Prithīrāj and Mahes Kūmpāvāt.

¹²⁵ AN, 3:113-114.

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Why did he flee initially? Persian chronicles offer no reason. Several Rājasthānī chronicles relate that Kalo had become involved with a woman of Akbar's harem.¹²⁶ Either he entered the harem and initiated the encounter, or he was enticed to do so.¹²⁷ Akbar found out about it by having one of the harem women who knew what happened reveal the truth under duress.¹²⁸ Unfortunately the Rājasthānī chronicles give no exact dates either for the encounter or for Akbar's becoming aware of it. Kalo may have thought Akbar knew and therefore abandoned Sojhat for Sīriyārī, but would he then have re-entered Mughal service at all? It is more likely that the episode with the harem woman occurred sometime after Kalo's flight to Sīriyārī and subsequent resubmission to Akbar's authority.¹²⁹ His previous actions probably were more directly related to pressure from Rāṇo Pratāp and Rāv Candrasen to disassociate himself from the Mughals. Sojhat was not far from Kānujo; Candrasen would have been able to attack it fairly easily if he wished, particularly if Kalo had gone with the Mughals to Sīvāṇo. And Rāṇo Pratāp, who had married Phūl Kuṃvar, Rāv Rām's daughter (and Kalo's sister or half-sister),¹³⁰ no doubt had some influence over Kalo.

Many Rajpūts of that time, whether in Mughal service or not, venerated Rāṇo Pratāp for his maintenance of what many considered Rajpūt honor in the face of Mughal pressure. To the Mārvār poet Durso Āḍho, a Cāraṇ, Candrasen was the equivalent of Pratāp. In his words, "The Mevār Rāṇo [is] the equal of the Rāv; the Jodhpur Rāv [is] the equal of the Rāṇo."¹³¹ Both deserved the highest praise. They never accepted Mughal service. Perhaps their actions

¹²⁶ AB, 82; JRKK, p. 103; RRK, 1:103, *Murārdān*, p. 593; *Vigat*, 1:72.

¹²⁷ Only *Vigat*, 1:72 indicates Kalo initiated the encounter.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ See below, pp.

¹³⁰ "Mahārāṇoṃ ke Antaḥpur kī Hakīkat," in *Mevār Rāvaḥ Rāṇājī rī Bāt*, p. 126.

¹³¹ *Rāva sariso Mevāro Rāṇo, Rāṇe siriso Jodhapura Rāva*, in Vyās, p. 210. "Gīt Mahārāṇā Pratāp nai Candrasen Rāḥ[or] rī," in Dursā Ārhā, *Dursā Ārhā Granthāvalī*, ed. by Bhupatirām Sākariyā (Udapur: Sāhitya Saṃsthān, Rājasthān Vidyāpīṭh, 1983), p. 158, has a different version: *Rāvi sarikhau Mevāro Rāṇo, Ravi sarikhau Jodhapura Rāva* ("The Mevār Rāṇo [is] the equal of the sun; the Jodhpur Rāv is [also] the equal of the sun"). Dursā Ārhā (Durso Āḍho in Rājasthānī) was a contemporary of Rāv Candrasen and Rāṇo Pratāp. He held two villages of Sojhat Pargano as *sāṃsaṇ* (tax-free) grants, but Moṭo Rājā Udaisiṅgh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) took them away. *Vigat*, 1:82.

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appealed to Kalo, and so he fled rather than joining an Imperial expedition to Sīvāṇo to keep Rāv Candrasen from using the fort there as a place of refuge.

By mid-March, 1574, the Mughals had reached Sīvāṇo Pargano and were plundering local villages.¹³² Rāv Candrasen was not there; his ally, Rāvaḷ Meghrāj Hāpāvat, the Maheco Rāṭhor ruler of Mahevo (whom Abu-l- Faḏl calls Rāwal Sukhrāj),¹³³ was holding the fort. The Rāv sent some men to assist Rāvaḷ Meghrāj in attacking the Mughals.¹³⁴ In the ensuing battle, several men on both sides were killed, including Meghrāj's brother.¹³⁵ Rāvaḷ Meghrāj, defeated, offered his submission to the Mughals and sent his son to them for service.¹³⁶ He spent the rest of Rāv Candrasen's reign mostly in his village, taking no part in any further struggles.¹³⁷ The Mughals proceeded onward to Sīvāṇo Fort. Abu-l-Faḏl has written that "Candar Sen did not think it advisable to remain himself in the fort and made it over to Patāi Rathor¹³⁸ and Patāi Baqqāl.¹³⁹" Previously Abu-l-Faḏl had pointed out that the attacks on Rāv Kalo in Sojhat Pargano had "disturbed" Candrasen's security, a statement that probably means Candrasen was in Kāṇujo and in Sīvāṇo at this time.¹⁴⁰

¹³² AN, 3:114

¹³³ *Ibid.* See also MRMR, 2:333-334; Hukamsiṃh Bhāṭī, *Mahecā Rāṭhauṛom kā Mūl Itihās* (Jodhpur: Ratan Prakāśan, 2001, pp. 55-56. Mahevo (modern Mallānī) is the name of an area of wester Mārvār and also a village sixty-six miles southwest of Jodhpur and five miles south of Kher village.

¹³⁴ "Candar Sen sent Sūjā and Debī Dās with some brave men to assist Rāwal...." AN, 3:114. I have been unable to identify these men with certainty.

¹³⁵ AN, 3:114 calls this man Mān. Probably he was the Maheco Rāṭhor Māl Hāpāvat, Rāvaḷ Meghrāj's brother. See UCRK, 1:80, which, however, does not mention that Māl was killed during this period.

¹³⁶ AN, 3:114.

¹³⁷ UCRK, 1:73.

¹³⁸ Bālāvat Rāṭhor Pato Nagāvat. Pato was the ṭhākur of Dunāro village during the reign of Rāv Candrasen and a strong supporter of the Rāv. During the succession dispute of 1563 following Rāv Mālde's death in November, 1562, Pato fought off an attack on Dunāro by Rāv Candrasen's half-brother, Rāymal Māldevot and killed dtwenty of Rāymal's men. Later in his life Pato went insane and had to be restrained with camel chains (*naul*, an iron chain for binding the forefeet of a camel). UCRK, 1:405-406.

¹³⁹ Mumhato Pato Urjanot.

¹⁴⁰ AN, 3:113-114.

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The Mughal army began the siege of Sīvāṇo, and Akbar, satisfied with what had happened so far, left Ajmer on March 17, 1574 for his capitol.¹⁴¹ The siege dragged on for the next two years under Rājā Rāysiṅgh's lackluster supervision. The one great value of the long siege for the Mughals was that it kept Rāv Candraseṇ away from Sīvāṇo and southern Mārvār.

The Return of Devīdās Jaitāvāt, 1574

The end was that Deo Dās fell from his horse and was assailed by a number who cut him to pieces. The victorious troops returned with success and glory. Some said that Deo Dās came out of his battle, wounded; and some ten or twelve years afterwards a person appeared in a jogi's dress and assumed this name. Some acknowledged him, and many rejected him. He lived for a while and then was killed in some adventure. AN, 2:250.

Emperor [Akbar] did not accept [that he was Deidās. He summoned Deīdās and said: "You were an excellent Rajpūt. Why did you live outside [Mārvār] for so many days and come [back] again [only now]?" Then [Deīdās] said: "I left Mārvār [because I was] not the sort of Rajpūt [who would stay] in the land. The Mughals had subjugated the land." The Emperor said: "How should one know you [are] Deīdās?" Then [Deīdās] said: "I truly [am] Deīdās. If [in the future] four thousand [Imperial] horsemen [must] stay at a military outpost [where formerly] a thousand used to stay, then truly [I am he]." UCRK, 1:266.

On March 20, 1562 Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvāt, commander of the fort in Merṭo town, came to an agreement with the leader of the besieging Mughal army, Sharaf'ud-Dīn Ḥusayn. Devīdās was to leave the stores behind, surrender the fort to the Mughals, and leave unimpeded. Such an agreement was known in Rājasthān as "leaving by the door of *dharmā* (*dharmadvārā*)," that is, surrendering a fort with a guarantee of safe conduct. It seemed the two-month siege would end without bloodshed, but then Devīdās burned the stores inside the fort. Worse, as he was leaving,

¹⁴¹ AN, 3:114.

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he took his metalled stick and bashed out the brains of a Mughal soldier who had placed his hands on a firearm Devīdās was carrying, one that was the personal possession of Rāv Mālde. Sharafu'd-Dīn was no doubt enraged. Merṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Jaimal Vñīramdevot, who had assisted Sharafu'd-Dīn during the siege, remarked that Devīdās would go back to Jodhpur and cause more trouble in the future unless they did something.¹⁴²

Devīdās marched away from them with only a small contingent. After he went a few miles, Sharafu'd-Dīn caught up to him with a larger Mughal force. Devīdās had no choice. He turned around to face the pursuers and stood waiting. An exceptionally bloody battle occurred near Sātaḷvas village.¹⁴³ Around 300 men were killed. It was thought Devīdās himself had died.¹⁴⁴ Word was sent back to his home village, Vagrī,¹⁴⁵ the seat of the Jaitāvāt Rāṭhoṛ lineage. Some of Devīdās's wives became *satīs*.¹⁴⁶

Ten years later, in 1572, a man appeared in Bhādrājaṇ claiming to be Devīdās.¹⁴⁷ Believed dead after 1562, it appears instead that he had been severely wounded in the head and in a coma for some time. Devīdās recovered, thanks to the aid of a Daśnāmī ascetic,¹⁴⁸ and then became an *atī* or *sannyāsī* himself and spent a decade wandering about.¹⁴⁹ Then he changed his

¹⁴² AB, p. 54-55 (translated in MRMR, 1:183-184); *Vigat*, 2:64 (translated in MRMR, 1:133-134). See also AN, 2:248-249; MT, 2:46; TA, 2:258-259; Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, till the year A.D. 1612, translated from the original Persian by John Briggs, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1829), 2:209. For an account of the siege and events preceding it, see Saran, "The Mughal Siege of Jodhpur, 1565: A Forgotten Imperial Episode," pp. 9-20.

¹⁴³ Sātaḷvas village is four miles southwest of Merṭo.

¹⁴⁴ Persian chronicles indicate that between 200 and 250 men died with Devīdās at Sātaḷvas. See MT, 2:46; Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, 2:209; TA, 2:260. MRK, p. 42, says that 165 of Devīdās's men died with him, while Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn lost 135. Other Rājasthānī sources list only the more important companions of Devīdās who were killed. For a composite list of forty-two men, see MRMR, 1:234-235.

¹⁴⁵ Vagrī village is nine miles east-southeast of Sojhat. See Map Two also.

¹⁴⁶ ATV, p. 71; UCRK, 1:265.

¹⁴⁷ For the chronology of Devīdās's return, see Appendix B, "Chronology Problems."

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Matthew Clark, *The Daśanāmī-Sannyāsīs: The Integration of Ascetic Lineages into an Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), for a discussion of this order. UCRK, 1:269 says that "jogīs" rescued Devīdās.

¹⁴⁹ AN, 2:250, 3:224; ATV, p. 71; UCRK, 1:265, 269-270.

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mind, returned to Mārvār, and abandoned his ascetic garb. He attempted to join Rāv Candraseṇ in Bhādrājaṇ, but the Rāv would not speak to him.¹⁵⁰ Others, including Akbar, who met him at some point, were uncertain he even was Devīdās.¹⁵¹ After a series of endeavors, aided by his relationship with Jalāl Khān Qurchī,¹⁵² a Mughal officer and favorite (*khavās*) of Akbar's,¹⁵³ Devīdās succeeded in regaining his old seat of rule, Vagrī, around October, 1574, deposing his own son, Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot,¹⁵⁴ who had been granted Vagrī by Rāv Kalo Rāmōt of Sojhat.¹⁵⁵ Naiṅsī considered Vagrī to be equivalent in size to Sojhat itself, a town of approximately 10,000 people. Its revenues were considerable and so Devīdās at once was able to begin assembling retainers.¹⁵⁶ Soon he had a contingent of around 500.¹⁵⁷ Within a few months, he began to carry out attacks on the Mughal outposts nearby.¹⁵⁸ His presence in Sojhat complicated an already tense, volatile situation in eastern Mārvār.

Rāv Candraseṇ, the Ūdāvats, and the Raid on Jodhpur

Late 1574

¹⁵⁰ ATV, p. 71; UCRK, 1:266

¹⁵¹ AN, 2:250, 3:224; ATV, p. 72; UCRK, 1:266.

¹⁵² See above, p. 31, n. 104.

¹⁵³ Devīdās also was aided around this time by Kachvāho Jaimal Rūpsīyot, an Imperial officer and the husband of Rāv Candraseṇ's niece, Dametī Bāī, the daughter of his brother, Moṭo Rājā Udaisīngh Māldevot. ATV, p. 72; NK, 1:312; UCRK, 1:266.

¹⁵⁴ Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot was born on April 19, 1559, so he would have been only fifteen years old when he was deposed by his father, Devīdās. UCRK, 1:269.

¹⁵⁵ AN, 3:224; ATV, p. 72; UCRK, 1:266, 316.

¹⁵⁶ Vagrī produced more revenue than the town of Sojhat in the period 1658-63. See *Vigat*, 1:425 (Sojhat), 430 (Vagrī).

¹⁵⁷ ATV, p. 72; UCRK, 1:266.

¹⁵⁸ UCRK, 1:266.

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While Devīdās was establishing his authority in Vagrī, Rāv Candraseṇ was attempting to broaden his local support further to the north in Jaitāraṇ Pargano.¹⁵⁹ The Jaitāraṇ region was the homeland of the Ūdāvāt branch of the Rāṭhoṛ Rajpūts. Ūdo Sūjāvāt, the founder of this branch, had taken Jaitāraṇ from the Sīndhaḷ Rāṭhoṛs in 1483 and built a fort there. By the time of his death in 1511, he had created a little kingdom of about 140 villages, which he divided among his sons. During the reign of Rāv Gāḷo in Jodhpur (1515-32), some of the Ūdāvāts supported Rāṇo Sāṅgo of Mevār, while others continued to align themselves with Jodhpur. After Rāṇo Sāṅgo died in 1528, the Ūdāvāt leaders all abandoned Mevār service and submitted to Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur (1532-62).¹⁶⁰

Toward the end of his reign, Rāv Mālde supported Hājī Khān, a former officer of the Sūr Emperors, in his fight at Hārmāro (January 24, 1557) with the Rāṇo of Mevār, Udaisigh Sāṅgāvāt, and the new Mughal Emperor, Akbar. When Hājī Khān subsequently fled to Jaitāraṇ and received protection, Akbar ordered an invasion of this district. On March 13, 1558, a contingent of Mughals overran Jaitāraṇ town and killed its ruler, Ūdāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Ratansī Khīmāvāt, along with dozens of his retainers.¹⁶¹ The Mughals were unable to hold the area for long, so Rāv Mālde gave Jaitāraṇ to another Ūdāvāt, Jasvant Ḍūṅgarsīyot. He in turn was driven into the hills by Mughal incursions in 1560. He went to Borār, a village in the Mer territory of eastern Jaitāraṇ, where he had a small fort built. Jasvant supported Rāv Candraseṇ for awhile, but after Jodhpur Fort fell in December, 1565 he took up a neutral position between Rāv Candraseṇ and Rāv Rām of Sojhat. Unfortunately for Jasvant, his harsh policy toward the local Mer tribesmen near Borār caused them to bring in the Mughals, who ambushed and killed him on October 18, 1566.¹⁶²

A few years later, perhaps as early as 1569, several of the sons of Rāv Ratansī, the Ūdāvāt ruler of Jaitāraṇ who had fought and died fighting the Mughals in 1558, went to Akbar

¹⁵⁹ The town of Jaitāraṇ is fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur.

¹⁶⁰ For two accounts of the Ūdāvāt Rāṭhoṛs, see MRMR, 2:386-408; UCRK, 2:286-318. Unfortunately, the authors of MRMR did not have access to UCRK before MRMR's publication. *Murārdān*, pp. 575-585 includes a genealogy of the Ūdāvāts, many of whom are not included in UCRK, 2:286-318.

¹⁶¹ For details of the battle of Hārmāro and the subsequent sack of Jaitāraṇ, see MRMR, 396-397, 403-406; Saran, "The Mughal Siege of Jodhpur, 1565: A Forgotten Imperial Episode, pp. 9-12.

¹⁶² For accounts of Jasvant Ḍūṅgarsīyot, see AB, pp. 68-73; UCRK, 2:306-307.

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and were given permission to take up their residence in Āsarlāi village of Jaitāraṅ Pargano.¹⁶³ Āsarlāi was a large village with a sizeable yearly revenue. Its possession allowed the Ūdāvat brothers to provide for their retainers and families but did not provide them with enough resources to mount any sort of threat against the Mughal outpost in Jaitāraṅ town. Nevertheless, Rāv Candraseṅ appealed to these brothers, Rām, Gopāldās, Kalyāṅdās, and Narhardās Ratansīyot,¹⁶⁴ saying “You settled the land [of Āsarlāi village]. My opportunity to win in this business [with the Mughals] is being destroyed. You must not settle [there].”¹⁶⁵ He wanted them to join his anti-Mughal campaign, but when they refused, he shortly afterward attacked Āsarlāi, burnt it, killed a few Rajpūts, and left. Three of the Ūdāvat brothers were gone at the time; the fourth managed to hide in the village and survive.¹⁶⁶

Right afterward, in late 1574,¹⁶⁷ Rāv Candraseṅ carried out a spectacular raid on Jodhpur itself. Rājā Rāysiṅgh of Bīkāner, the governor of Jodhpur, took refuge in the fort and did nothing, according to the *Mūndiyār rī Khyāt*.¹⁶⁸ The *Daḷpat Vilās*, a near-contemporary chronicle written in Bīkāner, has no mention of this event at all, probably because it made Rājā Rāysiṅgh look bad. The *Akbar Nāma*’s account indicates that Rājā Rāysiṅgh was in Sīvāṅo at this time. He came to Ajmer and reported to Akbar that Rāv Candraseṅ was making a “disturbance” in Jodhpur and that the army sent to Sīvāṅo for the siege had not been able to stop it.¹⁶⁹ Rāv Candraseṅ had demanded money from the Bāniyās of Jodhpur; he left the city with rs. 50,000-60,000 cash, cloth, opium, and other goods.¹⁷⁰ The Bāniyās appealed to the Mughals for

¹⁶³ AB, p. 86; JRKK, p. 110; RRK, 1:110; *Vigat*, 1:69-70, 495. Āsarlāi village is just east of Jaitāraṅ town. *Vigat*, 1:518-519. See Map Two also.

¹⁶⁴ For biographical information concerning these four brothers, see UCRK, 2:287 (Rām), 2:290 (Kalyāṅdās), 2:298 (Gopāldās), and 2:301 (Narhardās).

¹⁶⁵ AB, p. 86.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ JRKK, p. 110 and RRK, 1:110 note that at the very time of the attack on Āsarlāi, Rāv Candraseṅ “demanded something” from the Bāniyās of Jodhpur and gave them “distress.” *Vigat*, 1:70 has a similar account. AN, 3:154 records that it was in mid-December, 1574 that Akbar, who was in Ajmer, received word from Rājā Rāysiṅgh of Bīkāner that Rāv Candraseṅ was causing trouble in Jodhpur.

¹⁶⁸ MRK, p. 50.

¹⁶⁹ AN, 3:155.

¹⁷⁰ MRK, p. 50.

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help. They were joined in their appeal by the Ūdāvats.¹⁷¹ Rāv Candrasen, by looting his former capital, Jodhpur, and attacking one of the families that had supported his own for decades, had made himself unwelcome in Mārvār. He had little support left. The leading men of the major Rāṭhoṛ lineages in eastern Mārvār-- the Ūdāvats of Jaitāraṇ, Kūmpāvats of Sojhat, Meṛṭīyos of Meṛto—now were against him. Another powerful Rāṭhoṛ, the Cāmpāvāt ruler of Āuvo village (in Sojhat Pargano), Jaitmāl Jaisāvāt, had mostly ignored Rāv Candrasen (whom he disliked) during the Rāv's time of troubles, providing him only with grain.¹⁷² And soon Devīdās Jaitāvāt of Vagrī was to turn against him as well.

Thus it was that in late December, 1574 or early January, 1575 that Akbar, still in Ajmer, ordered Taiyib Khān, Sayyid Beg Toqbāī, Subḥān Qulī Turk Kharrām, 'Azmat Khān, Sewa Dās, the Sayyids of Jaitāraṇ, Rājā Rāysīngh of Bīkāner, the four Ūdāvāt brothers, and Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Surtāṇ Jaimalot of Meṛto to carry out an attack against Rāv Candrasen in Kāṇujo.¹⁷³

Leaving Mārvār: Late December, 1574 to Early January, 1575

Then the Mahājans appealed to the Turks. Then, bringing an army of Turks and united with the Bīkāner people and the Meṛṭīyos, the Ūdāvats also came again, and all joined together. They brought the army of Mughals upon Rāv Candrasenjī. MRK, p. 51

Taiyib Khān, Sayyid Beg Toqbāī, Subḥān Qulī Turk Kharrām, Azmat Khān, Sewa Dās, and many able servants were sent against Candar Sen. That ill-fated one withdrew from Rāmpur to the steep mountains. The victorious army, knowing that the daily-increasing fortune of the world's Khedive made difficulties easy, retreated to the hill country. They were partially successful, and many of the

¹⁷¹ AB, p. 86; JRKK, p. 110; RRK, 1:110; MRK, p. 51; *Vigat*, 1:70.

¹⁷² JRKK, p. 114; RRK, 1:114.

¹⁷³ AB, p. 86; AN, 3:155; MRK, p. 51; *Vigat*, 1:70.

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guilty were trodden underfoot. The wretch (Candar) could not withstand them and became a vagabond in the desert of destruction. The ghazis from inexperience and shortsightedness regard his flight as the end of the task and returned to court without being summoned. AN, 3:155

Meanwhile Rāv Candrasen escaped. Thus it was that Rāv Candrasen, in a bad state, fled away. He ascended a mountain and the *thākurs* turned back. Rāmsiṅghjī sacked Rāv Candrasen's village *gudho*, and, after removing Rāv Candrasen, proceeded back to Sojhat. DV, 30-31.

The *Dalpat Vilās* indicates that a contingent set out from the military outpost in Sojhat and headed to Kāṇujo under the leadership of Rāthor Rāmsiṅgh Kalyāṇmalot of Bīkāner.¹⁷⁴ The major Persian sources do not mention Rāmsiṅgh or any other Hindū in the contingent, except, perhaps, a certain “Sewa Dās.”¹⁷⁵ The Rājāsthānī chronicles do not mention any Muslim commanders by name, although they agree that the Mughals were involved in the attack.¹⁷⁶ They do not have any reference to Sewa Dās. Two Rājāsthānī sources agree that Rāmsiṅgh Kalyāṇmalot joined the assault against Kāṇujo.¹⁷⁷ Rājā Rāysiṅgh apparently was separate and with the other Mughal officers at this particular moment,¹⁷⁸ as were the Ūdāvāt and Meṛṭīyo Rāthors.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps they came from Ajmer and followed Rāmsiṅgh and his men to Kāṇujo.

¹⁷⁴ DV, p. 31. Rāmsiṅgh Kalyāṇmalot was Rājā Rāysiṅgh's brother. Cf. *Murārdān*, p. 570; UCRK, 2:163-164a.

¹⁷⁵ AN, 3:155. See also TA, 2:455.

¹⁷⁶ AB, p. 80; JRKK, p. 110; RRK, 1:110; MRK, p. 51; *Vigat*, 1:70. Only the *Dalpat Vilās* fails to mention the Mughals.

¹⁷⁷ AB, p. 80; DV, p. 30.

¹⁷⁸ “The Bīkānerīyo, Rājā Rāysiṅgh, was with the Turks.” AB, p. 80.

¹⁷⁹ “Then, bringing an army of Turks and together with the Bīkāner people and the Meṛṭīyos, the Ūdāvāt also came again, and all joined together. They brought the army of the Mughals upon Rāv Candrasenjī.” MRK, p. 51.

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Upon arriving in the vicinity of Kāṇujo, Rāmsiṅgh's retainers fought a short battle with Rāv Candrasen's men in a narrow pass.¹⁸⁰ The Rāv fled on ahead with his family in "a bad state," according to the *Dalpat Vilās*,¹⁸¹ "a vagabond in the desert of destruction" in the colorful phrasing of Abu-I-Fazl.¹⁸² The *cīndharīyos*, or household soldiers from Bīkāner, had caught up to him from the rear, whereupon a Brāhmaṇ, Dehāsī Tilok Kānhāvat, wearing the *hajārmekhī* chain mail common among Rajpūts of high rank, confronted them and was killed along with a few others.¹⁸³ Mānsiṅgh Khetsīyot, a Rāṭhoṛ of the Karaṇot branch,¹⁸⁴ thought the *cīndharīyos* had killed Rāv Candrasen himself. So did his commander, Rāmsiṅgh Kalyāṇmalot. He mistakenly bent down and licked the blood of the dead Brāhmaṇ in revenge for his grandfather Jaitī's death in 1542 when Rāv Candrasen's father, Rāv Mālde, had attacked Bīkāner. Others knew the Brāhmaṇ was not Candrasen. Someone said that one Brāhmaṇ had died (a serious offense) and that more would die if they continued fighting. Then they took the Brāhmaṇ's sacred thread and armor and left. Meanwhile Rāv Candrasen escaped.¹⁸⁵ He ascended a steep mountain, "an inaccessible place, a jungle densely covered with trees," in the words of the *Tabāqat-ī Akbarī*,¹⁸⁶ and the pursuers all turned back. Rāmsiṅgh and his retainers sacked the Rāv's *gūḍho* in Kāṇujo while Rāvāt Nārāyaṇ, the headman of the Mers in Kāṇujo, helped the Rāv get away. After killing some of Rāv Candrasen's men and plundering the *gūḍho*, Rāmsiṅgh went back to Sojhat.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁰ The *Akbar Nāma* (AN, 3;155) indicates that the Mughal army had driven Rāv Candrasen from Rāmpur prior to reaching Kaṇujo. Rāmpur is probably Rāmpuro, a village of Jaitāraṇ Pargano, or possibly Rāyपुर, another village of Jaitāraṇ. It might be Rāmgarh, a fort in the hills near Borār village, not very far from Kāṇujo. Rāmpuro village is about ten miles northeast of Sojhat. See Map Two also.

¹⁸¹ DV, p. 30

¹⁸² AN, 3:155.

¹⁸³ AB, p. 80; DV, p. 30; JRKK, p. 110; *Vigat*, 1:70.

¹⁸⁴ For a short biography of Karaṇot Rāṭhoṛ Mānsiṅgh Khetsīyot see UCRK, 1:507. His brother Sūjo Khetsīyot, was Rāv Candrasen's military servant and died fighting in this battle.

¹⁸⁵ AB, p. 80; DV, pp. 30-31.

¹⁸⁶ TA, 2:455. According to al-Badāonī, "he withdrew into the jungles, which were full of mango-trees, and fled." MT, 2:188-189.

¹⁸⁷ AB, p. 80; AN, 3:155; DV, p. 31; JRKK, p. 110, *Vigat*, 1:70.

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In Ajmer, Akbar was enraged upon hearing that Rāv Candraseṇ had been allowed to escape. The “ghazis,” as Abu-l-Faḥl calls them, had considered their task accomplished after sacking the *gūḍho* and returned to court without being summoned. They were all demoted, but the Hindū commanders from Sojhat, perhaps because they had led the assault, evidently were not.¹⁸⁸ No Rājasthānī source records any sort of punishment or demotion occurring at this time. After the demotions, Akbar, having “disposed of the affairs of that part of the country,” left Ajmer in early January, 1575.¹⁸⁹

III. From Muḍāro to Sīvrār, January, 1575 to July 19, 1579¹⁹⁰

Muḍāro, January, 1575 to April, 1576

Rāv Candraseṇ went south after leaving Kāṇujo and spent a short time in Phūlāj, a village in southeastern Sojhat Pargano. The Mughals attacked his *gūḍho* there and killed one of his retainers.¹⁹¹ Then, nearly destitute, Rāv Candraseṇ entered Mevār probably sometime in January of 1575. He received a *paṭo* for Muḍāro village (also called Maḍār or Maṇḍār village in the Rājasthānī sources) from Rāṇo Pratāp.¹⁹² Contemporary and modern historians of Mārvār alike fail to note the significance of this *paṭo*, which is that Rāv Candraseṇ had to submit himself formally to the authority of Pratāp in exchange for military service, in the manner of a common military servant (*cākar*). In other words, Pratāp did not treat him with the full courtesy he might have had Rāv Candraseṇ been in a better position. Still, the *paṭo* supplied him with a small source of income with which to pay his men and provide for his long-suffering extended family. According to Naiṇsī, Muḍāro was the village where previously the Rāv had married Rāṇo Udaisiṅh’s daughter Cāndābāi Sīsodṇī.¹⁹³ It may have been the Mudoṛo mentioned in Rāṇo

¹⁸⁸ AN, 3:155.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ The chronology of Rāv Candraseṇ’s years outside Mārvār is complex. See Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”

¹⁹¹ NK, 2:186. Phūlāj village is thirty miles southeast of Sojhat. According to Naiṇsī, the village in the mid-seventeenth century was settled only by Mers. *Vigat*, 1:470. See Map Two also.

¹⁹² AB, p. 80 and *Vigat*, 1:70 (Muḍāro); JRKK, p. 110 (Māḍār), RRK, 1:110 (Maṇḍār).

¹⁹³ *Vigat*, 1:70.

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Rājsiṅgh's *Parganā Bahī* of 1656-57,¹⁹⁴ but this village was located east of Udaipur, in an area probably not under Rāṇo Pratāp's direct control at the time Rāv Candraseṇ was in Mevār. Muḍoro was evaluated at only rs. 400 per year; it was a village of Brāhmaṇs. If indeed it was the Rāv's home for the one and one-half years he spent in Mevār, it was a very small place for a former ruler of Mārvār.

The Fall of Sīvāṇo, March-April, 1576

While Rāv Candraseṇ was in Muḍāro, Akbar took further actions to limit the Rāv's remaining power in Mārvār. By late 1575 he had received word that the siege of Sīvāṇo was going badly.¹⁹⁵ Sīvāṇo, as noted above (p.), was one of the most important forts in Mārvār. It was not large, but it was strategically significant. In Rajpūt hands, it was a constant threat to caravan traffic from Gujarāt and from western Rājasthān moving east and north. The surrounding area was impoverished, so any besiegers had to have good supply lines. Making the situation even worse were the small hill forts around Sīvāṇo, all still held by the Rāṭhoṛs. They posed a constant if small threat to the Mughal army.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ *Mahārāṇā Rājsiṅgh*, ed. by Hukam Siṅgh Bhāṭī, 2 vols. (Udaypur: Himāṃśu Pablikeśans, 1995), vol. 2, *Parganā Bahī*, p. 6.

¹⁹⁵ AN, 3:237-238.

¹⁹⁶ See Map One.

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Plate 1. Sīvāṇo Fort, taken by the Mughals in March-April, 1576.

The two Mughal officers in charge of the siege, Rājā Rāysiṅgh of Bīkāner and Shāh Qulī Maḥrām,¹⁹⁷ mismanaged the situation. The horses weakened due to lack of forage and barley. The soldiers were demoralized by the lack of progress.¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile, Rājā Rāysiṅgh’s advisor, Muṃhato Karamcand, was secretly aiding the contingent holding out within the fort, supplying them with everything they needed. He was in constant contact with another Muṃhato, Pato Urjanot, who was one of the leaders inside. Karamcand also managed to maneuver Rāysiṅgh into first abandoning his supervision of siege operations and then afterward proceeding to Ajmer to meet with Akbar.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Shāh Qulī Maḥrām-i Bahārlū, a Mughal commander of 3,500. He received his nickname “Maḥrām” (one who is admitted to the harem) because he had been allowed to enter Akbar’s harem, after which he was castrated. AA, 1:387-389, no. 45.

¹⁹⁸ AN, 3:237.

¹⁹⁹ DV, pp. 31-32.

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Once in Ajmer, Rāysiᅅgh petitioned Akbar for reinforcements. Akbar, annoyed, told Rāysiᅅgh that he already had given him plenty.²⁰⁰ Finally he agreed to supply more and sent Rāysiᅅgh back to Sīvāᅅo. Shortly thereafter he recalled him and dispatched Shahbāz Khān,²⁰¹ a Mughal officer highly skilled in siege operations, to take over the siege.²⁰² Shāhbāz Khān collected his men and equipment. Then he departed first for Sojhat Pargano, where the local Rāᅅhoᅅ ruler, Rāv Kalo Rāmōt, had recently aided Rāᅅhoᅅ Devīdās Jaitāvāt in the killing of a Mughal officer. The Khān fought a brief but intense battle with the Rāᅅhoᅅ near Dīghoᅅ (Deokūr in the *Akbar Nāma*) on January 9, 1576, in which an important Rajpūt in Kalo's service, Rāᅅhoᅅ Mahes Kūmpāvāt, was killed (see below, p.). Afterward Shahbāz Khān and his contingent moved on toward Sīvāᅅo.²⁰³

On the way to Sīvāᅅo lies Dūnāᅅo, the head village of the *tapho* (sub-district) with the same name.²⁰⁴ Dūnāᅅo contained a small stone fort held by the Rāᅅhoᅅ. Shahbāz Khān had to take this fort before proceeding to Sīvāᅅo. While he was preparing a siege, a local Rāᅅhoᅅ leader, Dāso Pātalōt,²⁰⁵ carried out a night attack in which several Mughals were killed. The attack halted the progress of the Mughals. For a short time the Lūᅅī River became the boundary between them and the opposing Rāᅅhoᅅ. But then Shahbāz resumed the siege, had *sābāts* (covered ways) constructed, and soon afterward took the fort. A *jauhar* occurred; many Rajpūts

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 31.

²⁰¹ Shahbāz Khān-I Kambū was appointed Mīr Bakhshī by Akbar in his sixteenth regnal year. Shāhbāz Khān was to prove himself a particularly adept commander in the campaigns against Dīghoᅅ (Fort Daigūr in AA, 1:437), Dūnāᅅo, and Sīvāᅅo in 1576, and especially Kumbhalmer, Mevār, in 1578. But he was arrogant and a rigid Sunnī Muslim according to Blochmann, two attributes which retarded his advancement. See AA, 1:436-440, no. 80.

²⁰² Chronicles from Mārᅅvār indicate that Rājā Rāysiᅅgh accompanied Shahbāz Khān to Sīvāᅅo, but the *Daᅅpat Vilās*, a near-contemporary source from Bīkāner, states that Emperor Akbar summoned Rāysiᅅgh to his side at this time. AB, p. 81; DV, p. 32; JRKK, p. 110, RRK, 1:109-110; *Vigat*, 2:219.

²⁰³ AN, 3:238.

²⁰⁴ Dūnāᅅo is thirty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur.

²⁰⁵ Dāso Pātalōt was a Jaitmālot Rāᅅhoᅅ. UCRK, 1:108. For the Jaitmālot Rāᅅhoᅅ, see MRM, 2:247-253.

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died. The Mughals captured Bālāvat Rāṭhoṛ Jaitṣī Nagāvat, the brother of Pato Nagāvat, the master of Dūnāro and the chief Rāṭhoṛ officers inside the fort at Sīvāṇo.²⁰⁶

Shahbāz Khān and his men advanced to Sīvāṇo, where they managed to conquer in about a month (between March 18 and April 26, 1576) the fort that had held out against Rājā Rāysīngh for more than two years.²⁰⁷ The siege ended shortly after someone shot and killed Muṃhato Pato Urjanot as he attempted to carry out the repair of a tower.²⁰⁸ Rāv Candrasen's officers, Ūhaṛ Rāṭhoṛ Jaimāl Netsīyot,²⁰⁹ Bālāvat Rāṭhoṛ Pato Nagāvat, Jaitāvat Rāṭhoṛ Vairsal Prithīrājot,²¹⁰ and unnamed others made a pact with the Mughals and left through the “door of dharma.” They went to Rāv Candrasen in Muḍāro. A Mughal outpost remained at Sīvāṇo for awhile, but then, as there was little to eat or drink in the land, the Mughals left it unattended and went away. In late 1579, Rāv Candrasen was able to retake Sīvāṇo.²¹¹ For three years (1576-79) though, he had no power or influence in southern Mārvār.

From Muḍāro to Sīrohī, April, 1576 to February, 1577

The Turks and Rāv [i.e., Rājā] Rāysīnghjī got the news: “Candrasen's *vasī* is alone in the Sīrohī land.” So they formed an army and went [there]. Previously the news was received [in

²⁰⁶ AN, 3:238. Of the Rājasthānī sources, only AB, p. 81 mentions Shahbāz Khān, the battle with the Rāṭhoṛs, and the subsequent *jauhar*. The date given, 1570-71, is wrong, and Dūnāro itself is not mentioned. However, this source does note that Jaitṣī Nagāvat was captured by Shahbāz Khān. If so, this could have happened only in 1576. See above, p. 26, n. 130 (for Pato Nagāvat) and UCRK, 1:408 (for Jaitṣī Nagāvat).

²⁰⁷ The Mughal force took Sīvāṇo while Akbar was in Ajmer between March 18 and April 26, 1576. AN, 3:233, 238. Akbar left Ajmer “when the affairs of this province had been completed,” i.e., when the siege was over. See also MT, 2:189; TA, 2:455.

²⁰⁸ AB, p. 81; *Vigat*, 1:70, 2:219.

²⁰⁹ Ūhaṛ Rāṭhoṛ Jaimāl Netsīyot was the master of Koḍhṇo village, the headquarters of Koḍhṇo Tapho (subdistrict) of Jodhpur Pargano. Koḍhṇo village is twenty-eight miles west-southwest of Jodhpur. UCRK, 1:24.

²¹⁰ UCRK, 1:250-252.

²¹¹ AB, p. 81; DV, p. 32; JRKK, p. 110; RRK, p. 109; *Vigat*, 1:68, 70, 2:219.

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Sīrohī], because of which the royal family (*rājlok*), etc. rode into the mountains. And Rāṭhoṛ Pāto Nagāvāt [and] Rāṭhoṛ Bhānīdās Devīdāsot Cāmpāvāt were prepared to die [fighting the advancing army]. Then Pūrbāi [and] Jombāi, Rāv Mālde’s *rāṇīs*, said: “If you die, the Bhīls will capture us.” JRKK, p. 110.

In March, 1576, just before the Rāṭhoṛs in the Sīvāṇo Fort capitulated to Shahbāz Khān-i Kambū, Akbar ordered an invasion of Mevār. On June 18, 1576, the Mughals and Rāṇo Pratāp’s army met in battle at Haldī Ghāṭī in Mevār. One of the few open-field encounters between Rajpūts and Mughals, it was an inconclusive but exceptionally bloody one.²¹² Akbar was intensifying his pressure on the Rajpūt kingdoms, and the Rajpūt rulers were finding their circumstances increasingly difficult. Late in April or early in May, 1576, after Sīvāṇo fell, Rāv Candrasen, still in Muḍāro, had decided to move his family and *vasī* out of Mevār to the comparative safety of Sīrohī, where he had married Devī Ahānkārdev, the daughter of Rāv Mānsīṅgh Dūdāvāt (d. ca. 1575) on June 22, 1568.²¹³ The Sīrohī kingdom, founded about 1425,²¹⁴ was known for its production of fine swords, daggers, and other military equipment. Its climate was cooler and rainier than that of Mārvār. With many jungle-covered hills and ravines, the kingdom presented a considerable challenge to invaders. The dominant Rajpūts of Sīrohī, the Devṛo Cahuvāṅs, were fierce, ruthless opponents in combat and experts in carrying out ambushes, as the Mughals were soon to learn.²¹⁵

Three sources state that Rāv Candrasen spent one and one-half years in Sīrohī,²¹⁶ but it appears much more likely that he only left his family and *vasī* there and went back to Muḍāro for awhile in 1577 before moving on to Ḍūṅgarpur.²¹⁷ His half-sister, Pohpāmvatī Bāi, was married

²¹² Srivastava, Akbar the Great, pp. 206-213.

²¹³ JRKK, p. 110; MRMR, 2:39; RRK, 1:110.

²¹⁴ Muhaṇot Naiṅsī, *Muhaṇot Naiṅsī kī Khyāt*, ed. and transl. by Manoharsīṅgh Rāṇāvāt (Sītāmaū: Naṭnagar Śodh-Saṁsthaṇ, 1987), 1:140, n. 1.

²¹⁵ For a description of Sīrohī, see Archibald Adams, *The Western Rajputana States: A Medico-Topographical and General Account of Marwar, Sirohi, Jaisalmir* (Gurgaon: Vintage Books, 1990 [1899]), pp. 13-20.

²¹⁶ JRKK, p. 110; *Murārdān*, p. 599; RRK, 1:110.

²¹⁷ See Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”

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to the ruler of Dūngarpur, Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ Prathīrājot (1549-80);²¹⁸ she provided a connection that the Rāv used to his subsequent advantage.²¹⁹

Rāv Candraseṇ was to discover that Sīrohī did not offer a particularly safe refuge from the Imperial forces. Akbar, arriving in Ajmer between September 26 and September 29, 1576, ordered an army to proceed to Jālor and Sīrohī. First, they were to hold talks with Tāj Khān Jālorī, the rebellious ruler of Jālor, and encourage him to obey “the rules of servitude,” in Abu-l-Faḍl’s wording.²²⁰ Then they were to proceed to Sīrohī and reduce its ruler, Devṛo Cahuvāṇ Rāv Surtāṇ Bhānot (ca. 1575-1610) to obedience as well. Tarson Khān, Rājā Rāysiṅgh of Bīkāner, and Saiyid Hāshim of Bārha were appointed to lead the expedition. The first part of the military operation went very well, and the army advanced to Sīrohī.²²¹ When they reached the town of Sīrohī, Rāv Surtāṇ took refuge in the fort. As at Sīvāṇo previously, Rājā Rāysiṅgh was unable to conclude the siege quickly. While it ground on, the Rājā sent for his family from Bīkāner. When their caravan arrived from Bīkāner, Rāv Surtāṇ and his retainers attacked it. Many Rajpūts were escorting this convoy; they fought back hard and drove off Rāv Surtāṇ’s men with heavy casualties on both sides. Rāv Surtāṇ shortly afterward abandoned the fort and fled to Abūgaṛh, a fort on Mt. Abū, pursued by Rājā Rāysiṅgh. The Mughal contingent took this fort with little difficulty. Akbar received a report from Rājā Rāysiṅgh on March 1 or 2, 1577, announcing the conquest of Sīrohī and the capture of Abūgaṛh.²²²

Just previously, while in pursuit of Rāv Surtāṇ, Rājā Rāysiṅgh found out that Rāv Candraseṇ’s *vasī* and family (*rājlok*) were in Sīrohī. Rāv Candraseṇ himself was not, and so Rājā Rāysiṅgh and the Mughals decided to go after the Rāv’s family and dependents. The royal family received word of the advancing Mughal contingent and fled to the mountains. Some of the Rāthoṛs wanted to stay and fight the Mughals, but two of Rāv Mālde’s widows, who were under Rāv Candraseṇ’s protection, complained that they would be seized by Bhīl tribesmen if they lost their Rajpūt guardians. So these Rajpūts went with them into the mountains while Rāv

²¹⁸ MRMR, 2:28

²¹⁹ JRKK, p. 110; RRK, 1:110. See also p. below.

²²⁰ AN, 3:266.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 3:266-267, 278-279.

²²² *Ibid.*, 3:278-279.

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Candrasen's *vasī*, left behind, was looted by Mughal soliders. Shortly afterward, probably in late February or early March, 1577, the royal family went to Ḍūngarpur to join Rāv Candrasen.²²³

Pokaraṇ Mortgaged to Jaisalmer: February 16, 1977



Plate II. Pokaraṇ Fort,

During the time that Rāv Candrasen's family and *vasī* were in Sīrohī, the Bhāḍī Rajpūt ruler of Phalodhī, Bhākharsī Harrājot, son of Rāvaḷ Harrāj Māldevot (ruler of Jaisalmer, 1561-77), realized that RāvCandrasen was incapable of imposing his authority in western Mārvār. Bhākharsī decided to attack Pokaraṇ, an important town situated about eighty-three miles northwest of Jodhpur and sixty-three miles due east of Jaisalmer. Pokaraṇ contained a large,

²²³ JRKK, p. 110; RRK, 1:110.

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well-stocked fort still manned by forty of Rāv Candraseṇ's loyal retainers. It was his sole remaining outpost in Mārvār after he lost Sīvāṇo. Bhākharsī thought he would take it fairly easily. In July-August of 1576 he advanced against Pokaraṇ with several hundred men.²²⁴ For two months he strove unsuccessfully to conquer the fort, but it was well-supplied and the defenders fought with determination. Bhākharsī turned back. He sent word to his father, Rāvaḷ Harrāj, saying that he did not have enough supplies to take the fort himself, but if the Rāvaḷ would take the fort, it would be a blow to Rāv Candraseṇ. And so Rāvaḷ Harrāj set out from Jaisalmer in October-November, 1576, with 2,000 men, intent upon attacking Pokaraṇ.²²⁵ It may be that the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, had encouraged Rāvaḷ Harrāj and his son Bhākharsī to carry out their attacks. Both the Rāvaḷ and Bhākharsī were Imperial military servants; Bhākharsī held Phaḷodhī as his *jāgīr* from the Emperor. No doubt Akbar was eager to rid western Rājāsthān of all traces of Rāv Candraseṇ's power.

Rāvaḷ Harrāj sent foot soldiers ahead to join another of his sons, Bhīm, who was in Pokaraṇ already. Upon arriving in Pokaraṇ himself, the Rāvaḷ began siege operations. He and his men attempted to camp near the fort, but they were driven off by a steady barrage of gunfire from the defenders, led by Pañcolī Aṇand. Finally they encamped about two miles from the town at the Narāsar Tank. After carrying out ten to twenty fruitless sorties in four months, they held talks with the defenders. Meanwhile, the *pradhāns*²²⁶ of the Bhāṭīs appealed to Rāv Candraseṇ in Muḍāro. They explained that since he had lost Mārvār, the Mughals eventually would take Pokaraṇ for themselves. It would be better if the Rāv mortgaged the fort to the Bhāṭīs, to whom he was related by marriage. They would retain it and return it to him when he regained Jodhpur and paid them back the money he owed. The Rāv pondered their proposal. He was in a difficult period; he decided he needed money more than a distant fort. He accepted the Bhāṭī offer of 100,000 *phadīyos* for Pokaraṇ. After receiving some of the money from the Bhāṭī *pradhāns*, he sent his agent, the Māṅglīyo Rajpūt Bhoju,²²⁷ to Rāvaḷ Harrāj in Jaisalmer with instructions to hand over the fort. Upon Bhoju's arrival, the Rāvaḷ gave him 37,000 *phadīyos*,

²²⁴ *Vigat*, 2:296.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ *Pradhān*: Literally, "foremost," "chief," "principal," "most eminent." A chief minister, commander-in-chief, a general or leader of the army. Among Rajpūts, the post of *pradhān* was held predominately by Rajpūts themselves, either of the same clan or of a different clan than the ruler of a local state.

²²⁷ Bhoju is also called Bhoj, Bhojo, and Bhojrāj in the various Rājāsthānī sources. Possibly the first three names are nicknames for Bhojrāj. The Māṅglīyo Rajpūts are a branch of the Gahlot Rajpūt clan (*vamś*).

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out of which Bhoj kept 5,000 and gave 20,000 to the Rāv's men defending the fort. Then he sent the remaining 12,000 *phadiyos* to Rāv Candraseṇ.²²⁸ After disposing of the grain, ghee, gunpowder, lead, etc. that was inside, Bhoju turned the fort over to Rāvaḷ Harrāj on February 16, 1577. Then he went back to Rāv Candraseṇ in Muḍāro. Soon afterward the Rāv went to Ḍūṅgarpur.²²⁹

Ḍūṅgarpur and Vāṃsvāḷo, 1577 to July 19, 1579

There are 3,500 villages in Vāgaṛ, of which half are under the authority of Ḍūṅgarpur and half under Vāṃsvāḷo. NK, 1:70.

Today [mid-17th century] the kingdom of Vāṃsvāḷo is somewhat more productive than [that] of Ḍūṅgarpur.... The Rajpūts of Mārvār are given very great *paṭos* and are always retained in the royal household[s] of Vāgaṛ. The Rāṭhoṛs have performed many great deeds there. These Rāṭhoṛs have great renown there. NK, 1:88.

Vāgaṛ, the ancient home of the Āhāro branch of the Gahlot Rajpūt clan (*vamś*), was divided into the two kingdoms of Ḍūṅgarpur and Vāṃsvāḷo when Rāv Candraseṇ went there in 1577. Both kingdoms had been generous to Rāṭhoṛs from Mārvār, particularly in the years following the disastrous invasion by Sher Shāh Sūr in 1544. In early 1577, when Rāv Candraseṇ was still in Muḍāro, Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ of Ḍūṅgarpur (1549-80) had sent him letters beggin him for help against his son, Sahasmal. Sahasmal had paid Rāṇo Pratāp 4,000 *mahmūdīs*²³⁰ in exchange for some retainers to remove Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ from Ḍūṅgarpur and seat himself on the throne.

²²⁸ JRKK, p. 109; RRK, 1:109. Māṅgliyo Bhoju's companion in the negotiations, Bhaṅḍārī Māno, used some of the money he received to have a meal with dancing girls (*nācṇīs*) in Jaisalmer. *Vigat*, 2:297.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:67, 2:297. See also Appendix B, "Chronology Problems."

²³⁰ Mahmūdī: a type of silver coin (Arabic *maḥmūdī*).

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Perhaps it was Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ's recent marriage alliance with Akbar that had driven Sahasmal to appeal to Rāṇo Pratāp.²³¹ Fearing the impending struggle with Sahasmal, Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ's wife, Rāv Candrasen's half-sister, Rānī Pohpāvātī,²³² also had sent a message to Rāv Candrasen asking him to dispatch some good men in order to take her away to a place where "the burden was tolerable." So Rāv Candrasen sent Pañcolī Surtāṇ ahead, the he himself rode to the town of Ḍūṅgarpur, where he found the fort abandoned. Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ had gone away after moving his *vasī* outside the town. Rāv Candrasen was able to take possession of the fort with no difficulty.²³³

Sahasmal, dispatched from Cāvand by Rāṇo Pratāp, arrived in Ḍūṅgarpur just after Rāv Candrasen. He and the men of the Rāṇo's contingent were surprised to find the fort occupied. They had been told Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ had fled. So who were those men inside striking drums? They received information that it was Rāv Candrasen and his retainers. They sent word to the Rāv informing him that Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ had fled and that they had the Rāṇo's orders to seat Sahasmal on the throne of Ḍūṅgarpur. Rāv Candrasen ignored their appeal. They mentioned the money Sahasmal had paid the Rāṇo for their services. The Rāv was unmoved. Meanwhile Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ found out about the situation. He confessed that he thought the Rāv would never come, and so he had abandoned Ḍūṅgarpur, unwilling to face Rāṇo Pratāp's anger. Finally the Rāṇo's retainers sent word back to him that Rāv Candrasen, not Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ, was in Ḍūṅgarpur, and was refusing to leave. The Rāṇo replied that if this were true, they should turn back. And so Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ and Pohpāvātī were able to return to Ḍūṅgarpur.²³⁴ Rāv Candrasen's reputation was enhanced by his stubbornness in this affair, and he received Gaḷiyākoṭ, a large village twenty-five miles southeast of Ḍūṅgarpur for his maintainance.²³⁵

Shortly afterward the Mughals advanced against the Rāṇo. He lost Cāvand. The Mughals continued to press their attack. Rāv Candrasen was forced to leave Ḍūṅgarpur in April-May of 1578.²³⁶ His presence there no doubt had become a liability for his host, Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ,

²³¹ AN, 3:278.

²³² JRKK, p. 110-111, and RRK, p. 110-111 call her both Parvatībāi and Pohpāvātībāi, but Pohpāvātībāi is correct.

²³³ JRKK, p. 110-111; RRK, 1:110-111.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Vigat*, 1:72.

²³⁶ JRKK, p. 111; RRK, 1:111; Somni, *History of Mewar*, p. 237. See also Appendix B, "Chronollogical Problems."

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who was in the service of Akbar. The Rāv went to Vāṃsvāḷo, where the local ruler, Rāvaḷ Pratāp (ca. 1550-79), granted him several villages in which to keep his horses and a larger village, Koṭro, six miles east-southeast of Vāṃsvāḷo town, for himself and his dependents. Rāṇo Pratāp joined him there briefly, and Rāv Candrasen provided a feast for him and his men. Perhaps they shared a good laugh over Sahasmal and his lost 4,000 *mahmūdīs*.²³⁷

Rāv Candrasen was to remain in Koṭro for the next thirteen or fourteen months. Then he received some surprising news. The leading Rāthoṛ *thākurs* of Sojhat wanted him to come there and assume the rulership of this *pargano*.²³⁸ What had happened there since the Mughals drove the Rāv out of Mārvār in 1574-75?

IV. From Sīvrār to Sacīyā rī Gāl, July 19, 1579 to January 11, 1581

Sojhat Affairs, Early January, 1575 to January 9, 1576

The short account of this is as follows: When they were in pursuit of Candar Sen, that fabricator [Devīdās] represented that the ruined wander (Candar Sen) was in the fief of Kalā the son of Rām Rai, his (Candar's) own brother's son, and that his face was turned toward the wall of contempt (i.e., was in a wretched condition). The victorious army hastened to the spot. Kalā from ill-fatedness maintained that Candar Sen was not there; and by fraud and deception won over Shimāl Khān²³⁹ to his side and set about ruining Debī Dās. AN, 3:225

²³⁷ Of the relevant Rājasthānī sources, only the *Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt* and its near duplicate, the *Rāṭhaurām rī Khyāt*, have any information about Rāv Candrasen's defense of Ḍūṅgarpur Fort. Evidently this is why the modern historians of Rāv Candrasen's reign usually ignore it completely. Although the information provided about this episode is somewhat garbled, I see no reason to omit any reference to it.

²³⁸ AB, p. 84; JRKK, p. 111; MRK, p. 53; RRK, 1:111; *Vigat*, 1:73.

²³⁹ Shimāl Khān Chela, a *qurchī* or armor-bearer of the Emperor. AA, 1:491 (no. 154), 531.

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One may recall that the Mughals had attacked Rāv Candraseṇ in Kāṇujo in late December, 1574 or early January, 1575.²⁴⁰ Shortly afterward Devīdās Jaitāvāt, who recently had made a pact with the Mughals and retained his hold on Vagrī village, revealed to them that Rāv Candraseṇ had fled into Rāv Kalo Rāmōt's territory in Sojhat.²⁴¹ His revelation probably made little difference to Candraseṇ, who managed to escape anyway, but it would have alienated Rāv Kalo, who had to answer to the Mughals. Kalo was still a very young man, only eighteen.²⁴² He was heavily under the influence of his advisors, Mahes and Prithīrāj Kūmpāvāt.²⁴³ Devīdās Jaitāvāt was a seasoned warrior, close to fifty years old, in command of 500 men. He probably decided to assert his own dominance in Sojhat Pargano at the expense of Kalo and the Kūmpāvāt family. He also had to worry about his son, Āskaraṇ, from whom he had taken Vagrī. Āskaraṇ, although only sixteen, was one of Rāv Kalo's backers and a force to be reckoned with in Sojhat.

Rāv Kalo himself had gotten involved with a woman of Akbar's harem very likely right around the time Devīdās regained Vagrī in October, 1574. He came back to Sojhat, then fled to Sīriyārī (Sirbārī in the *Akbar Nāma*). From there he went to the fort of Ḍīghoṛ (Deokūr) in the *Akbar Nāma* in the hills two miles southeast of Sīriyārī.²⁴⁴ Kalo had no way of knowing if Akbar had found out about him, but he clearly was worried. He probably knew that a Mughal force was about to be dispatched against Rāv Candraseṇ. He may have believed they would come after him as well. Thus he was not in Sojhat when the Vīko Rāṭhoṛ, Rāmsīngh Kalyāṇmalot, advanced from there against Rāv Candraseṇ in Kāṇujo.²⁴⁵

Five or six months went by. Then, in March-April, 1575, the Mughal armies came upon Kalo. He and many of the people of Sojhat Pargano fled into the hills. Devīdās also fled. After receiving Vagrī from the Mughals, he had soon begun to carry out intense attacks on the Mughal outposts. He and Kalo spent the next five or six months in the hills. Then Devīdās met with the

²⁴⁰ See above, pp.

²⁴¹ AN, 3:225.

²⁴² Kalo Rāmōt was born on November, 10, 1556. *Murārdān*, p. 593.

²⁴³ MRMR, 2:308-312.

²⁴⁴ AB, p. 82, indicates that at the time Kalo fled, Devīdās returned to Sojhat. ATV, p. 72, and UCRK, 1:266, note that Devīdās returned during the month of *Kārtik* (October-November.). From other evidence, this must have been *Kārtik*, V.S. 1631 or October, 1574. See Appendix B, "Chronological Problems."

²⁴⁵ See above, pp.

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Mughals once again, made another pact, came back, and resettled in Vagrī.²⁴⁶ At this time, around September, 1575, Kalo began conspiring with Shimāl Khān, the local Mughal commander, in revenge for Devīdās's previous tip to the Mughals about Rāv Candrasen. Only the *Akbar Nāma* mentions this conspiracy.²⁴⁷ No Rājasthānī chronicles do, but why would they? This was a secret plot.

And so it was, sometime in September, 1575, that Devīdās went to Ūkhalīyo village²⁴⁸ in Jaitāraṇ Pargano to meet with Shimāl Khān. With him were 500 retainers. He made camp in Ūkhalīyo, and his retainers began to separate to attend to various tasks. Meanwhile, he kept receiving messages summoning him to the tent of Shimāl Khān. The Mughals had noticed his contingent had split up. Although encouraged not to go, Devīdās went to meet Shimāl Khān with just a few men. Shimāl Khān allowed only Devīdās and Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Sekho Udaisiṅhot to enter. When they did, the Mughals cut Sekho's head off with a sword blow.²⁴⁹ They seized Devīdās. His retainers, just outside the tent, heard the noise, entered, and killed many of the Mughals. They freed Devīdās, who escaped with them on horseback. They rode back to his camp, where he gathered his other retainers and fought off the pursuing Mughal soldiers. Then they all went to Khoḍiyā rī Gāl,²⁵⁰ where they spent the night. The Mughals went away. In the morning Devīdās went back to Vagrī, collected his *vasī* and men, and reentered the hills.²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ ATV, p. 72; UCRK, 1:266.

²⁴⁷ AN, 3:225

²⁴⁸ Ūkhalīyo village is seventeen miles south of Jaitāraṇ, seventeen miles east-northeast of Sojhat, and fifteen miles northeast of Vagrī (see Map Two). It was a small village, probably selected as a neutral site with relative security for both parties. See *Vigat*, 1:529-530 for a description.

²⁴⁹ Sekho Udaisiṅhot was the son of Udaisiṅh Kūmpāvāt, who died at the siege of Cītoṛ in 1568. Udaisiṅh's father was Kūmpo Mahirājot, who was killed fighting at Samel in 1544. UCRK, 1:334 has the following biographical note concerning Sekho: "Sekho Udaisiṅhot. Devīdās Jaitāvāt put down the garb of a Jogī, came again [to Mārvār], and caused devastation during the period of Turkish rule. There, in Sāṅḍīyo [i.e., Ūkhalīyo village], the Turks deceived Devīdāsī. They put [their] hands [on him]. Devīdāsī went away and Sekho was killed there."

²⁵⁰ Khoṛīyo or Khoḍīyo village is twenty-one miles east-southeast of Sojhat, but the location of Khoḍīyo rī Gāl is uncertain. A *gāl* is a narrow pass or path between two mountains. The village was inhabited only by Mers in the mid-seventeenth century. *Vigat*, 1:466.

²⁵¹ AB, pp. 82-83; AN, 3:225; ATV, pp. 72-73; UCRK, 1:266-267.

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Twenty to twenty-five days later, in mid-October, 1575, Devīdās carried out a night attack against Sāṇḍīyo village²⁵² in revenge for Sekho's death. He killed many Mughals and looted their camps. But Jalāl Khān Qurchī, hiding among some camels, shot an arrow that killed Akhairājot Rāṭhoṛ Jaisiṅghde Kānhāvat.²⁵³ Later the Mughals had the corpse tied to the foot of an elephant and crushed. They they put it in a grave. The next day, Devīdās returned, fought another battle, recovered the corpse, and brought it back with him.²⁵⁴ Shortly afterward, in the words of Abu-l-Fazl, "As he [Devīdās] had come to despair of the Imperial troops, he craftily went to Kalā and became his companion."²⁵⁵ Clearly he knew nothing of Kalo's conspiring with Shimāl Khān.

A month later, in mid-November, 1575,²⁵⁶ the Mughals made a truce with Devīdās and Kalo. But the very next day they came to Vagrī and concealed themselves in the village gardens. Devīdās received word. He put on his armor and readied himself. When the day had advanced one *poḥar* (three hours), Rāv Kalo came to Vagrī and joined him. His sudden arrival with his contingent startled Devīdās, but Kalo assured him that he was prepared to help. Then the Mughals approached. Kettledrums on both sides were struck. In the ensuing battle, Davīdās and Kalo killed a Mughal Mirza along with sixty of his men. The remainder fled.²⁵⁷ Jalāl Khān Qurchī, who had been out hunting and drinking *dārū* near Sāṇḍīyo village, received a report from the fleeing Mughals. Although intoxicated, he mounted his horse and joined the other Mughals with a handful of his own men. He rode into the middle of Vagrī, where Devīdās and

²⁵² Sāṇḍīyo village is eleven miles southwest of Sojhat. In the mid-seventeenth century it was a mid-sized village inhabited by Sīrvīs, Rajpūts, Jāts, and Brāhmaṇs. *Vīgat*, 1:429.

²⁵³ Jaisiṅghde Kānhāvat was Devīdās Jaitāvāt's first cousin, the son of his father Jaito Pañcāiṇot's brother, Kānho Pañcāiṇot. UCRK, 1:285 has the following information about Jaisiṅghde: "Jaisiṅghde Kānhāvat. Deīdāsī removed [his] Jogī's garb and came again [to Mārvār]. Afterward, during the period of Turkish rule, [the Rāṭhoṛs] carried out a night attack against Jalāl Korē in Sāṇḍīyo village. [Jaisiṅghde] died fighting there. Afterward Deīdāsī on the next day again mounted up, went, fought a battle, had [Jaisiṅghde] removed, and brought [him]. Then [Jaisiṅghde's] wife became a *safī*."

²⁵⁴ AB, p, 83; ATV, p. 73; UCRK, 1:267.

²⁵⁵ AN, 3:225.

²⁵⁶ According to UCRK, 1:316 the date was November 15, 1575. According to AN, 3:225 the date was November 14, 1575 by my reckoning.

²⁵⁷ Meṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Surtāṇ Jaimalot and Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Prithīrāj Jaitāvāt, both Imperial officers, led Ismā'īl Qurchī and the others to safety. UCRK, 1:316.

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Kalo were waiting. They killed him. In revenge for the desecration of Jaisiṅghde Kānhāvat's corpse, Devīdās impaled Jalāl Khān's dead body and then burned it. The Mughals were forced to negotiate with Devīdās to recover the corpse; they agreed to a truce for a year and departed with the mutilated body of Jalāl Khān.²⁵⁸

Only a few weeks later the truce fell apart completely. Upon being informed of the disaster in Vagrī, Akbar had appointed Sayyid Aḥmad, Sayyid Hāshim, and other Sayyids of Bārha to put down the Rāṭhorṣ.²⁵⁹ They came to eastern Sojhat Pargano and set up military outposts in Kaṇṭālīyo and Bhānṛo villages.²⁶⁰ Rāv Kalo withdrew to Dīghoṛ with all of his people along with Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Mahes Kūmpāvāt, a former Imperial military servant. The Sayyids attacked constantly, but they had little success. Finally, on January 9, 1576, Shahbāz Khān, sent by Akbar to put an end to the situation, fought a battle with the Rāṭhorṣ in or near Dīghoṛ. The Mughals killed Mahes Kūmpāvāt together with many of his companions while Rāv Kalo and other Rāṭhorṣ fled. He abandoned his *gūḍho* and the Mughal soldiers looted it. Devīdās Jaitāvāt, who had been with Rāv Kalo, had not done anything while the soldiers were looting the *gūḍho*, and so from that day onward he was disparaged.²⁶¹ Shortly afterward Mahes's son Sādūl Mahesot and Rāv Kalo killed Devīdās with a blow from behind as he was bent over mending a coverlette during a stay in Sīriyārī village. One source indicates it was Āskaraṇ, Devīdās's own son, who helped Kalo murder Devīdās.²⁶² In any event, Āskaraṇ, only sixteen or seventeen years old, was able to regain possession of Vagrī.²⁶³

Sojhat Affairs, January 9, 1576 to July 19, 1579

²⁵⁸ AB, p. 83; ATV, p. 73; UCRK, 1:267-268, 316. AN, 3:225 has a much different account of these events, which I discuss in Appendix A, "Sources."

²⁵⁹ AN, 3:225, 237.

²⁶⁰ AB, p. 83. Kaṇṭālīyo is fourteen miles southeast of Sojhat. In the mid-seventeenth century it was a large village belonging to the Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhorṣ (*Vigat*, 1:430). I have been unable to locate Bhānṛo. See also Map Two.

²⁶¹ AB, p. 83; UCRK, 1:316-317.

²⁶² UCRK, 1:268 indicates that Rāv Kalo and Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot killed Devīdās, but this same source (1:269) also says that Rāv Kalo and Sādūl Mahesot killed him.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

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Now here [in Sojhat] there was no master in the land. Then in those days the great Rajpūts in the land [of Sojhat] were Sādūl Mahesot [and] Āskaraṇ Deīdāsot. These ṭhākurs wrote to Rāv Candrasen: “The land [of] Sojhat is empty; we are your Rajpūts.” Then [Rāv Candrasen] came from Vāṃsvālo-Ḍūṅarpur to the vicinity of Sojhat. AB, p. 84

In 1577 Akbar gave Sojhat Pargano to a Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ, Surtāṇ Jaimalot.²⁶⁴ Surtāṇ’s people came and settled in the town of Sojhat.²⁶⁵ Either Akbar had no knowledge of the animosity between the Meṛṭīyos and the leading Rāṭhoṛ families of Sojhat, or he wished to punish these families for their continuing resistance. Surtāṇ’s grandfather, Vīramde Dūdāvat, had led Sher Shāh into Mārvār to confront Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur at the battle of Samel on January 5, 1544. The founders of the Jaitāvat and Kūmpāvat Rāṭhoṛ lineages, Jaito Pañcāiṇot and Kūmpo Mahirājot, had been killed in that battle along with thousands of their companions. Then, in March of 1562, Vīramde’s son, Jaimal Vīramdevot, had brought Mughal troops to Merto. Many more Rāṭhoṛs from Sojhat died fighting at that time. Considering this dismal background, it is not surprising that Surtāṇ’s appointment lasted only one year.

Subsequently Rāv Kalo made a pact with the Mughals.²⁶⁶ Meanwhile Akbar appointed Shaykh Ibrahim Faṭhpūrī²⁶⁷ to command the military outpost at Nāḍol. It appears that Akbar, who by now knew all the details of Rāv Kalo’s escapade in his harem in 1574, used the pact with Kalo merely to induce him to proceed to Nāḍol with assurances from Shaykh Ibrāhīm.²⁶⁸ Upon Kalo’s arrival, the Mughals killed him and several of his retainers. His death occurred sometime

²⁶⁴ For a biography of Surtāṇ Jaimalot, see MRMR, 2:353-355.

²⁶⁵ *Vigat*, 1:389. The text has *Meṛṭīyāṇ rī vasī [rā lok] sāre gāṇv āyā thā*, literally “[The people of] the *vasī* of the Meṛṭīyos came into the entire village [of Sojhat].” It is possible, but unlikely, that the intent was to indicate that these people settled in all the villages of Sojhat Pargano.

²⁶⁶ AB, p. 84.

²⁶⁷ AA, 1:441, no. 82. Lāḍlā’ī in this text and Lāḍlāī in AN, 3:309 are to be identified as Nāḍol.

²⁶⁸ Akbar’s attempts to persuade Kalo to come to his own *darbār* had failed according to JRKK, p. 103 and RRK, 1:103.

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in January or February, 1578. Afterward Akbar made Sojhat into Imperial territory (*khālso*) and kept the Sayyids there in command of the military outpost. At this point Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Sādūl Mahesot became the leader of local resistance in Sojhat. Described as a man with an exceptionally fine body, a “great *ṭhākur*,” Sādūl fought several intense skirmishes with Mughal troops. They were unable to subdue him.²⁶⁹ But he, Āskaraṅ Devīdāsot, and other leading Rajpūts of Sojhat were afraid of losing their lands, and so they wrote to Rāv Candraseṅ for help.²⁷⁰ Thus it was that Rāv Candraseṅ returned to Sojhat in July, 1579.²⁷¹

From the Battle of Sīvrār, July 19, 1579

To

The Death of Rāv Candraseṅ, January 11, 1981

Upon approaching Sojhat, Rāv Candraseṅ decided that the Mughals’ hold over the *pargano* was weak. He himself had about five or six hundred men with him; if they combined with the forces of Āskaraṅ Devīdāsot and Sādūl Mahesot, he thought they should be able to drive the Mughals out. A Devṛo Cahuvāṅ, Vijo Harrājot,²⁷² was coming from Sīrohī to aid him as well. The Rāv soon arrived in Sīvrār village²⁷³ along with Vijo. The Sayyids in the town of Sojhat received word. They decided to attack early the next morning, before all the Rāṭhoṛs assembled. Rāv Candraseṅ received no prior information about their plans. In the morning of July 19, 1579,²⁷⁴ caught completely unaware when ambushed near one of the village’s Persian

²⁶⁹ UCRK, 1:317.

²⁷⁰ AB, p. 84; JRKK, p. 111, MRK, p. 53, RRK, 1:111, *Vigat*, 1:72.

²⁷¹ For a discussion of the year of Rāv Candraseṅ’s return, see Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”

²⁷² Devṛo Cahuvāṅ Cahuvāṅ Vijo Harrājot was the son of Harrāj Rūdāvāt and a member of the Ḍūṅgarot branch of the Devṛo Cahuvāṅs. NK, 1:163.

²⁷³ Sīvrār is nine miles southeast of Sojhat.

²⁷⁴ See Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”

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wheels, he and Devṛo Vijo fled and left an Ūhaṛ Rāṭhoṛ, Jaimal Netsīyot,²⁷⁵ to confront their attackers.²⁷⁶ Twenty men died fighting; eighty were wounded.²⁷⁷

Rāv Candrasen had lost the battle, but he was able to retreat to Hariyāmālī village,²⁷⁸ where Rāṭhoṛs Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot and Sādūl Mahesot came and joined him. As an incentive, he gave Sādūl two horses and twelve thousand rupees; Āskaraṇ received an elephant and twelve thousand rupees. Joined together, they drove the Mughal forces from the town of Sojhat. The Sayyids had left just previously. Rāv Candrasen was able to hold Sojhat for over one year, until November, 1580. During this period he patched up his relationship with the Ūdāvat Rāṭhoṛs of neighboring Jaitāraṇ Pargano.²⁷⁹ Then, tired of the local disturbances the Rāv was causing near Ajmer and wary of his growing power, Akbar dispatched several Mughal commanders against him. A fierce battle took place. According to Abu-I-Faḏl, the Rāv suffered “thousands of losses” and retreated “into the desert of failure.”²⁸⁰ No Rājasthānī source mentions this particular battle, but one, the *Rāv Candrasen rī Bāt* (Account of Rāv Candrasen), says that after Rāv Candrasen took Sojhat back, “the Imperial armies came again” when he had been there a year (i.e., in late 1580).²⁸¹ Perhaps the results of the battle were too depressing for the anonymous author to record.

The Rāv withdrew to the pass (*gāl*) of Sacīāy village²⁸² and stayed there. Subsequently Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Vairsal Udaisiṅhot,²⁸³ who had been holding Dudhvār village²⁸⁴ of Sojhat on

²⁷⁵ For a short biography of Ūhaṛ Rāṭhoṛ Jaimal Netsīyot, see Appendix C, “The Battle of Sīvrār, July 19, 1579.”

²⁷⁶ This account of the battle of Sīvrār is based upon AB, p. 84.

²⁷⁷ MRK, p. 53; JRKK, p. 111; RRK, 1:112. For a list of men killed at Sīvrār and some biographical information, see Appendix C, “The Battle of Sīvrār, July 19, 1579.”

²⁷⁸ Hariyāmālī village is six miles east of Sīvrār and thirteen miles east-southeast of Sojhat. *Vigat*, 1:403, 411.

²⁷⁹ AB, pp. 85, 88. According to this source (p. 88), the Ūdāvats “behaved well” and “performed many services” for Rāv Candrasen in exchange for the land they held.

²⁸⁰ AN, 3:466.

²⁸¹ AB, p. 85. *Vigat*, 2:297 just says the Mughals came again. For a discussion of the date, see Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”

²⁸² Sacīāy or Sīncīyāī village of Sojhat Pargano is fifteen miles southeast of Sojhat, just south of Kāṅṭalīyo and just north of Sāraṇ. In the mid-seventeenth century it was a small village inhabited by Mers, Bāniyās, Kalāls (distillers), Jāṭs (peasants), and Kumbhārs (potters). *Vigat*, 1:469.

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a contract²⁸⁵ during the period of Mughal rule, invited the Rāv to his home for a meal. Vairsal had earlier refused to come and meet with Rāv Candrasen. He was afraid of what might happen. The Rāv had then attempted to attack Vairsal, but Vairsal's brother Rāṭhoṛ refused to advance against him. Finally Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot offered to go into Dudhvār and bring Vairsal back with him. Once in the Rāv's presence, Vairsal confessed he did not trust him. It was then that he offered Rāv Candrasen an invitation to join him for a meal at his home. If he did, Vairsal said, his soul would be reassured. The Rāv accepted; Vairsal provided a feast for him. But after the Rāv ate and returned to his people, he quickly died. Poison was suspected by some, but Vairsal himself had no real motive to kill Rāv Candrasen, who died on January 11, 1581.²⁸⁶ He was cremated near the banyan tree of the temple of Mahākāl in Sāraṇ village.²⁸⁷

Aṇadagiyā turī ūjale asamara,

Cākara huvaṇa na ḍigiyo cīta.

[Candrasen and Pratāp permitted] no branding of [their] horses by the Mughals.

[Their] swords [always remained] unblemished [by servitude].

In [their] minds, they did not acquiesce to becoming [Imperial] military servants. Durso Āḍho, quoted by Vyās, *Jodhpur Rājya kā Itihās*, p. 210.

²⁸³ For a short biography of Vairsal, see UCRK, 1:327.

²⁸⁴ Dudhvār village is eleven miles south of Sojhat. Naiṇsī describes it as a large village inhabited by Sīrvīs (peasants), Jāṭs, and Bāniyās. *Vigat*, 1:426-427.

²⁸⁵ He held it as a *mukātī*. *Mukātī*: a person paying the *mukāto* tax; a person realizing such a tax from others. *Mukāto* was a fixed payment on land (like a rent).

²⁸⁶ For some thoughts on Rāv Candrasen's sudden death, see below, p.

²⁸⁷ AB, p. 85; JRKK, p. 112; MRK, p. 53; RRK, 1:112-113.

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Rāv Candrasen endured a time of trouble. All the land was lost, but he did not become the Emperor's military servant. JRKK, p. 115.

V. Aftermath: The Sons of Rāv Candrasen

And

The Demise of the Kingdom of Sojhat, 1581-83

Debacle: Āskaraṇ and Ugrasen Candrasenot

Rāv Candrasen's sudden death begs a question: how weary at that point were his family and fellow Rāṭhor of the long, painful struggle against Mughal authority? For sixteen years after the fall of Jodhpur in 1565 the fight had gone on, and at the end, Rāv Candrasen was at one of his worst moments, living in a pass in the hills of Eastern Sojhat, likely with little or no money. He had just suffered another defeat. He had lost all the major forts of Mārvār. Many of his most loyal retainers were dead. His family had complained in Sirohī years earlier about harsh living conditions. What were their feelings in 1581 when they were left in the Mer territory of Sojhat when he died? Did the local Rāṭhor *thākurs* of Sojhat tire of his seemingly hopeless defiance? Part of the answer to these questions lies in the events following his death.

Rāv Candrasen had left three sons: Rāysiṅgh, age twenty-three,²⁸⁸ who since 1570 had been in Mughal service, Ugrasen, twenty-one, who since the same year had been in Būndī, where he had married Rāv Surjaṇ's daughter,²⁸⁹ and Āskaraṇ, the youngest, only ten, who was the son of Rāṇo Pratāp's sister, Candābāi.²⁹⁰ Shortly after the Rāv's death,²⁹¹ the great Rāṭhor *thākurs* of

²⁸⁸ Rāysiṅgh Candrasenot was born on September 6, 1557. *Murārdān*, p. 599; UCRK, 2:82.

²⁸⁹ Ugrasen Candrasenot was born August 2, 1559. MRMR, 2:37. For the marriage in Būndī, see AB, p. 87.

²⁹⁰ Āskaraṇ Candrasenot was born on June 19, 1570. His mother Candābāi married Rāv Candrasen in Cītoṛ on April 23, 1560. MRMR, 2:38.

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Sojhat, led by the Jaitāvāt Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot and the Kūmpāvāt Sādūl Mahesot, each commanders of five hundred retainers, met and gave the throne to Āskaraṇ. Meanwhile in Būndī Ugrasen received word that Rāv Candrasen had died. He left for Mārvār with all of his retainers. On his way to Sojhat, he passed through Merṭo, where he met with Pāyanda Khān,²⁹² who was the Mughal commander of the military outpost there. During his stay in Merṭo, Ugrasen mentioned to his companions that he was thinking about killing the Khān and taking the city. No doubt they were appalled; they told him to go straight to Sāraṇ village to meet with his half-brother, Āskaraṇ, the newly appointed Rāv of Sojhat.²⁹³

Upon his arrival in Sāraṇ, Ugrasen met with Āsaraṇ. Ten or twelve days passed in negotiations. Āskaraṇ did not like the looks of Ugrasen or his retainers. They appeared dangerous to him. He thought Ugrasen might try to seize Sojhat for himself. As he put it, “two swords cannot fit into one sheath.”²⁹⁴ He told his supporters to keep an eye on his half-brother. He himself would leave and go to Rāṇo Pratāp for support. Listening to him, his supporters realized they had made the right choice. He was the stronger brother, even as such an early age.²⁹⁵ Besides, they distrusted Ugrasen because of his meeting in Merṭo with Pāyanda Khān. They worried that he would bring the Mughals back into Sojhat.²⁹⁶ They offered Ugrasen only Sīvāṇo, reclaimed by Rāv Candrasen after the Mughals abandoned it in the late 1570s, as his share of his father’s domain.²⁹⁷ They told Ugrasen to leave and go there. But during the negotiations, Ugrasen had decided to fight. He made up his mind in the temple of Mahākāl, where he had offered a coconut to the god. The coconut did not produce positive results, but

²⁹¹ Bāṅkīdās indicates Āskaraṇ was proclaimed Rāv by the leading *thākurs* of Sojhat between January 11 and January 15, 1581. Bāṅkīdās, *Bāṅkīdās rī Khyāt*, ed. by Narottamdāsī Svāmī (Jaypur: Rājasthān Purattvānveṣan Mandīr, 1956), p. 22, no. 209.

²⁹² His full name was Muḥammad Pāyanda Khān. AA, p. 421, no. 68.

²⁹³ AB, p. 87; JRKK, p. 114; RRK, 1:114-115, UCRK, 1:534.

²⁹⁴ AB, p. 87.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, UCRK, 1:534.

²⁹⁶ JRKK, p. 114; RRK, 1:115.

²⁹⁷ AB, p. 87; JRKK, 1:114; RRK, 1:115, and UCRK, 2:82 all indicate that they offered half the land to Ugrasen. But UCRK 1:534 says that only Sīvāṇo was offered. However, Sīvāṇo and Sojhat were the only two areas over which Rāv Candrasen had any sort of authority at his death, and so it is likely that the half offered was in fact Sīvāṇo.

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after he cut off his own finger and applied his blood to the forehead of Mahākāl, he was able to reach his decision.²⁹⁸

Ugrasen ate a lot of opium, and then went with his men to the house in Sāraṇ village where Āskaraṇ was staying in an upper room. Once in the room, he managed to persuade most of Āskaraṇ's companions to go on an errand for a sweet to give to the young Rāv. Only one man, Rāṭhoṛ Sekho Sāṅkarot,²⁹⁹ remained to guard Āskaraṇ. Ugrasen then brought out his dagger and began showing it to Dayāldās Cāndāvat, a Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ,³⁰⁰ who was one of his closest supporters. Dayāldās took it, looked it over, then gave it back, whereupon Ugrasen grabbed it with his four remaining fingers and stuck into Āskaraṇ's chest clear to his spine. Ugrasen's own man, Ūdāvat Rāṭhoṛ Vīko Ratansīyot,³⁰¹ who nothing of Ugrasen's plan, grabbed him, whereupon Sekho Sāṅkarot took Ugrasen's dagger away and killed him with it. Then he struck down two of Ugrasen's men. Vīko Ratansīyot and everyone else fled the house. Sekho remained with Āskaraṇ. He shouted out to Ugrasen's retainers: "I've killed the killer of my master. If your stomach burns [for revenge], come here." No one approached him. Āskaraṇ died about three hours later. When the news reached Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot and other ṭhākurs who had supported Āskaraṇ, they went upon Ugrasen's camp and killed some of his retainers. The others fled. Āskaraṇ was cremated near the temple of Mahākāl, but Ugrasen was dragged away and thrown on the ground. Later the Mers burned his body. This agonizing series of events took place on March 2, 1581.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ AB, p. 87; UCRK, 1:534.

²⁹⁹ Sekho Sāṅkarot was a Rāṭhoṛ of the Khetsīyot branch. See UCRK, 1:533-535 for some biographical details.

³⁰⁰ Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhoṛ Dayāldās Cāndāvat began his career as Ugrasen's retainer, then, after Ugrasen died, he became a bandit. Moṭo Rājā Udaisīngh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) at one time ordered that Dayāldās was to be captured and killed, but he escaped this fate at the hands of Moṭo Rājā's men only to die from the bite of a lizard. See UCRK, 2:222-223.

³⁰¹ Ūdāvat Rāṭhoṛ Vīko Ratansīyot entered Moṭo Rājā's service after 1583 and later became an Imperial military servant. He died fighting in the east on June 23, 1591. See UCRK, 2:300-301.

³⁰² AB, pp. 88-89. See also JRKK, p. 115, MRK, p. 54, RRK, 1:115, and UCRK, 1:534, all of which tell essentially the same story, with a few varying details. JRKK, p. 115 and RRK, 1:115 add an interesting item: "Rāṭhoṛ Mahrāvāṇ, Aclo Sivrājot's [son], had descended from the second-story room and gone [to attend to] a task at the time [Ugrasen] killed Āskaraṇjī. When he came back, Rāṭhoṛ Sādūl Mahesot said the words, in the form of a joke, 'Where were you?' Mahrāvāṇ said: 'I was not present.' Saying this, he climbed above the storehouse, leaped down on all the many *barchīs* [lances] they had stook upright [there], and died." See also UCRK, 2:181 for a short biography of the Sivrājot Rāṭhoṛ Mahrāvāṇ Aclāvat. For a discussion of the date of this series of events, see Appendix B, "Chronology Problems."

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The Last Rāv of Sojhat

Rāysiṅgh Candraseṇot, 1581-83

One of the occurrences was the death of Jagmāl and Rai Singh. The former was the brother of Rānā Pratāp, the latter the grandchild of Māldeo. When the first by the guidance of fortune brightened his forehead by doing homage, and was exalted by princely favours, Sirohī and its territory were made over to him in fief. Sultān Deorah was powerful in that country. An order was given to 'I'timād K. that when he came to that neighbourhood he should take vigorous measures, and should make over the country to Jagmāl, and if it was necessary, should leave some experienced fighting men to help him. When he came there he carried out the orders, and Jagmāl entered Sirohī. The presumptuous one (S. Deorah) retired to the ravines. Rai Singh, Becā, Deorah and men of Jālor were left to help Jagmāl. When the victorious troops marched to Gujarāt, that wayward one renewed his turbulence, and came upon their quarters by secret paths. Those two men (Jagmāl and Rai Singh) awoke out of the sleep of neglect and preserved their honour by bravely sacrificing their lives. AN, 3:614.

With the two brothers, Āskaraṇ and Ugraseṇ, killed on the same day, the leading Rāṭhoṛs of Sojhat had only Rāv Candraseṇ's eldest son, Rāysiṅgh, to turn to for the succession.³⁰³ Rāysiṅgh, born on September 6, 1557, had been raised at the Mughal court since he was thirteen. He had not returned to Mārvār after 1570. He probably knew very little about the local political situation in Sojhat. Nevertheless, the leading men of Sojhat sent Akbar a message informing him that Āskaraṇ and Ugraseṇ had died. In their opinion, Rāysiṅgh should

³⁰³ At this juncture the Rāṇo of Mevār, Pratāp, intervened, informing the Rāṭhoṛs that they should give Kesodās Rāmōt, one of Rāv Rām's sons, the throne of Sojhat, but they told him the succession was their business, not his. JRKK, p. 104; Murārdān, pp. 595-596; RKK, 1:103.

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return and look after his land. They promised to perform military service for him. The Emperor agreed to their proposal. He gave Rāysiṅgh a horse, a *sirpāv*, the title of Rāv, and Sojhat. Then he gave him leave from the Mughal army. Sometime after July 12, 1581, Rāv Rāysiṅgh came to Sojhat and for several months lived in the house of Āskaraṅ Devīdāsot, where he was married during this period.³⁰⁴ Rāv Candrasen's former commanders and *pradhāns* all met with him.³⁰⁵ Then, leaving his *vasī* in Sojhat, Rāv Rāysiṅgh went to Faṭhpūr to meet with Akbar, who after achieving victory in Kābul on August 9 or 10, 1581 had returned to Faṭhpūr on December 1 of that year.³⁰⁶

Akbar soon dispatched Rāv Rāysiṅgh to Sīrohī, where a complicated situation had arisen.³⁰⁷ Sīrohī, like Mevār and Mārvār, was a region of conflict between the local rulers and the Mughals. One will recall that Akbar himself had gone to the town of Sīrohī in 1572 and had ordered the slaughter of a large number of Rajpūts taking refuge in a temple.³⁰⁸ In early 1577 Rājā Rāysiṅgh of Bīkāner, acting on Akbar's orders, had invaded Sīrohī and taken the capital along with Mt. Abū. Subsequently he met with Rāv Surtāṅ, the ruler of Sīrohī, who had been engaged in a struggle to retain his throne since his accession in ca. 1572. Surtāṅ was particularly concerned about a Ḍūṅgarot Devṛo Cahuvāṅ, Vījo Harrājot, formerly his advisor. At one time Vījo had imprisoned Surtāṅ and sat himself on the throne. Then Rāṅo Pratāp of Mevār intervened and replaced Vījo with his own candidate, his sister's son Kalo, as Rāv of Sīrohī. Shortly thereafter Surtāṅ reconciled with Vījo and they called in the Bīhārī Paṭhāṅ ruler of Jālor, Malik Khān (1570-76)³⁰⁹ to aid them in removing Kalo. After defeating Kalo in a major battle,

³⁰⁴ AB, p. 89. UCRK, 1:317-318 states that Rāysiṅgh first went to Sojhat and received the *ḥiko* (throne; forehead mark) of succession from the leading Rāṭhoṛs. Then he went to meet the Emperor in Faṭhpūr Sīkrī while Sādūl Mahesot and Pañcolī Neto looked after his *vasī* in Sojhat. Afterward Akbar gave Rāysiṅgh Sojhat and dispatched him against Sīrohī.

³⁰⁵ UCRK, 2:82-83.

³⁰⁶ Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, 1:286-289.

³⁰⁷ See MRMR, 2:86-98 for a detailed discussion of late sixteenth-century Sīrohī politics, the Devṛo Cahuvāṅs, and a partial genealogy of their branch of the Cahuvāṅ clan (*vaṃś*).

³⁰⁸ See above, p.

³⁰⁹ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*: Vol. V, *Cutch, Pālanpur, and Mahi Kāntha* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1908), p. 320.

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Rāv Surtāṇ acquired Sīrohī once again, but afterward, when Vījo became too dangerous, the Rāv brought men from his wife's natal home in Bāharmer and removed Vījo from Sīrohī.³¹⁰

Vījo was still a threat, and so Surtāṇ, meeting with Rājā Rāysiṅgh, agreed to turn over half of Sīrohī to Akbar in exchange for aid. Akbar sent the Sīsodīyo Rajpūt Jagmāl Udaisiṅhot, a member of the Mevār royal family who had chosen Imperial military service,³¹¹ to assume control of the Imperial section of Sīrohī as its *jāgīrdār*. Jagmāl had married the daughter of the former ruler, Rāv Mānsiṅgh (d. ca. 1575), and knew the country well. However, strife almost immediately arose between him and Rāv Surtāṇ. After unsuccessfully trying to oust Surtāṇ from his palace, Jagmāl went to the Imperial court to request assistance. At that point Akbar sent the new Rāv of Sojhat, Rāysiṅgh Candraseṇot, to Sīrohī to aid Jagmāl. Vījo (Becā in the *Akbar Nāma*), whose own plea for Sīrohī was ignored by Akbar, accompanied them.³¹²

Jagmāl, Rāysiṅgh, Koḷisiṅgh of Dāntivāro,³¹³ Vījo, and a small army of Mughal soldiers arrived in Sīrohī. Rāv Surtāṇ abandoned the town and went into the mountains. Jagmāl decided to begin attacking the villages of Surtāṇ's Rajpūts in order to scatter them and make Surtāṇ more vulnerable. He dispatched Vījo, Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Khīmvo Māṇḍaṇot,³¹⁴ Ūdāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Rām Ratansīyot,³¹⁵ etc. against Bhītrot.³¹⁶ Vījo warned Jagmāl and Rāysiṅgh not to become separated

³¹⁰ NK, 1:22-23, 142-148. See also G. H. Ojhā, *Sīrohī Rājya kā Itihās* (Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Granthāgār, rev. 2nd ed., 1999 [1936], pp. 217-226; Muṃhato Naiṅsī, *Muhaṇot Naiṅsī kī Khyāt*, ed. and trans. by Manoharsīṅgh Rāṇāvāt (Sītāmaū: Śrī Naṭnagar Śodh-Saṃsthān, 1987-), 1:63, 145-149.

³¹¹ Jagmāl Udaisiṅhot was Rāṇo Pratāp's half-brother, the son of Virbāī, who in turn was the daughter of Rāvaḷ Lūṅkaraṇ Jaitsīyot of Jaisālmer (1528-1551). Jagmāl was born on June 9, 1555. NK, 1:23.

³¹² AB, p. 89; AN, 3:614; JRKK, p. 116; MRK, p. 54; *Murārdān*, pp. 599-600; NK, 1:23, 151; RRRK, 1:116; UCRK, 2:82.

³¹³ Koḷisiṅgh is called Siṅgh Koḷī by Naiṅsī (NK, 1:23). The Koḷīs are a *jātī* of diverse occupation (many were bandits in the British period) in Rājāsthān and, particularly, in Gujarāt. Dāntivāro village in Mārvār is eighteen miles due east of Jodhpur, but in this case I believe the reference is to Dāntivāro town, located forty miles southwest of Sīrohī, in an area with many Koḷī chiefs.

³¹⁴ Kūmpāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Khīmvo Māṇḍaṇot, the son of Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvāt, had a long, mostly distinguished career both as a military servant of Rāv Rāysiṅgh and Moṭo Rājā of Jodhpur (1583-95) and as an Imperial military servant. See MRMR, 2:320-321 and UCRK, 1:292 for biographical details.

³¹⁵ Ūdāvāt Rāṭhoṛ Rām Ratansīyot was the son of Ratansī Khīmāvāt, who died at Jaitāraṇ in 1558. He is described as a great Vaishnava. After serving under Rāv Rāysiṅgh, he became Moṭo Rājā's retainer and was given Pimpār village. UCRK, 2:287.

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from him, otherwise Surtāṇ would attack the divided force. The Rāṭhoṛ *thākurs* with Rāv Rāysiṅgh, who were young, inexperienced, and unduly arrogant, made an infamous reply: “Even in a village without a rooster, the night ends.”³¹⁷ In other words, they had no need of Vījo. Perhaps they resented his unhelpful presence at Sivṛāṇ in 1579 when the Mughals had killed or wounded many Rāṭhoṛ and their retainers as Rāv Candraseṇ and Vījo left the battlefield.

His advice ignored, Vījo and his companions went toward Bhītroṭ. Rāv Surtāṇ, upon hearing he had left, immediately attacked Jagmāl’s and Rāv Rāysiṅgh’s camp, which was in Datāṇī village.³¹⁸ Caught completely by surprise, the Mughal contingent was nearly annihilated on October 17, 1583.³¹⁹ Jagmāl, Rāv Rāysiṅgh, and Kolīsiṅgh, the three commanders, were killed. It was an exceptionally bitter moment for the Rāṭhoṛs. A long feud with the Devṛos began over this episode. It ended only in 1613 when the Devṛos offered several of their women to Rāṭhoṛ families who had lost members in 1583.³²⁰

The death of Rāv Rāysiṅgh left Sojhat without a ruler. But the entire situation in Mārvār had changed in August, 1583, when Akbar appointed Udaisiṅgh Māldevot, Rāv Candraseṇ’s elder brother, as the Rājā of Jodhpur. Within two years Rājā Udaisiṅgh (Moṭo Rājā) acquired Sojhat Pargano as well. The long period of resistance to Mughal rule was now over, and a new era of accommodation had begun.

And in Mārvār a famine occurred. The whole land became empty.
And much thievery [and] banditry occurred. The Turks had no
influence [anymore]. And Emperor Akbar, a very understanding
man, did not see a solution for the thievery [and] banditry. Then

³¹⁶ Bhītroṭ was not a village, but a region of Sīrohī, divided into two sections: 1) Rohāī-Bhītroṭ, with nineteen villages; 2) the *pathag* of Bhītroṭ, with twenty-three villages. These two sections were to the south and east of the town of Sīrohī, in modern Pindwara Tehsil. NK, 1:172-174.

³¹⁷ AB, p. 89; NK, 1:151.

³¹⁸ Daṭāṇī village is thirty-one miles southwest of Sīrohī town.

³¹⁹ AB, pp. 89-90; JRKK, p. 116; *Murārdān*, p. 600; NK, 1:23, 152; RRK, 1:116; UCRK, 2:83, *Vigat*, 1:389-390. For a list of those killed at Daṭāṇī, see Appendix D, “The Battle of Daṭāṇī, October 17, 1583.”

³²⁰ JRKK, pp. 146-149; RRK, 1:144-147.

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he decided to give the kingdom of Mārvār back to the Rāṭhoṛs.
MRK, p. 54.

Epilogue

(In Progress)