The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇḥ

The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇḥ, 1565-81

and

The Demise of the Kingdom of Sojhat, 1581-83

Those who were loyal to [their] master (śāṅdharmī) were with Candraseṇḥī. And the good-for-nothings (harāmkhor) of the kingdom 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 Candraseṇḥ, the Rāḥor ruler of Jodhpur (1562-81), came down from the fort above the city along with his retainers and several important Rajpūṭ 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 Candraseṇḥ had ceded Jodhpur, and set out into the darkness, bound for Bhādrājaṇ, a village about forty-eight miles to the south-southwest. In the morning, Ḥusayn Qulī Khān and Rāv Rām, Rāv Candraseṇḥ’s half-brother, ascended the fort with their retainers. They killed the few remaining Rajpūṭ 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 Turkāṇo, or period of “Turkish” (i.e., Mughal) rule of central Mārvār, which was to last until 1583, when Rāv Candraseṇḥ’s elder brother, Moṭo Rājā Udaiśīṅgh 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 Udaiśīṅgh nearly always have focused on Rāv Candraseṇḥ 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 Rāṇō Pratāp of Mēvār and the Marāṭhā leader Śivājī, who opposed Muslim rule. This viewpoint not only overlooks some contradictory details of Rāv Candraseṇḥ’s career, but also devalues the importance of other events in Mārvār not directly involving Rāv Candraseṇḥ.

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¹ Literally, “throne” (gāḍī).

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the siege of Jodhpur in 1565, see Richard D. Saran, “The Mughal Siege of Jodhpur, 1565: A Forgotten Imperial Episode” (unpublished paper).
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

Norman Ziegler, in a seminal article on the Rajpūts of Mārvār and the Mughals, 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 (bhāībandh), 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. 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 Candraseṇ’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 Māṅgil Vyās, but he evidently did not know about the invaluable Udābhāṅ Čāmpāvat rī Khyāt, and he ignored the Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāt. 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 Candraseṇ’s reign by Ojhā and Reū certainly have their uses, but they are

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4 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 231.


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 kā Itihās*, p. 312), as well as a long list of other works he knew about but did not consult.


The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ 

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

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 ṭhākur. 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 who several Rajpūt royal families claimed descent. 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 Kūmpāvat Prithrāj 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 land 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. 

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10 Svaṭantra Viṇ Rāv Candrasen: Jodhpur kā Šāsak, 1562-81 Ī., ed. by Hukamśīṃh Bhāgī (Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Šodh Saṃsthan, 2001). 


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

Having lost Jodhpur in 1565, Rāv Candraseṇa, defeated, dispossessed, but not destroyed, took up residence in Bhādrājaṇa for the next several years. Bhādrājaṇa was a small town, headquarters of a tapho (sub-district) of Jodhpur Pargano. At the time of Naiṣṣi’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. To Rāv Candraseṇa, 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 (patos). 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 Rāhors, even those who personally disliked him. As such, he retained considerable influence. He also retained the allegiance of the small garrison at Pokaraṇ Fort 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 Candraseṇa’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 Candraseṇa’s reign states that “the Turks stayed in Jodhpur [City]. They used to do much damage.” What sort of damage is not clear. Mughal Persian chroniclers also mostly ignore Mārvār during the years 1565-70. Rajput 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 Rajputs and disregard the remainder of the population. Despite their limitations and biases, they often provide information of considerable value.

Naiṣṣi, in his genealogy of the Jeso Bhāṛṛ Rajpūts, has written that Jeso Rāyśingh Vīramdevot was in Bhādrājaṇ during Rāv Candraseṇa’s years there. At some point the Rāv sent

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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,” Pariśiṣṭ 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

Rāysīṅgh, Rāthōṛ Vairāḷ Prithīrājōt, Gopālās Māṇḍanōṭ, and Uhaṛ Jaimal to loot a caravan. Rāysīṅgh died fighting there. Another genealogical note mentions that Jeso Īsardās Vīramdevōt, Rāysīṅgh’s brother, died fighting along with him when Rāv Candraseṇ dispatched the contingent against this caravan.¹⁸ Rāv Candraseṇ 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 Mevāṛ, 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 Candraseṇ, who had to maintain a retinue of around five hundred and a large family. Other Rajpūts were resorting to banditry as well. Māṇḍlot Rāthōṛ Udaisiṅgh Bhojāvat was killed in Gūndoc village²⁰ during the Turkāṇo helping Rāv Candraseṇ’s nephew, Pratapsī Rāymalōt, 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 Rajpūṭ thākur’s major expenditures.

Genealogies also mention “Turk” (i.e., Mughal) attacks on Rajpūṭ gūḍhōs (fortified, long-term camps or hideouts). For some examples, a Bhāyal Pāṃvāṛ Rajpūṭ, Hemrāj Khāṅdāvat, died fighting when the Mughals came upon his gūḍhō.²² Similarly, Jaitmālot Rāthōṛ Abho Pātalōt was killed when the Mughals came upon his.²³ Finally, Karamsēt Rāthōṛ Nāgrāj Dhanrājōt was killed defending his gūḍhō during a Mughal attack.²⁴ On shall never know precisely where these gūḍhōs were or when they were attacked; the authors of the genealogies probably did not know themselves.²⁵ Rajpūts lived in gūḍhōs only when they were driven from

¹⁸ NK, 2:169.


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

²¹ UCRK, 1:446. For other examples of Rajpūṭ banditry in this period, see idem., 1:346 (Māḷā Akhairājōt Rāthōṛ Sāḍūḷ Karamsēyot) and 1:380 (Cāṃpāvat Rāthōṛ 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
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseñ

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 Setrāvo because its ruler, Devrājot Rāthoṛ Jivo Abhihaṛot, would not meet with them even though he had eleven wives to worry about during his period of exile. Sometimes the Rajpūts struck back. The Udaibhāṇ Cāmpāvat rī Khyāt records in a biographical note about Jaitāvat Rāthoṛ Bhopat Devidāsot that in the period of Turkish rule in Mārvāṛ, Bhopat’s guḍhos and the guḍhos of Hardās Mahesot and the Karamsot Rāthoṛs were near Ghāṇāṛī Chīṃriyā village. When a local Mughal commander, Vijli Khān, attacked the guḍhos there, these Rajpūṭ thākurs got away. Afterward Bhopat formed a retinue and went and killed Vijli Khān.

Perhaps the most serious clash occurred on either December 25, 1567, or January 9, 1568. A Mughal officer, Ismā’īl Quḷī Khān, and his retainers attacked Akhairājot Rāthoṛ Lakhaṃṇa Bhadavat’s guḍho (Naiṇī calls it a koṭ or fort) near Jojāvar village. They thoroughly looted it. Naiṇī states that Lakhaṃṇa was killed; other sources are ambiguous. The men were not imprisoned, however, and the Rāthoṛs subsequently caught up to the Mughal contingent near Kādu village as it was returning to its base. They killed many of them. Four elephants were cut down.

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 guḍhos, 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 Rāthoṛ Hardās Mahesot, see UCRK, 2:252.

29 Not located.

30 Literally, “These thākurs picked up the die” (inṛ thākure pāso liyo). 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 by a synonym for pāso deṇo, “to slip away, to escape.”

31 UCRK, 1:273.

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

33 According to Naiṇī, Kādu (also called Kāṇḍhu and Kāṛū) village was located in Sojhat Pargano, ten kos (about twenty miles) from Sojhat in the Nivāṛ Kūṛ (extreme south). It probably is Kadu on AMS Map NG-43-10, which is
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

These few examples suggest that the occupation of central Mārvār was not easy either for the Mughals or for the Rāṭhōṛ Rajpūts in these early years. The Rāṭhōṛs 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 Rāṭhōṛ 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 Sāṅgo, whom Bābar had defeated with difficulty in 1527. Sāṅgo 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 Udaisingh began to regain some of the lost prestige of his dynasty. For awhile he and the Mughals were aligned in opposition to Hāji 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, Cītōṛ. Rāṇo Udaisingh left Meṭṭīyo Rāṭhōṛ Jaimal Viramdevot 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 Candraseṇ to ride away from Jodhpur when it was taken in 1565, followed his conquest of Cītōṛ by ordering the massacre of approximately 30,000 of Cītōṛ’s defenders. It was an unmistakable message to the remaining independent Rajpūt rulers of the region.

A year later, Akbar’s soldiers attacked Rāṇṭhambhōr Fort, which was in the hands of the Hāḍo Cahuvāṇ ruler of Būndī, Rāv Surjan Urjanot, one of Rāṇo Udaisingh’s allies. Akbar arrived at Rāṇṭhambhōr 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 Cītōṛ, 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, Raghunāth Sinh and his associates read one line of the note for Lakhmaṇ Bhadāvat in UCRK incorrectly as: Mugal nāg hāthī 4 vāḍhāyā. N. S. Bhāṣi has provided the correct reading, Mugal nāthā hāthī 4 vāḍhāyā, in his Rājasthān ke Aitihāsik Granthoṇ kī Sarvekṣaṇ, 3 vols. (Jodhpur: Rājasthān Granthāgār, 1989), 3:96. For further information about the Akhairajot Rāṭhōṛs and Lakhmaṇ Bhadāvat, see MRMR, 2:162-168.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen

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 Cîtoř: the Emperor would be generous if resistance ended. He would be ruthless if it did not.\(^{35}\)

To Rāv Candrasen 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. Whether should Rajpūts submit when they might wait on events for awhile? Why, in the words of Prithirāj Rāthōr 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, Rāthoṃ Prithirāj Kūmpāvat and Rāv Rām Māldevot had done well by allying with the Mughals.\(^{38}\)

\(^{35}\) In this context Abūl-Faţl 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 [Cītoř and Rīntāmbhor] 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.

\(^{37}\) Prithirāj Rāthōr was the son of Rāv Kalyāṇmal (1542-74) of Bīkāner and a reknown Đinţgal 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). Prithirāj himself was in Mughal service at the time. See “Introduction,” in Veli Krīsana Rukamaṇi ri Rāthoṛa rāja Prithi Rāja ki kahī, ed. by L. P. Tessori (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1919), for a discussion of Prithirāj and his poetry.

\(^{38}\) By 1573 Prithirāj Kūmpāvat 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 ḫāĝīr. Rāv Rām Māldevot held Sojhāt Pargano from the Mughals between 1564 and early 1573. For a short biography of Prithirāj Kūmpāvat, see MRMR, 2:308-312. Unfortunately this biography was compiled before the authors had full access to the information in UCRK, 1:309.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇḥ

Rāv Candraseṇḥ’s actions during 1569 seem to indicate the turmoil in his mind during this period. He left Bhādrājaṇ for Būndi early that year, “completely alone” according to the Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāṭ, and “with a single retinue of horses” according to the nineteenth-century Mündiyār rī Khyāṭ. Shortly after his arrival in Rīnthambhōr, he married the daughter of Rāv Surjaṇ Hāḍo on February 21, 1569, which would have been during the siege. Naiṇṣī states that he received a dowry of fifteen horses, an elephant, and jewelry worth Rs. 15,000. The Jodhpur Rājya kī Khyāṭ differs, indicating that the elephant was ornamented and Rs. 105,000 were given in cash along with fifteen horses. The Mündiyār rī Khyāṭ agrees that fifteen horses were given but says that Rāv Candraseṇḥ received two elephants and jewelry along with Rs. 15,000.

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 Rājasthāṇī chronicles. The marriage with the daughter of Rāv Surjaṇ at such a time might well have irritated Akbar (assuming he knew about it) and have been taken as a sign of Rāv Candraseṇḥ’s continuing unwillingness to compromise with the Mughals. And what did Rāv Surjaṇ gain from it? Rāv Candraseṇḥ was incapable of rendering military assistance at this point. Perhaps he undertook the dangerous journey to Rīnthambhōr partly to encourage a wavering Rāv Surjaṇ in defense of the fort. In the end, Rāv Surjaṇ capitulated to Akbar’s forces and Rāv Candraseṇḥ headed back to Bhādrājaṇ 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, Rāṇo Udaisiṅgh of Mevār (ca. 1537-72), driven out of Cītōr by the Mughals in 1568, came to Navsar village in Mārvā. Rāv Candraseṇḥ joined the Rāṇo there and went with him to Jaisaḷmer. The Rāṇo had informed the Bhāṭīs of Jaisalmer that he expected them to marry a daughter to him, but upon his arrival, they shut the

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

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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ
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 Bhādrājan and married his daughter Karmeti Bāi to him on December 9, 1569. 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 Rajput 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 Rajastan 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, Āskuṇvar Bāi, to Kūṃvar Mānsīṅgh Kachāvho, undoubtedly knowing that one way to approach the Emperor was through the Kachvāho family. And he married Āskuṇvar Bāi’s sister to Akbar himself. 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 Hādos 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 Rajput leaders in resistance to the Mughals.

Part II. From Nāgaur to Muḍāro,

December 13, 1570 to Early January, 1575

\[\text{\textsuperscript{45 JRKK, p. 107-108: MRK, p. 50, RRK, 1:107; Vigat, 1:69. AB, p. 80, indicates that the marriage of Karmeti Bāi to Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh took place before the trip to Jaisālmer, an unlikely sequence.}
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\[\text{\textsuperscript{46 Another daughter was married to Mānsīṅgh’s son Sabalsīṅgh. MRMR, 2;39.}
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\[\text{\textsuperscript{47 Ibid., 2:38. The marriage to Akbar was a dolo 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 Candraseṇ’s presence).}
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\[\text{\textsuperscript{48 Vyās, Jodhpur Rāṣja kā Ithās, pp. 192-193, mentions the marriage to the Rajput 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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The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṣṭ

Sixteen years had gone by while Emperor Akbar ruled in Delhī. The bhomiyo\textsuperscript{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 Khwāja-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,\textsuperscript{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-Fażl, the author of the Akbar Nāma, Akbar had come to Nāgaur to “put things in order and administer justice.”\textsuperscript{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 Kalyāṃmal Jaitsiyot, the ruler of Bīkāner, 1542-74. He married two of his family’s women (i.e., Vikī Rāḥorūs) to Akbar: Śrī Bhāṃmatī, who was the daughter of his brother Bhīmrāj Jaitsiyot, and Rājkumārvārī, the daughter of another of his brothers, Kānh Jaitsiyot.\textsuperscript{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 “Kāhān,” Kalyāṃmal’s brother. She became an “inmate of the harem,” to paraphrase Abu-I-Fażl.\textsuperscript{53} On December 4, 1570, Akbar allowed Rāv Kalyāṃmal,

\textsuperscript{49} Bhomiyo: a local landholder, local ruler.

\textsuperscript{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 Irfān Habib (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 101.

\textsuperscript{51} For the chronology of Akbar’s activities September-December, 1570, and Abu-I-Fażl’s remark, see AN, 2:517-518.

\textsuperscript{52} DV, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{53} AN, 2:518. See also MT, 2:137, TA, 2:362.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

enormously fat and unable to mount a horse, to return to Bikāner, but he retained Kalyāṃmal’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.\textsuperscript{54}  

Another important ruler who married a daughter to Akbar and submitted during these weeks was Rāval Harrāj (1567-77) of Jaisalmer.\textsuperscript{55}  

Rāv Candraseṇ probably had already married his daughter Rukhmāvatī Bāi to Akbar when he left Bhādrājaṇ for Nāgaur on November 21, 1570,\textsuperscript{56} accompanied by five hundred horsemen.\textsuperscript{57} He was one of at least six important Rāhvās to go to Nāgaur, including his son Rāysiṅgh Candraseṇot (Rukhmāvatī Bāi’s brother), his brother Udaisīṅgh Māldevot, and three half-brothers: Rāymal Māldevot, Bhojraj Māldevot, and Ratansī Māldevot.\textsuperscript{58} Rāv Candraseṇ himself met with Akbar on December 13, 1570.\textsuperscript{59} According to the \textit{Tabaqat-i Akbarī}, he was enrolled as a military servant of the Emperor at this time.\textsuperscript{60} The \textit{Akbar Nāma} notes that he was received with royal favors.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{rūp}) of the Rāv, Akbar observed: “You have met me in order that

\textsuperscript{54} TA, 2:362.  
\textsuperscript{55} AN, 2:518-259.  
\textsuperscript{56} AB, p. 80. According to \textit{Vigat}, 1:69, he left Bhādrājaṇ on November 22.  
\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid.}, 1:69.  
\textsuperscript{58} JRKK, p. 108.RRK, 1:108; Murārdan, p. 605; UCRK, 2:87. UCRK, 2:87 suggests that Bhān Māldevot, not Bhojraj Māldevot, was among the brothers at Nāgaur, but it is much more likely that it was Bhojraj, who entered Akbar’s service at some point, achieved a high rank, and later died fighting in Gujarāt. For these two brothers, see Murārdan, p. 617.  
\textsuperscript{59} AB, p. 80; \textit{Vigat}, 1:69. Other dates given by three Rājasthānī khyāts: MRK, p. 50: April 11, 1571; Murārdan, 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 Candraseṇ.  
\textsuperscript{60} TA, 2:362.  
\textsuperscript{61} AN, 2:518.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen

you do not meet Kalo Khān.” Kalo Khān, the Khān-i Kalān of the Persian chronicles, was the recently appointed governor of Ajmer Province. To Rāv Candrasen, the remark may have suggested that he met with Akbar out of fear that he would soon face an attack on Bhādrājān 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 Candrasen 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 Candrasen maintained the appearance of submission and left his young son, Rāysiṅgh, thirteen years old, with Akbar at this time. Another son, Ugrases, perhaps remained with Akbar or was sent to Būndī. Then Rāv Candrasen either left immediately, or after a meeting in a garden with his brother and half-brothers. Once source indicates that they swore an oath of some kind at this meeting. Possibly it was an oath to keep quiet about the Rāv’s plans. Afterward Udaisingh, Bhojraj, and Rāymal all became Imperial military servants. Udaisingh was to have a long career in Mughal service; Rāymal received Sivāṅ Pargano from Akbar; Bhojraj rose to a high rank (mansab) of 1,500. Rāv Candrasen returned to Bhādrājān. 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.

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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, Monuṃ milīyo he ḫāyān Kālā Khān mat mīle, as “As he [Rāv Candrasen] 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 milīyo hai jihām Kalāḵhān sai mat mīlai (1:108). The meaning is the same. Naĩṣī does not mention this remark and says only that Akbar observed Rāv Candrasen’s appearance (sūrat) and was pleased. Vigat, 1:69.

63 One source refers to a nickname of Khān-i Kalān’s, Minhāriyo, 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 Ugrases did not stay with Akbar, while Vigat, 1:69 says that he did.

66 UCRK, 2:87.


68 Murārdān, p. 617.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

Clearly Rāv Candraseṇ 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 Rāysiṅgh 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 Citor and Rīnthambhor had recently been conquered with so much difficulty. Candraseṇ 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 Candraseṇ 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, Bhādrājan. Or he might have expected Sivāno Pargano, which went instead to his brother Rāymal. It seems at most Akbar only offered him Bhādrājan and perhaps Pokaraṇ Pargano, where Candraseṇ’s men already controlled the fort. Surely being treated little or no better than his brothers would have rankled Candraseṇ.

Second, there is the insulting remark Akbar is alleged to have made about Candraseṇ’s fear of meeting Kalo Khan. One must remember that Akbar and Candraseṇ 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 Candraseṇ, a Rajpūṭ 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. Candraseṇ probably hid his anger well until he safely escaped from Nāgaur. But it seems certain than he had made up his mind to reject Mughal service by then.

December 13, 1570 to August 12, 1572

From Nāgaur to Kāṇujo

And Candraseṇji took leave from the Emperor and came back to Bhādrājan. And he went from Bhādrājan into the mountains of
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen

Pīp[lo]d in the vicinity of Sīvāno. 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 Sīvāno.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 Kalân. He destroyed the Khān’s military outpost in Maheli,74 a small village south of the Lūmī 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 Kalân nine lākhs of pīrojīs.76 In return, the Khān would end his operations and the Lūmī River would become the

69 JRKK, p. 108; MRK, p. 50, UCRK, 2:78, Vigat, 1:69.
70 Vigat, 2:219.
71 Pīplod (also Pīplāna or Pīplān; Plīpūm on Map One) is four or five miles southwest of Sīvāno. Nainsī 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 Sīvāno. Nainsī records that at one time Kuṇḍal was a large settlement and the center of the local ṭhākurī (little kingdom) of the Panvār 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 Sīvāno. Nainsī 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 Sīvāno from 1544-46. Vigat, 2:253.
74 Maheli (Meli on Map One) village is five miles north-northeast of Sīvāno. Vigat, 2:244-245.
75 For the battle of Maheli, 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 lākh. Takos: a copper coin; phadiyo: a small silver coin. A pīrojī was a Firozshahī rupee, issued during the reign of Firoz
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen

boundary between the Rāthórs and the Mughals. Rāv Candrasen 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 Candrasen never paid anything more, and these two men, Paṅcolī Sāran Netāvat and Bhaṇḍārī Dhano Ḍabarot, were held until Khān-i Kalān died several years afterward.\(^77\)

According to one source, Rāv Candrasen abandoned Bhādrājan when he made the pact with the Khān.\(^78\) Other sources indicate he had already left Bhādrājan before the agreement to do so.\(^79\) Then he stayed in Sīvāno for nine months, after which he took his vasi\(^80\) and Mahājaṅs to Kānujo, 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 Bhādrājan on February 24, 1571 and then remained in Sīvāno for nine months, he must have left for Kānujo no later than the end of November, 1571. But

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\(^77\) AB, p. 80; JRKK, p. 108; RRK, 1:108; Vigat, 1:69.

\(^78\) JRKK, p. 108 states: “On [Saturday,] February 24, 1571, [Rāv Candrasen] made the pact and entrusted Bhādrājan [to the Mughals]. And the Rāvji went to Sivāno. Afterward the Rāvji’s Rajpūt Dāso Pātalot 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 Candrasen agreed formally to give up Bhādrājan only after the battle of Mahelī as part of the pact with Khān-i Kalān. By this reckoning, he left Nāgaur, returned to Bhādrājan, then went to Sivāno and began a series of attacks including the one at Mahelī. Subsequently he came to an agreement with the Khān and handed over Bhādrājan on February 24, 1571. Afterward the Lūṇī River became the boundary between the Rāthors and the Mughals, and Rāv Candrasen remained in the Sīvāno region.

\(^80\) Vasi: the people or subjects bound to an important Rajpūt who lived either in his village or town of residence (vāsī) 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 vasi of an important man contained persons of many jātis, including a contingent of Rajpūt warriors, peasants such as Jāts, Sirvīs, Paṭels, etc., Vānīyos, Bārmans, Cārans, and members of the the lower jātis: Kumbhārs, Mājis, Sutrārs, and others. Vasi were divided among sons either before or upon the death of a Rajpūt thākur, each inheriting son taking his part of the vasi and going to live on his share (vants, grās) of the paternal lands, a process referred to in the sources as juvātī (“separation”).

\(^81\) Kānujo village is approximately fifteen miles southeast of Jaitāraṇ town. See Map Two.

\(^82\) AB, p. 80, 86; Vigat, 1:69.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseñ

according to Naiṇṣi, while Rāv Candrasen was in the hills around Ghughroṣ, he helped Rāṭhor Māṇḍan Kūmpāvat in a fierce confrontation with some Devṛo Cahuvaṇs. Māṇḍan had engaged in this battle only after leaving Mevār upon the death of Rāṇo Udaiśingh Sāṅgāvat on February 28, 1572. Most likely the battle occurred on May 11, 1573. At that time Rāv Candrasen supposedly was settled in Kānujo. Also, when Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvat visited Bhadrājaṇ in 1572, Rāv Candrasen was staying there. Seventeenth-century chroniclers and modern historians alike have all assumed that Rāv Candrasen moved from Bhadrājaṇ to Sīvāṇo to Kānujo in an irreversible progression. In truth, he retained control over Sīvāṇo until April, 1576, and may have revisited there several times between 1571 and January, 1575, when he finally fled Mārvā. As for Bhadrājaṇ, the Mughals did not occupy the town until shortly after August 12, 1572, and then only briefly. Rāv Candrasen likely spent some time in Bhadrājaṇ as well as Sīvāṇo after February 24, 1571. The Mughals also had less concern with him in 1572-73, when they invaded and occupied Gujarāṭ. He probably was able, if he wished, to move around southern Mārvā unimpeded for awhile. However, it is certain that he was no longer in Bhadrājaṇ when Khān-i Kalān was attacked there by a Rajpūṭ assassin in late August, 1572.

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83 Ghughroṣ village is four or five miles south-southwest of Sīvāṇo. According to Naiṇṣi, Ghughroṣ, 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.


86 The date of Siho’s death, May 11, 1573, comes from the Sindhal Rāṭhor genealogy in UCRK, 1:38. The Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor genealogy gives 1570-71 for his death, which is before Rāṇo Udaiśingh died. Thus it cannot be accepted. See UCRK, 1:291.

87 AB, 1:265; “Bāṭ Rāṭhor Devīdās Jaitāvat rī,” in *Aitihāsik Tavarīkhvār Vārtā* (MS no. 1234, Rājasthāṇī Śodh Samstān, Caupāsṇī), p. 71. These sources indicate Devīdās was a *saṃyāsi* for ten years, from his supposed death in 1562 until 1572, when he decided to return to his old life as a Rajpūṭ warrior. Shortly afterward he encountered Rāv Candrasen in Bhadrājaṇ.

88 Akbar dispatched Khān-i Kalān to Gujarāṭ as part of an advance guard of 10,000 mounted men on August 12, 1572, and the Khān arrived in Bhadrājaṇ shortly afterward. Akbar himself left Ajmer on September 1, 1572 and reached Bhadrājaṇ 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṭ

August, 1572 to Summer-Fall, 1573

Kāṇujo

Kāṇujo [is] ten kos from Jaitāraṇ [town] in the east. [There are] fifty ḥałvōs of land [and] fine fields. Ṛvaṭ Narāṁdās, a Cito Mer,⁸⁹ resides [here]… The Rāypur River is nearby. During a time of trouble Rāv Candraseṭ lived here… [It is] a place suitable to live [in] during a time of trouble. Vigat, 1:536.

Despite Naiṇṣi’s favorable description, Kāṇujo was a small mountain village. Fifty ḥałvōs were not that many. Two other Mer villages in the area, Cāṅg and Borāṛ, had 100 and 200 ḥałvōs of land, respectively; Borāṛ had a fort with walls twelve feet thick. Why did Rāv Candraseṭ choose to live in Kāṇujo? And why did he decide to come all the way from Sivāṇo to a section of Jaitāraṇ 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 Candraseṭ came to this area was its proximity to Mevāṛ, where a fellow ruler, Rāṇo Pratāp Udaiśīghot (1572-97), was organizing resistance to the Mughals. Rāv Candraseṭ had married a daughter to Rāṇo Pratāp’s father,⁹¹ and he was on good terms with Pratāp himself. He attended his coronation in 1572.⁹² Probably Rāv Candraseṭ reckoned that if he ever was forced out of Kāṇujo, he could go into Mevāṛ and live (in fact this is

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


⁹¹ See above, p. : MRMR, 2:38.

The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen

exactly what happened in 1575). He knew he could not stay in Śivāṇa 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 Candrasen picked Kāṇujo above Cāṃg or Boraṇ or some other Mer village seems to have been his good relationship with Rāvat Pańcāyāṇ, the Mer ruler of Kāṇujo at that time, who performed many services for him while he stayed in the village. Rāv Candrasen 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 Rāvat Pańcāyāṇ provided that certainty.93

The Mughal Invasion of Gujarāt

1572-73

While Rāv Candrasen got used to living in the small mountain village that was his new home, Emperor Akbar prepared to invade Gujarāt. He left Fathpur 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 Bhādrājan and halted in the village, which Rāv Candrasen had abandoned some time previously. At this time the Rāv of Sīrohi, Devro Cahuvaṇ Mānsingh Dūdvat, 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-Badāoni.95 The Khān survived; Akbar was infuriated. He himself arrived in Bhādrājan along with the rest of the Imperial army on October 20, 1572. He proceeded from there to Sīrohi and encamped in the town on October 24. Rāv Mānsingh 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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

While in Sīrohī, Akbar appointed Vīko Rāḥoṛ Rāysiṅgh Kalyāṃmalot, 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 Rāṃo Pratāp Udaiṣīṅghot 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 Candraseṇ. 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 Jaiṣī, its ruler. One of Jaiṣī’s sons, Bhīmraī, 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.


99 Rājasthānī sources are vague about Rājā Rāysiṅgh’s stay in Jodhpur. According to Persian sources, after Candraseṇ left Jodhpur, Akbar gave it to Rāysiṅgh in late October or Early November, 1572. But the Dalpat Vilās (DV, p. 15) indicates that Rāv Kalyāṃmal Jaiśiyot (1542-74) and Rāysiṅgh both were sent to Jodhpur at this time, and that Rāv Kalyāṃmal was still there early in 1573 (DV, p. 20). It seems unlikely that Rāv Kalyāṃmal, 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 Kalyāṃmal 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 Nāṃa’s chronology of Rāysiṅgh’s years in Jodhpur. See also RRK, 1:108.

100 UCRK, 1:467.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

Bīkāner and Meṛto 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 Rāysīṅgh.

Death of Siho Sindhal

May 11, 1573

Rāv Candraseṇ himself evidently did not hinder Akbar’s invasion of Gujarāṭ. Nothing is known of his activities from August, 1572 until May 11, 1573, when he became involved in a deadly confrontation between Rāhoṛ Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat and some Devṛō Cahuven Rājpūts. Māṇḍaṇ, an exceptionally fierce, determined Rājpūt, had left military service in Mevāṛ sometime shortly after the death of Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh Sāṅgāvat on February 28, 1572.101 He was on the trail of Siho Sindhal, who had left Mevāṛ just previously to take up military service under Ghaznī Khān, the ruler of Jālor (ca. 1568-85). His goal was to kill Siho to avenge his brother’s death. He eventually found Siho within the domain of Udaisī Devṛō. When Māṇḍaṇ killed Siho 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 Naiṅsi’s words, “There was such a heap of Rājpūt corpses!” Māṇḍaṇ was wounded but survived.102

At this time Rāv Candraseṇ was not in Kāṇujo, but rather in the mountains of Ghughrot near Sīvāno. When he heard about this battle, he sent his retainers and had them kill all of Udaisī Devṛō’s men.103 It was a demonstration that he still had some ability to carry out significant military operations in Mārvāṛ. He was no match for Imperial armies, but he could exert his sway over local Rājpūt ṭhākurs. He also was able to move around Mārvāṛ 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 Kūmpāvat, see MRMR, 2:312-320. This biography unfortunately was compiled without the availability of additional information in UCRK, 1:38, 291-292 and in Mārvāṛ rī Ṭhikāṅṇaṃ rī Vigat, pp. 36, 43.

103 NK, 3:128.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

Mevār, Rāv Candraseṇ, and Śīvāṇo Affairs

May 11, 1573 to March, 1574

While the Mughal army marched to Gujarāt during August-September of 1572, Akbar sent Jalāl Khān Qurchī to Mevār to hold preliminary discussions with the new Rāṇo, Pratāp Udaiśinghhot (1572-97). Apparently nothing of substance was accomplished, and the Khān went back to attend upon Akbar in Ahmadābād on November 27, 1572. Later, in April of 1573, Akbar sent Kachvāho Kuṃvar Mānsīṅgh Bhagvānđāsot of Āmber to Dūŋarpur, where he fought and defeated its ruler, Rāvāl Āskarāṅ, on April 18. Kuṃvar Mānsīṅgh 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, Amarsīṅgh, to meet there with Kuṃvar Mānsīṅgh, who took the Rāṇo’s absence as an insult and left without even eating. The Rāvāl Rāṇājī rī Vāṭ, a Mevār chronicle, notes that Rājā Mānsīṅgh sent one of Rāṇo Pratāp’s retainers, Bhīm Doḍīya, to ask the Rāṇo why he would not eat with him, whereupon the Rāṇo sent word back pointedly reminding Mānsīṅgh that he was connected by marriage to the Emperor (a Muslim) and that he ate together with him. According to Naiṃṣī, Sīsōdiya Rāvat Khāṅgār Ratansīiyot warned the Rāṇo that Kuṃvar Mānsīṅgh was “of a singular nature,” implying that there was something unusual or strange about him. Khāṅgār told the Rāṇo

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104 Jalāl Khān Qurchī was a personal servant (Arabic khaṭāṣṣ; Rājasthānī khavāṣ) and favorite of Akbar’s. AA, 1:531, no. 213; Shāh navāz Khān Awrangābādī, The Maʿāthī-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 Bain Prashad, 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 Mānsīṅgh Bhagvānđāsot, 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 Rāvāl Āskarāṅ Prithīrājot ruled Dūṅgarpur, a small polity in southern Rājāsthān, from ca. 1549-80. The Āhāros of Dūṅgarpur were the allies of the Rāṇo of Mevār.

108 Ibid.

not to meet with Mānsīṅgh, but he did anyway. Mānsīṅgh became offended during the mean and left.\textsuperscript{110} In his \textit{Akbar Nāmā}, Abu-I-Fazl relates a slightly different story, stating that the Rāṇo did meet with Mānsīṅgh, but, “owing to his evil nature,” he would not agree to go to the Mughal court. He temporized and gave Mānsīṅgh 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 Kumvār Mānsīṅgh, but he never agreed to serve Akbar.\textsuperscript{111} Instead, he began strengthening his defenses in western Mevār. He also began looking to ther Rajpūts unaligned with the Mughals for their support.\textsuperscript{112}

Rāṇa Candrasena had maintained good relations with Rāṇa Pratāp. As noted above, he attended his coronation at Kumbhalgarh in early 1572.\textsuperscript{113} One may recall also that he had married his daughter to Rāṇa Udaisīṅgh, Pratāp’s father, in 1569.\textsuperscript{114} He may have moved his family to Kangfu 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 Rāṇa Candrasena had “rebelled” and strengthened the fort in Sīvāṇo, which Abu-I-Fazl describes as “the strongest fort” in Ajmer Province.\textsuperscript{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 Rāths could harass any besiegers.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{footnotes}
\item[110] NK, 1:39.
\item[111] AN, 3:57; Somani, \textit{History of Mevār}, p. 222.
\item[112] \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 223-226.
\item[113] See above, p.
\item[114] See above, p.
\item[115] AN, 3:113.
\item[116] See Map One, “Sīvāṇo Region,” 1574-76,” and above, pp.
\end{footnotes}
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṅ

at such a remote outpost. Akbar appointed Shāh Qulī Mahrām,117 Rājā Rāysiṅgh (who had just succeeded his father, Rāv Kalyāṇmal, as ruler of Bīkāner),118 Shimāl Khān,119 Meṛṭiyo Rāthōr Kesodās Jaimalot of Meṛto,120 and others to go to Sīvāṇo and “chastise the presumptuous one, Rāv Candraseṅ. But he offered to be generous if Candraseṅ changed his ways.”121

Akbar’s contingent set out first for Sojhat, where Rāv Kalo Rāmot, 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 Sāraṇ 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 Rāmot, and two of his supporters, Rāthōr Mahes Kümpāvat and Rāthōr Prithrīāj Kümpāvat, 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-Faẓl put it, while the Mughal expedition proceeded to Sīvāṇo.125

117 Shāh Qulī Mahrām Bahārū, a Mughal commander of 3,500. He received his nickname “Mahrām” (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 Rāysiṅgh 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 Meṛṭiyo Rāthōr 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 Prithrīāj and Mahes Kümpāvat, 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. Prithrīāj in particular never displayed any hostility toward or fear of the Mughals. See MRMR, 2:308-312, for biographies of Prithrīāj and Mahes Kümpāvat.

125 AN, 3:113-114.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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 Candraseṇ to disassociate himself from the Mughals. Sojhat was not far from Kāṇju; Candraseṇ would have been able to attack it fairly easily if he wished, particularly if Kalo had gone with the Mughals to Śīvāño. And Rāṇo Pratāp, who had married Phūl Kunvvar, 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 Cārāṇ, 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

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\(^{126}\) 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.

\(^{130}\) “Mahārāpōṇ ke Antalpur kī Hakīkat,” in Mevār Rāvał Rāṇājī rī Bāt, p. 126.

\(^{131}\) Rāva sariso Mevāro Rāṇo, Rāne sirisō Jodhapura Rāva, in Vyās, p. 210. “Git Mahārāṇā Pratāp nai Candrasen Rāṭh[or] rī,” in Dursā Āḍhā, Dursā Āḍhā Granthāvali, ed. by Bhupatirām Sākariyā (Udāpur: Sāhitya Saṃsthan, Rājasthān Vidyāpīṭh, 1983), p. 158, has a different version: Rāvi sarīkhaus Mevāro Rāṇo, Ravi sarīkhaus Jodhapura Rāva (“The Mevār Rāṇo [is] the equal of the sun; the Jodhpur Rāv is [also] the equal of the sun”). Dursā Āḍhā (Durso Āḍho in Rājasthānī) was a contemporary of Rāv Candrasen and Rāṇo Pratāp. He held two villages of Sojhat Pargano as sāṃṣan (tax-free) grants, but Moṭo Rājā Udaisingh Māldevot of Jodhpur (1583-95) took them away. Vigat, 1:82.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

appealed to Kalo, and so he fled rather than joining an Imperial expedition to Sīvāṇo to keep Rāv Candraseṇ 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 Candraseṇ was not there; his ally, Rāval Meghrāj Hāpāvat, the Maheco Rāthor ruler of Mahevo (whom Abu-I- Faẓl calls Rāwal Sukhrāj),¹³³ was holding the fort. The Rāv sent some men to assist Rāval Meghrāj in attacking the Mughals.¹³⁴ In the ensuing battle, several men on both sides were killed, including Meghrāj’s brother.¹³⁵ Rāval Meghrāj, defeated, offered his submission to the Mughals and sent his son to them for service.¹³⁶ He spent the rest of Rāv Candraseṇ’s reign mostly in his village, taking no part in any further struggles.¹³⁷ The Mughals proceeded onward to Sīvāṇo Fort. Abu-I-Faẓl has written that “Candar Sen did not think it advisable to remain himself in the fort and made it over to Patāī Rathor¹³⁸ and Patāī Baqqāl.¹³⁹” Previously Abu-I-Faẓl had pointed out that the attacks on Rāv Kalo in Sojhat Pargano had “disturbed” Candraseṇ’s security, a statement that probably means Candraseṇ was in Kānujo and in Sīvāṇo at this time.¹⁴⁰

¹³² AN, 3:114

¹³³ Ibid. See also MRMR, 2:333-334; Hukamsinh Bhāṭi, Mahecā Rāṭhaṇaṃ kā Māl Itihās (Jodhpur: Ratan Prakāṣan, 2001, pp. 55-56. Mahevo (modern Mallāṇi) is the name of an area of wester Mārvār and also a village sixty-six miles southwest of Jodhpur and five miles south of Kheṛ village.

¹³⁴ “Candar Sen sent Sūjā and Deḇī 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 Rāṭhūr Māl Hāpāvat, Rāval 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 Bahāvat Rāṭhūr Pato Nagāvat. Pato was the ṭhākur of Dunāṇo village during the reign of Rāv Candraseṇ 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 Dunāṇo by Rāv Candraseṇ’s half-brother, Rāymal Māldevot and killed twenty of Rāymal’s men. Later in his life Pato went insane and had to be restrained with camel chains (maṯul, an iron chain for binding the forefeet of a camel). UCRK, 1:405-406.

¹³⁹ Muṃṭhato Pato Urjanot.

¹⁴⁰ AN, 3:113-114.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇa

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

The Return of Devidās Jaitāvat, 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 [Deidās] 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 [Deidās] 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 Rāṭhōr Devidās Jaitāvat, commander of the fort in Meṛto town, came to an agreement with the leader of the besieging Mughal army, Sharafūd-Dīn Ḥusayn. Devidās 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 dharma (dharmaidvārā),” that is, surrendering a fort with a guarantee of safe conduct. It seemed the two-month siege would end without bloodshed, but then Devidās burned the stores inside the fort. Worse, as he was leaving,

141 AN, 3:114.
he took his metallized 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. Meṭṭiyo Rāṭhor Jaimal Vīrāmdevi, 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 took waiting. An exceptionally bloody battle occurred near Sāṭalvās village.143 Around 300 men were killed. It was thought Devīdās himself had died.144 Word was sent back to his home village, Vagṛ,145 the seat of the Jaitāvat Rāṭhor lineage. Some of Devīdās’s wives became sattiś.146

Ten years later, in 1572, a man appeared in Bhādrājan 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 atīt or sannyāśī himself and spent a decade wandering about.149 Then he changed his


143 Sāṭalvās village is four miles southwest of Meṭṭo.

144 Persian chronicles indicate that between 200 and 250 men died with Devīdās at Sāṭalvās. 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 Vagṛ 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 Daśnāmī-Samnyāśīs: 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇa

mind, returned to Mārvār, and abandoned his ascetic garb. He attempted to join Rāv Candraseṇa in Bhādṛajaṇ, but the Rāv would not speak to him. Others, including Akbar, who met him at some point, were uncertain he even was Devīdās. After a series of endeavors, aided by his relationship with Jalāl Khān Qurchī, a Mughal officer and favorite (khavās) of Akbar’s, Devīdās succeeded in regaining his old seat of rule, Vagrī, around October, 1574, deposing his own son, Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot, who had been granted Vagrī by Rāv Kalo Rāmot of Sojhat. 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. Soon he had a contingent of around 500. Within a few months, he began to carry out attacks on the Mughal outposts nearby. His presence in Sojhat complicated an already tense, volatile situation in eastern Mārvār.

Rāv Candraseṇa, the Ûudāvats, and the Raid on Jodhpur

Late 1574

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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 Rūpsiyot, an Imperial officer and the husband of Rāv Candraseṇa’s niece, Dametī Bāī, the daughter of his brother, Māto Rājā Udaisīṅgh 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 Vīgat, 1:425 (Sojhat), 430 (Vagrī).

157 ATV, p. 72; UCRK, 1:266.

158 UCRK, 1:266.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇa

While Devīdās was establishing his authority in Vagī, Rāv Candraseṇa was attempting to broaden his local support further to the north in Jaitāraṇ Pargano.159 The Jaitāraṇ region was the homeland of the Ědavat branch of the Rāṭhor Rajpūts. Ūdo Sūjāvat, the founder of this branch, had taken Jaitāraṇ from the Sīndhāl Rāṭhrs 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 Gāqo in Jodhpur (1515-32), some of the Ědavats supported Rāṇo Sāṅgo of Mevār, while others continued to align themselves with Jodhpur. After Rāṇo Sāṅgo died in 1528, the Ědavat leaders all abandoned Mevār service and submitted to Rāv Mālde of Jodhpur (1532-62).160

Toward the end of his reign, Rāv Mālde supported Hájī Khān, a former officer of the Śür Emperors, in his fight at Hármāro (January 24, 1557) with the Rāṇo of Mevār, Udaisigh Sāṅgāvat, and the new Mughal Emperor, Akbar. When Hájī 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, Ědavat Rāṭhor Ratansī Khīṃvāvat, along with dozens of his retainers.161 The Mughals were unable to hold the area for long, so Rāv Mālde gave Jaitāraṇ to another Ědavat, Javsant Ḍūngarsiyot. 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. Javsant supported Rāv Candraseṇa for awhile, but after Jodhpur Fort fell in December, 1565 he took up a neutral position between Rāv Candraseṇa and Rāv Rām of Sojhat. Unfortunately for Javsant, 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 Ědavat ruler of Jaitāraṇ who had fought and died fighting the Mughals in 1558, went to Akbar

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

160 For two accounts of the Ědavat Rāṭhrs, 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 Ědavats, many of whom are not included in UCRK, 2:286-318.

161 For details of the battle of Hármāro 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 Javsant Ḍūngarsiyot, see AB, pp. 68-73; UCRK, 2:306-307.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

and were given permission to take up their residence in Āsarālī village of Jaitārāṇ Pargano. Āsarālī was a large village with a sizeable yearly revenue. Its possession allowed the Üdāvat 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 Jaitārāṇ town. Nevertheless, Rāv Candraseṇ appealed to these brothers, Rām, Gopāldās, Kalyāṇdās, and Narhardās Ratansīyot, saying “You settled the land [of Āsarālī village]. My opportunity to win in this business [with the Mughals] is being destroyed. You must not settle [there].” He wanted them to join his anti-Mughal campaign, but when they refused, he shortly afterward attacked Āsarālī, burnt it, killed a few Rajpūts, and left. Three of the Üdāvat brothers were gone at the time; the fourth managed to hide in the village and survive.

Right afterward, in late 1574, Rāv Candraseṇ carried out a spectacular raid on Jodhpur itself. Rājā Rāysiṅgh of Bikāner, the governor of Jodhpur, took refuge in the fort and did nothing, according to the Mundiyaṛ rī Khyaṭ. The Dalpat Vilās, a near-contemporary chronicle written in Bikāner, 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 Sīvāṇo at this time. He came to Ajmer and reported to Akbar that Rāv Candraseṇ was making a “disturbance” in Jodhpur and that the army sent to Sīvāṇo for the siege had not been able to stop it. Rāv Candraseṇ had demanded money from the Bāniyās of Jodhpur; he left the city with rs. 50,000-60,000 cash, cloth, opium, and other goods. The Bāniyās appealed to the Mughals for ...

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

164 For biographical information concerning these four brothers, see UCRK, 2:287 (Rām), 2:290 (Kalyāṇdās), 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 Āsarālī, Rāv Candraseṇ “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 Bikāner that Rāv Candraseṇ was causing trouble in Jodhpur.

168 MRK, p. 50.

169 AN, 3:155.

170 MRK, p. 50.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

help. They were joined in their appeal by the Üdāvats.\textsuperscript{171} Rāv Candraseṇ, 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 Rāḥoṛ lineages in eastern Mārvār—Üdāvats of Jaitāraṇ, Kümpāvats of Sojhat, Meṛtīyos of Meṛṭo—now were against him. Another powerful Rāḥoṛ, the Cāmpāvat ruler of Āuvo village (in Sojhat Pargano), Jaitmāl Jaisāvat, had mostly ignored Rāv Candraseṇ (whom he disliked) during the Rāv’s time of troubles, providing him only with grain.\textsuperscript{172} And soon Devidās Jaitāvat of Vagē 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 Toqbaī, Subḥān Qulī Türk Kharrām, ‘Azmat Khān, Sewa Dās, the Sayyids of Jaitāraṇ, Rājā Rāysīṅgh of Bīkāner, the four Üdāvat brothers, and Meṛtīyo Rāḥoṛ Surtān Jaimalot of Meṛṭo to carry out an attack against Rāv Candraseṇ in Kāṇūmo.\textsuperscript{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 Meṛtīyos, the Üdāvats also came again, and all joined together. They brought the army of Mughals upon Rāv Candraseṇjī. MRK, p. 51

Taiyib Khān, Sayyid Beg Toqbaī, Subḥān Qulī Türk 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

\textsuperscript{171} AB, p. 86; JRKK, p. 110; RRK, 1:110; MRK, p. 51; \textit{Vigat}, 1:70.

\textsuperscript{172} JRKK, p. 114; RRK, 1:114.

\textsuperscript{173} AB, p. 86; AN, 3:155; MRK, p. 51; \textit{Vigat}, 1:70.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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 Candraseṇ escaped. Thus it was that Rāv Candraseṇ, in a bad state, fled away. He ascended a mountain and the ṭhākurs turned back. Rāmsiṅghji sacked Rāv Candraseṇ’s village guḍho, and, after removing Rāv Candraseṇ, 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 Kānujo 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 Kānujo.177 Rājā Rāysiṅgh apparently was separate and with the other Mughal officers at this particular moment,178 as were the Ūdāvat and Meṭṭiyo Rāṭhors.179 Perhaps they came from Ajmer and followed Rāmsiṅgh and his men to Kānujo.

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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 Bīkāneriyo, Rājā Rāysiṅgh, was with the Turks.” AB, p. 80.

179 “Then, bringing an army of Turks and together with the Bīkāner people and the Meṭṭiyo, the Ūdāvats also came again, and all joined together. They brought the army of the Mughals upon Rāv Candraseṇji.” MRK, p. 51.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candrasen

Upon arriving in the vicinity of Kānujo, Rāmsingh’s retainers fought a short battle with Rāv Candrasen’s men in a narrow pass. The Rāv fled on ahead with his family in “a bad state,” according to the Dalpat Vilās, “a vagabond in the desert of destruction” in the colorful phrasing of Abu-I-Fażl. The cindhārīyos, or household soldiers from Bīkāner, had caught up to him from the rear, whereupon a Brāhmaṇ, Dehāsṛī Tilok Kānhāvat, wearing the hajārmeikhī chain mail common among Rajpūts of high rank, confronted them and was killed along with a few others. Mānsingh Khetsiyot, a Rāṭhōr of the Karanot branch, thought the cindhārīyos had killed Rāv Candrasen himself. So did his commander, Rāmsingh Kalyānmalot. 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. He ascended a steep mountain, “an inaccessible place, a jungle densely covered with trees,” in the words of the Tabāqat-i Akbarī, and the pursuers all turned back. Rāmsingh and his retainers sacked the Rāv’s gūḍhā in Kānujo while Rāvat Nārāyaṇ, the headman of the Mers in Kānujo, helped the Rāv get away. After killing some of Rāv Candrasen’s men and plundering the gūḍhā, Rāmsingh went back to Sojhat.

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180 The Akbar Nāma (AN, 3:155) indicates that the Mughal army had driven Rāv Candrasen from Rāmpur prior to reaching Kānujo. Rāmpur is probably Rāmpur, a village of Jaitāraṇ Pargano, or possibly Rāypur, another village of Jaitāraṇ. It might be Rāmgarh, a fort in the hills near Borār village, not very far from Kānujo. Rāmpur 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 Karanot Rāṭhōr Mānsingh Khetsiyot see UCRK, 1:507. His brother Sūjo Khetsiyot, 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-Badāīnī, “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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ 

In Ajmer, Akbar was enraged upon hearing that Rāv Candraseṇ had been allowed to escape. The “ghazis,” as Abu-I-Faḍl 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. 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.

III. From Muḍāro to Sīvrār, January, 1575 to July 19, 1579

Muḍāro, January, 1575 to April, 1576

Rāv Candraseṇ went south after leaving Kāṇūjo 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. 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. 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 Naṁśī, Muḍāro was the village where previously the Rāv had married Rāṇo Udaisīṅgh’s daughter Cāndābāī Sīsodī. 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 Naṁśī, 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 (Maḍār), RRK, 1:110 (Maṇḍār).

193 Vigat, 1:70.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

Rājiśīgh’s *Parganā Bahī* of 1656-57, 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 Mevāṇ. Muḍḍoro 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 Mevāṇ, it was a very small place for a former ruler of Mārvāṇ.

The Fall of Sīvāṇ, March-April, 1576

While Rāv Candraseṇ was in Muḍḍoro, Akbar took further actions to limlim the Rāv’s remaining power in Mārvāṇ. By late 1575 he had received word that the siege of Sīvāṇ was going badly. Sīvāṇ, as noted above (p.), was one of the most important forts in Mārvāṇ. 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 Sīvāṇ, all still held by the Rāṭhoreṣ. They posed a constant if small threat to the Mughal army.

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195 AN, 3:237-238.

196 See Map One.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṣṭ

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, Muḥhato Karamcand, was secretly aiding the contingent holding out within the fort, supplying them with everything they needed. He was in constant contact with another Muḥhato, 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṃ

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

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

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200 Ibid., p. 31.

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

202 Chronicles from Mārvār indicate that Rājā Rāysiṃgh accompanied Shahbāz Khān to Sivāṇo, but the Dalpat Vīlās, a near-contemporary source from Bikāner, states that Emperor Akbar summoned Rāysiṃgh 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 Dūnāro is thirty-two miles southwest of Jodhpur.

205 Dāso Pātalot was a Jaitmālot Rāthor. UCRK, 1:108. For the Jaitmālot Rāthors, see MRMR, 2:247-253.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

died. The Mughals captured Bālāvat Rāṭhɔr Jaitṣi Nagāvat, the brother of Pato Nagāvat, the master of Dūnāɾo and the chief Rāṭhɔr 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 Rāysiṅgh for more than two years.²⁰⁷ The siege ended shortly after someone shot and killed Muḥḥato Pato Urjanot as he attempted to carry out the repair of a tower.²⁰⁸ Rāv Candraseṇ’s officers, Īhrā Rāṭhɔr Jaimāl Netsiyot,²⁰⁹ Bālāvat Rāṭhɔr Pato Nagāvat, Jaitāvat Rāṭhɔr Vairsal Prithiraj,²¹⁰ and unnamed others made a pact with the Mughals and left through the “door of dharma.” They went to Rāv Candraseṇ in Muḍār. 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 Candraseṇ was able to retake Sīvāṇo.²¹¹ For three years (1576-79) though, he had no power or influence in southern Mārvār.

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

The Turks and Rāv [i.e., Rājā] Rāysiṅghji got the news: “Candraseṇ’s vasi is alone in the Sīrohī land.” So they formed an army and went [there]. Previously the news was received [in

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²⁰⁶ AN, 3:238. Of the Rājasthāṇi sources, only AB, p. 81 mentions Shahbāz Khān, the battle with the Rāṭhɔrs, and the subsequent jauhar. The date given, 1570-71, is wrong, and Dūnāɾo itself is not mentioned. However, this source does note that Jaitṣi 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 Jaitṣi 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 Īhrā Rāṭhɔr Jaimāl Netsiyot was the master of Kōḍhṇo village, the headquarters of Kōḍhṇo Tapho (subdistrict) of Jodhpur Pargano. Kōḍhṇo 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇa

Sirohī], because of which the royal family (rājlok), etc. rode into the mountains. And Rāṭhoṇ Pāto Nagāvat [and] Rāṭhoṇ Bhānīdās Devidāsot Cāmpāvat were prepared to die [fighting the advancing army]. Then Pūrbāi [and] Jombāi, Rāv Mālde’s rāṇīs, said: “If you die, the Bhiṣls will capture us.” JRKK, p. 110.

In March, 1576, just before the Rāṭhoṇs in the Sīvāṇo Fort capitulated to Shāḥbāz 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 Ghātī in Mevār. One of the few open-field encounters between Rajpūts and Mughals, it was an inconclusive but exceptionally bloody one. 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 Candraseṇa, still in Muḍāro, had decided to move his family and vasi out of Mevār to the comparative safety of Sirohī, where he had married Devrī Ahaṅkārdev, the daughter of Rāv Māṇsīṅgh Dūdāvat (d. ca. 1575) on June 22, 1568. The Sirohī kingdom, founded about 1425, 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 Sirohī, the Devrī Cauhūṇs, were fierce, ruthless opponents in combat and experts in carrying out ambushes, as the Mughals were soon to learn.

Three sources state that Rāv Candraseṇa spent one and one-half years in Sirohī, but it appears much more likely that he only left his family and vasi there and went back to Muḍāro for awhile in 1577 before moving on to Dūṅgarpur. His half-sister, Pohpāṅvati Bāī, was married

212 Srivastava, Akbar the Great, pp. 206-213.
213 JRKK, p. 110; MRMR, 2:39; RRK, 1:110.
216 JRKK, p. 110; Murārdān, p. 599; RRK, 1:110.
217 See Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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

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-I-Fażl’s wording. Then they were to proceed to Sīrohī and reduce its ruler, Devro Cahuvaṇ Rāv Surtāṇ Bhāṇot (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. When they reached the town of Sīrohī, Rāv Surtāṇ took refuge in the fort. As at Sivāṇo 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 Abūgarh, 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 Abūgarh.

Just previously, while in pursuit of Rāv Surtāṇ, Rājā Rāysiṅgh found out that Rāv Candraseṇ’s vasi 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 Rāṭhors 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 Bhil tribesmen if they lost their Rajpūt guardians. So these Rajpūts went with them into the mountains while Rāv

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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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseś

Candraseś’s vasi, left behind, was looted by Mughal soliders. Shortly afterward, probably in late February or early March, 1577, the royal family went to Dūṅgarpur to join Rāv Candraseś.223

Pokaraṇ Mortgaged to Jaisalmer: February 16, 1977

Plate II. Pokaraṇ Fort,

During the time that Rāv Candraseś’s family and vasi were in Sirohi, the Bhāṭī Rajpūt ruler of Phalodhī, Bhākharsī Harrājot, son of Rāvaḷ Harrāj Maldevot (ruler of Jaisalmer, 1561-77), realized that RāvCandraseś 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.
well-stocked fort still manned by forty of Rāv Candraseṇ’s loyal retainers. It was his sole remaining outpost in Mārvār after he lost Sivāno. Bhākharsī thought he would take it fairly easily. In July-August of 1576 he advanced against Pokaraṇ with several hundred men. 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, Rāvāl Harrāj, saying that he did not have enough supplies to take the fort himself, but if the Rāvāl would take the fort, it would be a blow to Rāv Candraseṇ. And so Rāvāl Harrāj set out from Jaisalmer in October-November, 1576, with 2,000 men, intent upon attacking Pokaraṇ. It may be that the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, had encouraged Rāvāl Harrāj and his son Bhākharsī to carry out their attacks. Both the Rāvāl and Bhākharsī were Imperial military servants; Bhākharsī held Phālodhī as his jāgīr from the Emperor. No doubt Akbar was eager to rid western Rājāsthān of all traces of Rāv Candraseṇ’s power.

Rāvāl Harrāj sent foot soldiers ahead to join another of his sons, Bhīm, who was in Pokaraṇ already. Upon arriving in Pokaraṇ himself, the Rāvāl 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 Panadī Anand. 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 of the Bhāṭis 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 Bhāṭis, 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 Bhāṭi offer of 100,000 phadiyos for Pokaraṇ. After receiving some of the money from the Bhāṭi pradhāns, he sent his agent, the Māṅgliyo Rajpūt Bhoju, to Rāvāl Harrāj in Jaisalmer with instructions to hand over the fort. Upon Bhoju’s arrival, the Rāvāl gave him 37,000 phadiyos,

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 Māṅgliyo Rajpūts are a branch of the Gahlot Rajpūt clan (vamsī).
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇḥ

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 Candraseṇḥ.228 After disposing of the grain, ghee, gunpowder, lead, etc. that was inside, Bhoju turned the fort over to Rāvaḷ Harrāḷ on February 16, 1577. Then he went back to Rāv Candraseṇḥ in Muḍāro. Soon afterward the Rāv went to Dūṅgarpur.229

Dūṅgarpur and Vāṃsvāḷo, 1577 to July 19, 1579

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

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

Vāgar, the ancient home of the Āḥāro branch of the Gahlot Rajpūt clan (vaṃś), was divided into the two kingdoms of Dūṅgarpur and Vāṃsvāḷo when Rāv Candraseṇḥ went there in 1577. Both kingdoms had been generous to Rāṭhōrs from Mārvār, particularly in the years following the disastrous invasion by Sher Shāh Sūr in 1544. In early 1577, when Rāv Candraseṇḥ was still in Muḍāro, Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ of Dūṅgarpur (1549-80) had sent him letters begging him for help against his son, Sahasmal. Sahasmal had paid Rāṇo Pratāp 4,000 mahmūḍīs230 in exchange for some retainers to remove Rāvaḷ Āskaraṇ from Dūṅgarpur and seat himself on the throne.

228 JRKK, p. 109; RRK, 1:109. Māṅgliyo Bhoju’s companion in the negotiations, Bhāṇḍārī Māṇo, used some of the money he received to have a meal with dancing girls (nācīs) in Jaisāmer. Vigat, 2:297.

229 Ibid., 1:67, 2:297. See also Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”

230 Mahmūḍī: a type of silver coin (Arabic mahmūḍī).
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṅ

Perhaps it was Rāval Āskaraṅ’s recent marriage alliance with Akbar that had driven Sahasmal to appeal to Rāņo Pratāp.231 Fearing the impeding struggle with Sahasmal, Rāval Āskaraṅ’s wife, Rāv Candraseṅ’s half-sister, Rāņī Pohpāvatī,232 also had sent a message to Rāv Candraseṅ asking him to dispatch some good men in order to take her away to a place where “the burden was tolerable.” So Rāv Candraseṅ sent Paṅcolī Surtān ahead, the he himself rode to the town of Dūṅgarpur, where he found the fort abandoned. Rāval Āskaraṅ had gone away after moving his vasī outside the town. Rāv Candraseṅ was able to take possession of the fort with no difficulty.233

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

Shortly afterward the Mughals advanced against the Rāņo. He lost Cāvand. The Mughals continued to press their attack. Rāv Candraseṅ was forced to leave Dūṅgarpur in April-May of 1578.236 His presence there no doubt had become a liability for his host, Rāval Āskaraṅ,

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231 AN, 3:278.

232 JRKK, p. 110-111, and RRK, p. 110-111 call her both Parvatībāī and Pohpāvatībāī, but Pohpāvatībāī 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, “Chronological Problems.”
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

who was in the service of Akbar. The Rāv went to Vāṃsvālo, 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 Vāṃsvālo town, for himself and his dependents. Rāṇo Pratāp joined him there briefly, and Rāv Candraseṇ provided a feast for him and his men. Perhaps they shared a good laugh over Sahasmal and his lost 4,000 mahmūdīs.237

Rāv Candraseṇ was to remain in Koṭro for the next thirteen or fourteen months. Then he received some surprising news. The leading Rāhor 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 Sīvār 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 Rāhaurāṁ rī Khyāt, have any information about Rāv Candraseṇ’s defense of Dungarpur Fort. Evidently this is why the modern historians of Rāv Candraseṇ’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; Vīgat, 1:73.

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

One may recall that the Mughals had attacked Rāv Candrasēṇ in Kānụjo in late December, 1574 or early January, 1575.\textsuperscript{240} Shortly afterward Devidās Jaitāvat, who recently had made a pact with the Mughals and retained his hold on Vagṛī village, revealed to them that Rāv Candrasēṇ had fled into Rāv Kalo Rāmot’s territory in Sojhat.\textsuperscript{241} His revelation probably made little difference to Candrasēṇ, 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.\textsuperscript{242} He was heavily under the influence of his advisors, Mahēs and Prithīrāj Kūmpāvat.\textsuperscript{243} Devidās Jaitāvat 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 Kūmpāvat family. He also had to worry about his son, Āskaraṇ, from whom he had taken Vagṛī. 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 Devidās regained Vagṛī in October, 1574. He came back to Sojhat, then fled to Sīriyārī (Sīrbārī in the Akbar Nāma). From there he went to the fort of Ğīghor (Deokūr) in the Akbar Nāma in the hills two miles southeast of Sīriyārī.\textsuperscript{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 Candrasēṇ. He may have believed they would come after him as well. Thus he was not in Sojhat when the Vīko Rāṭhor, Rāmsēṅgh Kalyāṇmalot, advanced from there against Rāv Candrasēṇ in Kānụjo.\textsuperscript{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. Devidās also fled. After receiving Vagṛī 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 Devidās met with the

\textsuperscript{240} See above, pp.

\textsuperscript{241} AN, 3:225.

\textsuperscript{242} Kalo Rāmot was born on November, 10, 1556. Murārdān, p. 593.

\textsuperscript{243} MRMR, 2:308-312.

\textsuperscript{244} AB, p. 82, indicates that at the time Kalo fled, Devidās returned to Sojhat. ATV, p. 72, and UCRK, 1:266, note that Devidās returned during the month of Kārtik (October-November). From other evidence, this must have been Kārtik, V.S. !631 or October, 1574. See Appendix B, “Chronological Problems.”

\textsuperscript{245} See above, pp.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇṭ

Mughals once again, made another pact, came back, and resettled in Vagṛ. 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 Candraseṇṭ. Only the Akbar Nāma mentions this conspiracy. 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 Úkhalīyo village in Jaitāran Pargano to meet with Shimāl Khān. With him were 500 retainers. He made camp in Úkhalīyo, 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 Kāmpāvat Rāḥiḥ Sekho Udaisinghot to enter. When they did, the Mughals cut Sekho’s head off with a sword blow. 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 Khōdiyā rī Gāl, where they spent the night. The Mughals went away. In the morning Devīdās went back to Vagṛ, collected his vāsī and men, and reentered the hills.

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246 ATV, p. 72; UCRK, 1:266.

247 AN, 3:225

248 Úkhalīyo village is seventeen miles south of Jaitāran, seventeen miles east-northeast of Sojhat, and fifteen miles northeast of Vagṛ (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 Udaisinghot was the son of Udaisingh Kāmpāvat, who died at the siege of Cītīr in 1568. Udaisingh’s father was Kāmpo Mahirajjot, who was killed fighting at Samel in 1544. UCRK, 1:334 has the following biographical note concerning Sekho: “Sekho Udaisinghot. Devīdās Jaitāvat put down the garb of a Jogī, came again [to Mārvāṛ], and caused devastation during the period of Turkish rule. There, in Sāndīyo [i.e., Úkhalīyo village], the Turks deceived Devīdāsī. They put [their] hands [on him]. Devīdāsī went away and Sekho was killed there.”

250 Khoṛiyo or Khōdiyo village is twenty-one miles east-southeast of Sojhat, but the location of Khōdiyo rī Gāl is uncertain. A gāł 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṭ

Twenty to twenty-five days later, in mid-October, 1575, Devīdās carried out a night attack against Sāṇḍīyo village 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 Rāthor Jaisīṅghde Kānhāvat. Later the Mughals had the corpse tied to the foot of an elephant and crushed. They then put it in a grave. The next day, Devīdās returned, fought another battle, recovered the corpse, and brought it back with him. 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.” Clearly he knew nothing of Kalo’s conspiring with Shimāl Khān.

A month later, in mid-November, 1575, the Mughals made a truce with Devīdās and Kalo. But the very next day they came to Vagṛ and concealed themselves in the village gardens. Devīdās received word. He put on his armor and readied himself. When the day had advanced one pohar (three hours), Rāv Kalo came to Vagṛ 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, Devīdās and Kalo killed a Mughal Mirza along with sixty of his men. The remainder fled. 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 Vagṛ, where Devīdās and

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252 Sāṇḍīyo village is eleven miles southwest of Sojhāt. In the mid-seventeenth century it was a mid-sized village inhabited by Sirvīs, Rajpūts, Jās, and Brāhmaṇs. Vigat, 1:429.

253 Jaisīṅghde Kānhāvat was Devīdās Jaitāvat’s first cousin, the son of his father Jaito Pāncāînōt’s brother, Kānho Pāncāînōt. UCRK, 1:285 has the following information about Jaisīṅghde: “Jaisīṅghde Kānhāvat. Deidāṣi removed [his] Jogi’s garb and came again [to Mārvār]. Afterward, during the period of Turkish rule, [the Rāthorṣ] carried out a night attack against Jalāl Korci in Sāṇḍīyo village. [Jaisīṅghde] died fighting there. Afterward Deidāṣi on the next day again mounted up, went, fought a battle, had [Jaisīṅghde] removed, and brought [him]. Then [Jaisīṅghde’s] wife became a sāfī.”

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 Meṛṭīyo Rāthor Surtān Jaimalot and Kūmpāvat Rāthor Prithīrāj Jaitāvat, both Imperial officers, led Ismā’īl Qurchī and the others to safety. UCRK, 1:316.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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 Vagī, Akbar had appointed Sayyid Aḥmad, Sayyid Hāshim, and other Sayyids of Bārha to pub down the Rāthoṛs.\(^{259}\) They came to eastern Sojhat Pargana and set up military outposts in Kaṅṭāliyo and Bhānṛṇo villages.\(^{260}\) Rāv Kalo withdrew to Dīghoṛ with all of his people along with Kāmpāvat Rāthoṛ Mahes Kūmpāvat, 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 Rāthoṛs in or near Dīghoṛ. The Mughals killed Mahes Kūmpāvat together with many of his companions while Rāv Kalo and other Rāthoṛs fled. He abandoned his gūḍho and the Mughal soldiers looted it. Devīdās Jaiṭāvat, 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 Sīriyāṛī 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 Vagī.\(^{263}\)

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. Kaṅṭāliyo is fourteen miles southeast of Sojhat. In the mid-seventeenth century it was a large village belonging to the Kūmpāvat Rāthoṛ (Vigat, 1:430). I have been unable to locate Bhānṛṇo. 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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 Candraseṇ: “The land [of] Sojhat is empty; we are your Rajpūts.” Then [Rāv Candraseṇ] came from Vāṃsvālo-Ḍūṅgarpur to the vicinity of Sojhat. AB, p. 84

In 1577 Akbar gave Sojhat Pargano to a Meṛṭīyo Rāṭhor, 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 Rāṭhor families of Sojhat, or he wished to punish these families for their continuing resistance. Surtāṇ’s grandfather, Vīramde Dūḍāvat, 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 Rāṭhor lineages, Jaito Paṅcāṅjot and Kūmpo Maharājot, 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 Meṛṭo. Many more Rāṭhors 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 Ibrahīm 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 Meṛṭīyāṃ rī vasi [rā lok] sāre gāṃv āyā thā, literally “[The people of] the vasi 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’i 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.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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 Kūmpāvat Raṭhoṛ Sadūḷ Mahesot became the leader of local resistance in Sojhat. Described as a man with an exceptionally fine body, a “great thākur,” Sadūḷ fought several intense skirmishes with Mughal troops. They were unable to subdue him.\textsuperscript{269} But he, Āskarāṇ Devidāsot, and other leading Rajpūts of Sojhat were afraid of losing their lands, and so they wrote to Rāv Candraseṇ for help.\textsuperscript{270} Thus it was that Rāv Candraseṇ returned to Sojhat in July, 1579.\textsuperscript{271}

From the Battle of Śīvrāṛ, July 19, 1579

To

The Death of Rāv Candraseṇ, January 11, 1981

Upon approaching Sojhat, Rāv Candraseṇ 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 Āskarāṇ Devidāsot and Sadūḷ Mahesot, he thought they should be able to drive the Mughals out. A Devṛo Cahuvaṇ, Vijo Harrājot,\textsuperscript{272} was coming from Śīrohī to aid him as well. The Rāv soon arrived in Śīvrāṛ village\textsuperscript{273} along with Vijo. The Sayyids in the town of Sojhat received word. They decided to attack early the next morning, before all the Raṭhoṛs assembled. Rāv Candraseṇ received no prior information about their plans. In the morning of July 19, 1579,\textsuperscript{274} caught completely unaware when ambushed near one of the village’s Persian

\textsuperscript{269} UCRK, 1:317.

\textsuperscript{270} AB, p. 84; JRKK, p. 111, MRK, p. 53, RRK, 1:111, \textit{Vigat}, 1:72.

\textsuperscript{271} For a discussion of the year of Rāv Candraseṇ’s return, see Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”

\textsuperscript{272} Devṛo Cahuvaṇ Cahuvaṇ Vijo Harrājot was the son of Harrāj Rūdāvat and a member of the Dūṅgarot branch of the Devṛo Cahuvaṇs. NK, 1:163.

\textsuperscript{273} Śīvrāṛ is nine miles southeast of Sojhat.

\textsuperscript{274} See Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

wheels, he and Devṛo Vijo fled and left an Īḫar Rāḥoṛ, Jaimal Netsīyot, to confront their attackers. Twenty men died fighting; eighty were wounded.

Rāv Candraseṇ had lost the battle, but he was able to retreat to Harīyāmālī village, where Rāḥoṛ Āskaraṇ Devidāsot 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 Candraseṇ was able to hold Sojhat for over one year, until November, 1580. During this period he patched up his relationship with the Īḏāvat Rāḥoṛs of neighboring Jaitāraṇ Pargano. 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-l-Faẓl, the Rāv suffered “thousands of losses” and retreated “into the desert of failure.” No Rājasthānī source mentions this particular battle, but one, the Rāv Candraseṇ ri Bāt (Account of Rāv Candraseṇ), says that after Rāv Candraseṇ took Sojhat back, “the Imperial armies came again” when he had been there a year (i.e., in late 1580). Perhaps the results of the battle were too depressing for the anonymous author to record.

The Rāv withdrew to the pass (gāl) of Sacīyā village and stayed there. Subsequently Kūmpāvat Rāḥoṛ Vairsal Udaisīṅghot, who had been holding Dūdvār village of Sojhat on

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275 For a short biography of Īḫar Rāḥoṛ Jaimal Netsīyot, see Appendix C, “The Battle of Sīvṛār, July 19, 1579.”

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

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

278 Harīyāmālī village is six miles east of Sīvṛār and thirteen miles east-southeast of Sojhat. Vigat, 1:403, 411.

279 AB, pp. 85, 88. According to this source (p. 88), the Īḏāvats “behaved well” and “performed many services” for Rāv Candraseṇ 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 Sacīyā or Sīnciyyā village of Sojhat Pargano is fifteen miles southeast of Sojhat, just south of Kāntāliyo and just north of Sāraṇ. In the mid-seventeenth century it was a small village inhabited by Mers, Bāniyas, Kāliṣ (distillers), Jāṭs (peasants), and Kumbhārs (potters). Vigat, 1:469.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇa

a contract\textsuperscript{285} 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 Candraseṇa. He was afraid of what might happen. The Rāv had then attempted to attack Vairsal, but Vairsal’s brother Rāṭhoṣ refused to advance against him. Finally Āskaraṇ Devidāsot 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 Candraseṇa 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 Candraseṇa, who died on January 11, 1581.\textsuperscript{286} He was cremated near the banyan tree of the temple of Mahākāḷ in Sāraṇ village.\textsuperscript{287}

\textit{Aṇadagiyaṁ turī ājale asamara,}

\textit{Cākara huvaṇa na ḍiṭṭyo cīta.}

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

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


\textsuperscript{283} For a short biography of Vairsal, see UCRK, 1:327.

\textsuperscript{284} Dudhvār village is eleven miles south of Sojhat. Naṅsī describes it as a large village inhabited by Sīrvīs (peasants), Jāṭas, and Bāniyās. \textit{Vigat}, 1:426-427.

\textsuperscript{285} He held it as a \textit{mukāṭī}. \textit{Mukāṭī}: a person paying the \textit{mukāto} tax; a person realizing such a tax from others. \textit{Mukāto} was a fixed payment on land (like a rent).

\textsuperscript{286} For some thoughts on Rāv Candraseṇa’s sudden death, see below, p.

\textsuperscript{287} AB, p. 85; JRKK, p. 112; MRK, p. 53; RRK, 1:112-113.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇaḥ

Rāv Candraseṇaḥ 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 Candraseṇaḥ

And

The Demise of the Kingdom of Sojhāt, 1581-83

Debacle: Āskaraṇaḥ and Ugraseṇaḥ Candraseṇaḥ

Rāv Candraseṇaḥ’s sudden death begs a question: how weary at that point were his family and fellow Rāthors 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 Candraseṇaḥ was at one of his worst moments, living in a pass in the hills of Eastern Sojhāt, 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 Sirohi years earlier about harsh living conditions. What were their feelings in 1581 when they were left in the Mer territory of Sojhāt when he died? Did the local Rāthors thākurs of Sojhāt tire of his seemingly hopeless defiance? Part of the answer to these questions lies in the events following his death.

Rāv Candraseṇaḥ had left three sons: Rāysīṅgh, age twenty-three,288 who since 1570 had been in Mughal service, Ugraseṇaḥ, twenty-one, who since the same year had been in Būndī, where he had married Rāv Surjaṇaḥ’s daughter,289 and Āskaraṇaḥ, the youngest, only ten, who was the son of Rāṇa Pratāp’s sister, Candābār.290 Shortly after the Rāv’s death,291 the great Rāthor thākurs of

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288 Rāysīṅgh Candraseṇaḥ was born on September 6, 1557. Murārdān, p. 599; UCRK, 2:82.

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

290 Āskaraṇaḥ Candraseṇaḥ was born on June 19, 1570. His mother Candābār married Rāv Candraseṇaḥ in Citoṛ on April 23, 1560. MRMR, 2:38.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

Sojhat, led by the Jaitāvat Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot and the Kūmpāvat Sādīl Mahesot, each commanders of five hundred retainers, met and gave the throne to Āskaraṇ. Meanwhile in Būndī Ugraseṇ received word that Rāv Candraseṇ had died. He left for Mārvār with all of his retainers. On his way to Sojhat, he passed through Meṛto, where he met with Pāyanda Khān,292 who was the Mughal commander of the military outpost there. During his stay in Meṛto, Ugraseṇ mentioned to his companions that he was thinking about killing the Khān and taking the city. No doubt they were appalled; they told 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, Ugraseṇ met with Āsaraṇ. Ten or twelve days passed in negotiations. Āskaraṇ did not like the looks of Ugraseṇ or his retainers. They appeared dangerous to him. He thought Ugraseṇ 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 Ugraseṇ because of his meeting in Meṛto with Pāyanda Khān. They worried that he would bring the Mughals back into Sojhat.296 They offered Ugraseṇ only Sīvāṇo, reclaimed by Rāv Candraseṇ after the Mughals abandoned it in the late 1570s, as his share of his father’s domain.297 They told Ugraseṇ to leave and go there. But during the negotiations, Ugraseṇ 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


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 Ugraseṇ. But UCRK 1:534 says that only Sīvāṇo was offered. However, Sīvāṇo and Sojhat were the only two areas over which Rāv Candraseṇ had any sort of authority at his death, and so it is likely that the half offered was in fact Sīvāṇo.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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

Ugraseṇ ate a lot of opium, and then went with his men to the house in Sāran 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, Rāthor Sekho Sāṅkarot,299 remained to guard Āskaraṇ. Ugraseṇ then brought out his dagger and began showing it to Dayāldās Candāvat, a Meṛṭīyo Rāthor,300 who was one of his closest supporters. Dayāldās took it, looked it over, then gave it back, whereupon Ugraseṇ grabbed it with his four remaining fingers and stuck into Āskaraṇ’s chest clear to his spine. Ugraseṇ’s own man, Īdāvat Rāthor Viko Ratansiyot,301 who nothing of Ugraseṇ’s plan, grabbed him, whereupon Sekho Sāṅkarot took Ugraseṇ’s dagger away and killed him with it. Then he struck down two of Ugraseṇ’s men. Viko Ratansiyot and everyone else fled the house. Sekho remained with Āskaraṇ. He shouted out to Ugraseṇ’s retainers: “I’ve killed the killer of my master. If your stomach bums [for revenge], come here.” No one approached him. Āskaraṇ died about three hours later. When the news reached Āskaraṇ Devīdāsot and other ṭhāksurs who had supported Āskaraṇ, they went upon Ugraseṇ’s camp and killed some of his retainers. The others fled. Āskaraṇ was cremated near the temple of Mahākāl, but Ugraseṇ 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 Rāthor of the Khetsiyot branch. See UCRK, 1:533-535 for some biographical details.

300 Meṛṭīyo Rāthor Dayāldās Candāvat began his career as Ugraseṇ’s retainer, then, after Ugraseṇ died, he became a bandit. Mōto Rājā Udaisiṅgh 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 Mōto Rājā’s men only to die from the bite of a lizard. See UCRK, 2:222-223.

301 Īdāvat Rāthor Viko Ratansiyot entered Mōto 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: “Rāthor Māhrāvāṅ, Aĉło Sivrājot’s [son], had descended from the second-story room and gone [to attend to] a task at the time [Ugraseṇ] killed Āskaraṇjī. When he came back, Rāthor Sāḏūl Mahesot said the words, in the form of a joke, ‘Where were you?’ Māhrāvāṅ said: ‘I was not present.’ Saying this, he climbed above the storehouse, leaped down on all the many barchhīs [lances] they had stook upright [there], and died.” See also UCRK, 2:181 for a short biography of the Sivrājot Rāthor Māhrāvāṅ Aĉḷāvat. For a discussion of the date of this series of events, see Appendix B, “Chronology Problems.”
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

The Last Rāv of Sojhat

Rāysīṅgh Candraseṇ, 1581-83

One of the occurrences was the death of Jagmāl and Rai Siṅgh. 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 ʻI’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, Bēcā, 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 Rāṭhoṛṣ of Sojhat had only Rāv Candraseṇ’s eldest son, Rāysīṅgh, to turn to for the succession. Rāysīṅgh, 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, Rāysīṅgh should

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303 At this juncture the Rāṛo of Mevāṛ, Pratāp, intervened, informing the Rāṭhoṛṣ that they should give Kesodās Rāموت, 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; RRK, 1:103.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇa

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 Āskaraṇ Devidāsot, where he was married during this period. Rāv Candraseṇa’s former commanders and pradhān all met with him. Then, leaving his vasī in Sojhat, Rāv Rāysiṅgh went to Faḍhpūr to meet with Akbar, who after achieving victory in Kābul on August 9 or 10, 1581 had returned to Faḍhpūr on December 1 of that year.

Akbar soon dispatched Rāv Rāysiṅgh to Sirohī, where a complicated situation had arisen. Sirohī, 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 Sirohī in 1572 and had ordered the slaughter of a large number of Rajpūts taking refuge in a temple. In early 1577 Rājā Rāysiṅgh of Bīkāner, acting on Akbar’s orders, had invaded Sirohī and taken the capital along with Mt. Abū. Subsequently he met with Rāv Surtān, the ruler of Sirohī, who had been engaged in a struggle to retain his throne since his accession in ca. 1572. Surtān was particularly concerned about a Dūṅgarot Devro Cahuvaṇ, Vījo Harrājot, formerly his advisor. At one time Vījo had imprisoned Surtān and sat himself on the throne. Then Rāño Pratāp of Mevār intervened and replaced Vījo with his own candidate, his sister’s son Kalo, as Rāv of Sirohī. Shortly thereafter Surtān reconciled with Vījo and they called in the Bihārī Paṭhān ruler of Jālor, Malik Khān (1570-76) to aid them in removing Kalo. After defeating Kalo in a major battle,

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304 AB, p. 89. UCRK, 1:317-318 states that Rāysiṅgh first went to Sojhat and received the fiko (throne; forehead mark) of succession from the leading Rāhrs. Then he went to meet the Emperor in Faḍhpūr Sīkri while Sādūl Mahesot and Paṅcoli Neto looked after his vasī in Sojhat. Afterward Akbar gave Rāysiṅgh Sojhat and dispatched him against Sirohī.

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 Sirohī politics, the Devro Cahuvaṇ, and a partial genealogy of their branch of the Cahuvaṇ clan (vaṟṇā).

308 See above, p.

The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṣṭ

Rāv Surtāṇ acquired Śirohī once again, but afterward, when Vījo became too dangerous, the Rāv brought men from his wife’s natal home in Bāḥārmer and removed Vījo from Śirohī.²¹⁰

Vījo was still a threat, and so Surtāṇ, meeting with Rājā Rāyṣīṅgh, agreed to turn over half of Śirohī to Akbar in exchange for aid. Akbar sent the Śisodiyo Rajpūt Jagmāl Udaisiṅghot, a member of the Mevār royal family who had chosen Imperial military service,²¹¹ to assume control of the Imperial secton of Śirohī as its jagīrdār. Jagmāl had married the daughter of the former ruler, Rāv Mānsīṅgh (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, Rāyṣīṅgh Candraseṣṭot, to Śirohī to aid Jagmāl. Vījo (Becā in the Akbār Nāma), whose own plea for Śirohī was ignored by Akbar, accompanied them.²¹²

Jagmāl, Rāyṣīṅgh, Koḷīṅgh of Dāntivāro,²¹³ Vījo, and a small army of Mughal soldiers arrived in Śirohī. 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, Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Khīṃvo Māṇḍaṇot,²¹⁴ Īdāvat Rāṭhor Rāṃ Ratanśiyoṭ,²¹⁵ etc. against Bhītro.²¹⁶ Vījo warned Jagmāl and Rāyṣīṅgh not to become separated


²¹¹ Jagmāl Udaisiṅghot was Rāpo Pratāp’s half-brother, the son of Vīrīā, who in turn was the daughter of Rāvā Lāṅkaraṅ Jaitiṣyōṭ of Jaisālmēr (1528-1551). Jagmāl was born on June 9, 1555. NK, 1:23.

²¹² AB, p. 89; AN, 3:614; JRKK, p. 116; MRK, p. 54; Murārdān, pp. 599-600; NK, 1:23, 151; RRK, 1:116; UCRK, 2:82.

²¹³ Koḷīṅgh is called Sīṅgh Koḷī by Naṅṣṭī (NK, 1:23). The Koḷīs are a jāti of diverse occupation (many were bandits in the British period) in Rājasthān 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 Śirohī, in an area with many Koḷī chiefs.

²¹⁴ Kūmpāvat Rāṭhor Khīṃvo Māṇḍaṇot, the son of Māṇḍaṇ Kūmpāvat, had a long, mostly distinguished career both as a military servant of Rāv Rāyṣīṅgh and Mōṭo Rājā of Jodhpur (1583-95) and as an Imperial military servant. See MRMR, 2:320-321 and UCRK, 1:292 for biographical details.

²¹⁵ Īdāvat Rāṭhor Rāṃ Ratanśiyoṭ was the son of Ratanśī Khīṃvaṭ, who died at Jaitāraṇ in 1558. He is described as a great Vaishnava. After serving under Rāv Rāyṣīṅgh, he became Mōṭo Rājā’s retainer and was given Pimpāṛ village. UCRK, 2:287.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṇ

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

His advice ignored, Vījo and his companions went toward Bhītrōṭ. Rāv Surtāṇ, upon hearing he had left, immediately attacked Jagmāl’s and Rāv Rāysīṅgh’s camp, which was in Daṭāṇi village. Caught completely by surprise, the Mughal contingent was nearly annihilated on October 17, 1583. Jagmāl, Rāv Rāysīṅgh, and Kōḷīsīṅgh, the three commanders, were killed. It was an exceptionally bitter moment for the Rāḥoṛ. A long feud with the Devrōs began over this episode. It ended only in 1613 when the Devrōs offered several of their women to Rāḥoṛ families who had lost members in 1583.

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

And in Mārvāṭ 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

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316 Bhītrōṭ was not a village, but a region of Sīrohī, divided into two sections: 1) Rohāī-Bhītrōṭ, with nineteen villages; 2) the pathag of Bhītrōṭ, 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 Daṭāṇi 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, Vīgaṭ, 1:389-390. For a list of those killed at Daṭāṇi, see Appendix D, “The Battle of Daṭāṇi, October 17, 1583.”

320 JRKK, pp. 146-149; RRK, 1:144-147.
The Long Goodbye of Rāv Candraseṣṭ

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

Epilogue

(In Progress)