



Household Women in Rajput Polities: Ritual Authority, Architectural Patronage, and Kinship Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century Marwar and Mewar

Sheetal Aggarwal, Dyal Singh College, Delhi University

Abstract

The paper will explore the complex positions of elite women in the royal courts of Marwar and Mewar in the seventeenth century, a time of Mughal paramountcy and redefining of Rajput political frameworks. This paper seeks to contest the present scholastic tendency to place zanana women in the historical fringes of history, and to argue that household women-queens, queen mothers, concubines and senior attendants, had a substantive ritual authority, a significant role in architectural patronage and were the invaluable instrument of kinship diplomacy. The article is founded on the court chronicles, vernacular bardic tradition, temple epitaphs, and architectural records that remained because of the negotiations, rather than a remote site reconstructs the political economy of the antahpura. Three overlapping female agency registers are discussed, the ritual sphere, where women hallowed kingship by taking part in vrata, pujia, and jauhar memorialisation, the material sphere, where the noblewomen commissioned temples, stepwells, gardens and memorial chatris to carve dynastic memory into the landscape, and the diplomatic sphere, whereby the senior woman brokered marriage alliances between the Rathor and Sisod. The results indicate that the Rajput statecraft during this period was significantly co-produced within the household, and that women labour, ritual, material and genealogical, formed a grounded yet often invisible aspect of early modern sovereignty in western India.

Keywords: Rajput, Marwar, Mewar, zanana, queen mothers, architectural patronage, kinship diplomacy, seventeenth century, ritual authority, early modern India

Introduction

Historiography The martial adventures of male rulers, the development of chivalric codes, and the strains of accommodation and opposition to the Mughal empire have traditionally been given priority in the historiography of Rajput polities in the seventeenth century.¹ The women of the royal court, mothers, chief queens and junior wives, concubines and their servants have been sidelined in this dominant paradigm, their actions are only narrated in moments of self-immolation, during a marriage ceremony, or dynastic scandal. This is a very limited focus which has concealed the thick and constitutive labour which household women engaged in the production, legitimization and maintenance of Rajput sovereignty. The article continues the argument by arguing that the royal women of seventeenth century Marwar and Mewar were not just the decor of court culture, but a very powerful politics who exercised the ritual power, were major

¹ See, for broader historiographical context, Bhadra, Gautam. 1994. *Imaginations of the Self in Colonial Bengal*. Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences; Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal D. 1994. *The Making of Early Medieval India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press; Sarda, Har Bilas. 1941. *Maharana Kumbha: Sovereign, Soldier, Scholar*. Ajmer: Scottish Mission Industries; Talbot, Cynthia. 2016. *The Last Hindu Emperor: Prithviraj Chauhan and the Indian Past, 1200–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Ziegler, Norman P. 1976. "Marwari Historical Chronicles: Sources for the Social and Cultural History of Rajasthan." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 13 (2): 219–50.

patrons of the architectural patronage and mediated the kinship networks, through which Rajput statecraft basically worked.

This is a very productive question from the seventeenth century. It is the time when the Rathor house of Marwar, including such rulers as Sur Singh, Gaj Singh and Jaswant Singh, consolidated their own power, and the Sisodia house of Mewar, including such rulers as Karan Singh, Jagat Singh I and Raj Singh I, re-established their own political identity by both accommodation and strategic distance to Delhi. It is also the century when the *zanana* grew to colossal proportions and matched in size and structure of a corporate institution which has its administrative apparatus, estates, and political personality. How women were living and working within this institution is essential to know and therefore to be able to write any adequate history of Rajput polity.

This work is based on a variety of sources: the Persian and vernacular court chronicles of Marwar and Mewar, the *Muhata Nainsi ri Khyat* and the *Vir Vinod*; “bardic texts gathered under the name *khyat* and *vamsavali*; dedication texts on temples, stepwells, and *chatris*; and the material evidence of architectural patronage at Mandore, Jodhpur, Where there is a thin textual evidence the material evidence becomes thick and vice versa; thus the article reads these two registers in tandem. It unfolds the argument in three major sections, each focusing on one of the three forms of female agency: ritual, architectural and diplomatic, and concludes with a reflection on the methodological implications of the re-discovery of household women as historical actors.

Literature Review

The academic interaction with the Rajput women has taken a number of different stages. Colonial and early nationalist historiography, such as the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by James Tod,² romanticized Rajput women, mostly as *pativrata* devotees and *jauhar* martyrs, rooting them in a narrative of tragic heroism which obscured their daily political work. This representation has been exceptionally stubborn and is still present in the popular representation to this day. Historians such as G. N. Sharma and R. K. Saxena³ later in their institutional histories were more interested in the organization of administration and military, but the household was a fringe group in their plans.

The *zanana* was transformed into a political landscape which was confronted by an unstopping reorientation since the 1990s and 2000s with feminist and social-historical scholarship. Although the Mughal domestic world as researched by Ruby Lal⁴ has been founded on the imperial household, her writings have presented an example of how to read the *haram* as a power, as opposed to a pleasure place and her work has been fruitfully exported into the Rajput world. The polygamous marriage system of Marwar studied by Varsha Joshi⁵ has shown the political and economic importance of the secondary wives and concubines since their households were independent sub-units of the greater royal family. Frances

² Tod, James. (1829–1832) 1920. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Edited by William Crooke. 3 vols. London: Oxford University Press.

³ Sharma, G. N. 1968. *Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, 1500–1800*. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal; Saxena, R. K. 1996. *Rajput Nobility: A Study of the 18th Century Rajputana Based on Contemporary Persian Sources*. Jaipur: Publication Scheme.

⁴ Lal, Ruby. 2005. *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵ Joshi, Varsha. 1995. *Polygamy and Purdah: Women and Society among Rajputs*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Taft⁶ followed the architecture of genealogy female diplomacy established with the generations in the prosopographical project on Rajput-Mughal matrimonial alliances.

The most long-term theorist to re-evaluate the theoretical status of elite Rajput women at the time of the early modern, and that their power should be construed as being in the regime of overlapping regimes of kinship, ritual and territoriality, has been Ramya Sreenivasan (in more recent work)⁷. One more segmentation, historical memory in Rajasthan and concubines, and slave women in Marwar,⁸ has further fragmented the segment of the group of staying-at-home women, exposing the internal hierarchies of rank, seniority and place of birth, where the distribution of access to political resources was uneven. This image is paralleled by Tanuja Kothiyal⁹ who discusses pastoralist and mercantile women within the ecologies that were to the courtly worlds nearer, and which sheds light on the ecological gendering of the larger ecological gendering of the early modern Rajasthan. Despite these, the problem of a long-term comparative treatment of the two biggest politically consequential Rajput polities of the seventeenth century, Marwar and Mewar, is comparatively underdeveloped, which this article seeks to address.

Methodology

A comparative and multi-archival approach is followed in this paper. Marwar under the Rathors and Mewar under the Sisodia's have been chosen since they represent different though inter-related Rajput political traditions in the seventeenth century: Marwar, which continued to enjoy continued integration with the Mughal mansabdari apparatus, and Mewar, which developed an ideology of rebellious independence despite becoming pragmatically engaged with Mughal power following the treaty of 1615. This is as far as the comparison allows to examine the inflection of women agency by different political orientations to the imperial center.

There are three evidence types which have been consulted. The former is narrative: the chronicles of the court, the best-known being the anthology of Khyat of Muhata Nainsi, edited at the court of Mewar, and the anthology of Vir Vinod of Mewar,¹⁰ and the bardic texts that have survived, both manuscript and orally. These sources maintain the genealogies, anecdotes and elite self-representations which when read between the lines, provides us with an insight into the activity of women. The second is epigraphic: inscriptions on temples, stepwells and memorial chatris ordered or commissioned by royal women, recording acts of patronage, kinship and religious affiliations. The third is architectural and spatial: these monuments themselves, their size, their location, their ornamentation, resources and the mission of the women who created them in the world.

The reading of these materials has been influenced by a feminist source-critical sensibility. Court chronicles, which are predominantly male writers and dynastically biased, give the actions of women in terms of the demands of patriarchal honor; inscriptions, even when written or sanctioned by women, are

⁶ Taft, Frances H. 1994. "Honor and Alliance: Reconsidering Mughal-Rajput Marriages." In *The Idea of Rajasthan: Explorations in Regional Identity*, vol. 2, edited by Karine Schomer, Joan L. Erdman, Deryck O. Lodrick, and Lloyd I. Rudolph, 217–41. New Delhi: Manohar.

⁷ Sreenivasan, Ramya. 2007. *The Many Lives of a Rajput Queen: Heroic Past in India, c. 1500–1900*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

⁸ Sreenivasan, Ramya. 2014. "Drudges, Dancing Girls, Concubines: Female Slaves in Rajput Polity, 1500–1850." In *Slavery and South Asian History*, edited by Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton, 136–61. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

⁹ Kothiyal, Tanuja. 2016. *Nomadic Narratives: A History of Mobility and Identity in the Great Indian Desert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰ Nainsi, Muhata. 1960. *Muhata Nainsi ri Khyat*. Edited by B. P. Sakariya. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute; Shyamaldas, Kaviraja. 1886. *Vir Vinod: Mewar ka Itihas*. Udaipur: Rajayantralaya.

written within the formalities of Sanskrit and vernacular eulogy. Through the interplay of these sources and the material evidence, being sensitive to silences and omissions, we can come up with a reading that does not blindly applaud female agency or reproduce the erasures of the original archive.

Findings

Ritual Authority and the Sacralisation of Kingship

One of the keystones to the sovereign power was the royal labour done by women of Marwar and Mewar in the seventeenth century. Both polities also grounded their kingship in the ongoing sanctification and to a large extent; it was the women who performed much of the sanctification. The most important ritual roles were played by the chief queen, or *patrani*: she was present at the *rajyabhisheka* or coronation, in state *pujata* to tutelary deities like *Eklingji* to Mewar and *Nagnechi Mata* to Marwar, and during annual festivals like *Navaratri* and *Dashahara* to renew the martial covenant between the ruler and the goddess.

Queen mothers had a special burden of ritual power. The queen of the reigning monarch played an officially recognized part within the court procedures, her approval was sought prior to the beginning of military campaigns, and her approval is customarily sought prior to the occurrence of major political actions. The example of the mother of *Jasvant Singh*, *Manavatiji*, widow of *Gaj Singh* who outlived her husband and served as senior advisor to her son is an example of how the ritual power of the mother may become direct political expression. The court chronicler, *Muhata Nainsi*, reproduces the *dhamma-sutra*¹¹, and makes record of her interventions in the succession and alliance.

The other ritual register was the memorialization of women who committed *jauhar* or *sati*. Though these deaths are typically interpreted through tragedy or coercion, the fact that they started to be worshiped post-mortem as *sati mata* made them be powerful local goddesses whose shrines were patronized and pilgrims visited and whose cults were actively propagated by dynasties that had the need to invest their own ancestry with a sacral aura. The *sati* monuments at *Chittor* and *Jodhpur* (much of them of the seventeenth century in the modern sense) are instances of how ritualization of female bodies developed long-term capital of political assets to the ruling line. It is not an excuse to the institution, but it is an explanation of the political work that it did.

The household women also took care of the daily ritual economy of the palace: they fed Brahmins, gave cloth and oil to the temples, organized calendrical festivals, and even administered shrines to the *kuldevi* or clan goddess. These were not just occasional incidents, but the routine sacral reproduction of the royal house. The royal household records, preserved in the archives at *Jodhpur*, show that huge amounts of money were spent on the institutions of the queens to precisely this effect, and we can well assume that the ritual required huge amounts of material resources.

Architectural Patronage and the Inscription of Memory

The building patronage of the royal ladies of seventeenth century Marwar and Mewar made a lasting impact on the physical landscape of Rajasthan. Queens, queen mothers, and senior concubines funded temples, stepwells, gardens, memorial chatrins, and residential complexes of various sizes and distributions that reveal both the resources they could use and the political messages that they aimed to convey. This patronage is not to be denied a pious or ornamental one; it was a speech by stone, a political one.

In Mewar, in the reign of *Jagat Singh I.*, the blossoming of female endowment of temple-building was a sight worth seeing. The elder queens had participated in the planning of the *Jagdish* temple complex at

¹¹ Nainsi, Muhata. 1960. *Muhata Nainsi ri Khyat*. Edited by B. P. Sakariya. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.

Udaipur, commissioned subsidiary temples and financed the establishment with the incomes of specified villages. The artistic ambitions of the sponsors of these buildings are testified by the architectural language of the buildings, the rich toranas, carved frames, and good material interventions with the rest of the temple plan. Royal women played a role in a patronizing act that asserted both piety and at the same time, the sectarian entitlement of the polity to the Pushtimarg and extended the spiritual influence of female patrons over regional networks in the vast project of rebuilding Nathdwara after the Shri Nathji image had been transferred out of Braj.

Stepwell patronage, or baori patronage, in Marwar, where the water infrastructure was a necessity and a demonstration of political authority in the arid terrain, was one of the most important forms of royal female patronage. The Rathor family had queens who had many baoris commissioned or donated in and about Jodhpur and Mandore and inscriptions that still survive carry the names of the patronesses and the date of their making. These monuments benefited the living population, honored the donor in accordance with the Dharmashastra ideas of hydraulic charity and stretched the name of the donor through time. The investment was substantial, a large baori was to be built, which necessitated the organization of masons, hydraulic engineers, sculptors, and administration personnel, whose work was to last more than a year, and the effective implementation of such a project was a trial to both managerial skills and financial means of the patron.

The other significant architectural record was the memorial chatris commissioned to dead queens and senior concubines which were clustered around sites such as Mandore, in Marwar and Ahar in Mewar. These cenotaphs were frequently octagonal or square pavilions with domed roofs placed on decorated pillars hewn out of the dynastic landscape of memory among their male equivalents. The iconography carved into their interiors and plinths, pictures of pujaya, of service to gods, of the dead in attitudes of devotion narrated lives of ritual worth as it continued to narrate to the family the responsibilities they had to the ancestor. In others, the women themselves, in their lifetime, had their own memorial pavilions or the pavilions of their fellow-wives to them constructed, and had a voice in their after-death portrait.

Less famous, garden patronage was also a contributing factor in the female architectural repertoire. The baghs complexes enclosing the palaces of Rajput were often associated with specific queens whose families resided there during specific seasons, their pavilions, water channels and orchards. The Japanese influence on the political power of the senior women was manifested in one of the spatial forms of the Zanana Mahal of the Udaipur City Palace, which in many ways developed during the seventeenth century was given its own chapels, audience halls, and service quarters effectively forming a second palace within the palace.

Kinship Diplomacy and the Making of Rajput Statecraft

Kinship diplomacy was one of the least-recognized, yet crucial, arenas of political activity of the royal women in the seventeenth-century Marwar and Mewar. Despite the difference, the architectural patronage as well as the kinship diplomacy embedded the power in the material landscape and therefore, the marriages, alliances and interpersonal negotiations, and consequently, the mapping of the Rajput statecraft. The mediating players in this field were the queens, queen mothers and older women of the zanana who ensured continuity of political relations between ruling houses as well as ensuring that political alliances continued between generations.

Union of marriages was not only domestic but a political weapon of control. The royal women were the most prominent in the brokering of marriage relationships between the Rathors, the Sisodias and other Rajput clans and the imperial household of the Mughal. These alliances established bonds of loyalty, facilitated military cooperation, and, as was traditional, stabilised politics whenever succession or foreign aggression was involved. The entry of Rajput princesses into the Mughal court like, gave a free channel of

communication which was not open in necessarily in the formal diplomatic channel and women could freely mediate in case of a political conflict

The queen mothers in particular were very powerful in terms of succession and alliance making. They had the potential to sway the political choices of political leaders in authority due to their precedence in the household, accompanied by their ritual authority. They frequently suggested proper marital partners, evaluated the political advantages of possible alliances, and arbitrated weakness of competing kinship claims. With these interventions, they helped to safeguard the interests of the dynasties and to develop them outside the territories.

Furthermore, kinship diplomacy was not only limited to the elite marriages, but on the broader level, in the running of lineage networks. Women of the royal families-maintained communications exchanged gifts and fulfilled ritual obligations to the birth as well as affinal groups. Such customs strengthened ties of solidarity and a network of mutual obligations which found their basis in Rajput political culture. Relationships were now renewed and hierarchical relationships among the kin groups re-established using the festivals, childbirth and death rituals

Women also contributed greatly to the diplomatic work towards resolving conflicts. When the allied houses were in conflict, the senior women were usually negotiation intermediaries, whereby they could use their family ties to settle the differences and bring peace. Their ability to engage themselves in the sphere of both the natal and marital networks put them in a very special situation of being agents that could bridge the political lines

By doing so, the concept of kinship diplomacy was not a fringe activity but an element of Rajput rule. Royal women enabled concentration and reproduction of political power via marriage transactions, administration of lineage and relationship mediation. The zanama was not an off-white, distant domestic place, but a vibrant seat of diplomacy, upon which the policies of statecraft were being privily weaved in a quiet, though not a silent, but no less surely woven.

Discussion

The three above-surveyed three registers of agency ritual, architectural and diplomatic did not work in vacuums. They were co-constitutive aspects of one field of domestic-based political labour. When a queen ordered a temple built she was both executing a ritual act, marshaling material resources, and often performing a genealogical act of connection with the terms of dedication, and a queen mother who was consulting her son about a marriage coalition was both performing a ritual act, directing household resources towards the negotiation, and also often shaping the dynastic memory which the future generations would inherit. Any attempt to deconstruct these activities into discrete pieces is therefore likely to recreate the divisions of analysis that made them invisible in the first place.

The similarities and instructive differences between Marwar and Mewar are crucial. In both polities women at home operated in overlapping institutional structures, and used the same repertoires of ritual, material and genealogical practice. The chief queen, the queen mother and senior concubines played similar roles in the two courts. Although the political disposition of a particular polity; the extreme Mughalization of Marwar in place of the independence of Mewar in practice produced certain inflections. The royal women of Marwar were personally engaged in the thick knot of presents, messengers, and people with which the Rathor house related to the imperial center, and several of the Marwar princesses became Mughal consorts whose personal communications were an important channel of political communication. Neglected in establishing a direct marriage relationship with the imperial house, Mewar royal women put their

diplomatic energies to work in a thicker web of intra-Rajput relationships as well as the generation of a Sisodia-based ideology of ritual independence.

These results make problematic the influential thesis that has emerged in some lines of postcolonial theory that the early modern period was characterized by progressive restrictive enclosure of elite women into increasingly restrictive regimes of *zanana*. The data in the seventeenth-century Marwar and Mewar indicate that, despite the increased formality and increased spatialization of the physical space of female residence, the political labour carried on therein did not decrease and, in some ways, might have even increased. In this meaning, the *zanana* was not a prison, but a workroom.

There is also an urgent need to combat the other temptation of creating a blind-eyed form of female empowerment. The women whose agency this article is re-creating worked in a terribly patriarchal political system that distributed honour, property and political office in equal shares with men and which promoted institutions such as *sati* that demanded the absolute sacrifice of women and placed the vast majority of women, elite and non-elite, in horizons that were far narrower than their male counterparts. It is within these limits that the political labour of royal women was ripped out, and its restoration must not be turned into a celebration warranting the loss of the structural conditions of its production.

In addition, the academic prism has subsequently given disproportionate attention to the most privileged group of people in the house: senior lineage chief queens and queen mothers. Junior wives, concubines and slave women, female servants, and females were an invaluable source of labour that kept the *zanana* an institution and their agency even though more elusive to the archives must be preserved. This frontier has just started to be opened by Priyanka Khanna in her work on concubines in Marwar¹², although there is a lot more to be accomplished.

Conclusion

It has been proposed in the article that the women of the home in the seventeenth century Marwar and Mewar played constitutive roles in production of the Rajput sovereignty, ritual power and patrolling of the extensive patronage of architectural buildings, and the performance of the kinship systems, on which the statecraft was reliant. A collection of reading court events, inscriptions and architectural traces indicate a situation of the early modern Rajput polity, where the *antahpura* was not a family retreat, but a political atelier, and was part of all processes of reproduction of the polity.

This argument does not only have implications at the case of western India but on a larger scale. It implies, firstly, that the household needs to be taken into account by historiographies of early modern polity, not as the antithesis of the public sphere. Second it alludes to the fact that the substance of writing of such histories, inscriptions, architecture, chronicles read against the grain, material culture are so abundant in many cases as to be presumed by the mainstream tradition of historiography; it is the frame of interpretation and not the basis of evidence" that has limited recovery. Third, it highlights the methodological importance of comparison: the juxtaposition of Marwar and Mewar has made possible to identify not only common Rajput structures but also polity-specific inflections which would otherwise have been lost in single-case studies.

Future research directions involve extension of research to non-elite women in the *zanana* ecology, further exploration of the vast body of Marwari and Mewari documentary in the Rajasthan State Archives, and

¹² Khanna, Priyanka. 2012. "The Female Companions of a Marwar Ruler: Tracing Concubinage in the Eighteenth Century." In *Women in the Indian Subcontinent: Heritage and Continuity*, edited by S. Sinha and M. Prabha, 134–57. New Delhi: Aakar Books.

comparative research, which constraints research to other Rajput polities like Amber, Bikaner and Bundi. Their temples have not faded out of the landscape of Rajasthan, their baoris flow, their chatris collect the evening rays at Mandore and Ahar: the name of the women who created it can be seen in the distance and is a tangible protest against the story-telling traditions who have overlooked it. Their retrieval of their pasts is not an act of generosity which is retroactive but the correction of history.

References

- Bhadra, Gautam. 1994. *Imaginations of the Self in Colonial Bengal*. Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences.
- Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal D. 1994. *The Making of Early Medieval India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Joshi, Varsha. 1995. *Polygamy and Purdah: Women and Society among Rajputs*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Khanna, Priyanka. 2012. "The Female Companions of a Marwar Ruler: Tracing Concubinage in the Eighteenth Century." In *Women in the Indian Subcontinent: Heritage and Continuity*, edited by S. Sinha and M. Prabha, 134–57. New Delhi: Aakar Books.
- Kothiyal, Tanuja. 2016. *Nomadic Narratives: A History of Mobility and Identity in the Great Indian Desert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lal, Ruby. 2005. *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nainsi, Muhata. 1960. *Muhata Nainsi ri Khyat*. Edited by B. P. Sakariya. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.
- Sarda, Har Bilas. 1941. *Maharana Kumbha: Sovereign, Soldier, Scholar*. Ajmer: Scottish Mission Industries.
- Saxena, R. K. 1996. *Rajput Nobility: A Study of the 18th Century Rajputana Based on Contemporary Persian Sources*. Jaipur: Publication Scheme.
- Sharma, G. N. 1968. *Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, 1500–1800*. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal.
- Shyamaldas, Kaviraja. 1886. *Vir Vinod: Mewar ka Itihas*. Udaipur: Rajayantralaya.
- Sreenivasan, Ramya. 2007. *The Many Lives of a Rajput Queen: Heroic Pasts in India, c. 1500–1900*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Sreenivasan, Ramya. 2014. "Drudges, Dancing Girls, Concubines: Female Slaves in Rajput Polity, 1500–1850." In *Slavery and South Asian History*, edited by Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton, 136–61. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Taft, Frances H. 1994. "Honor and Alliance: Reconsidering Mughal-Rajput Marriages." In *The Idea of Rajasthan: Explorations in Regional Identity*, vol. 2, edited by Karine Schomer, Joan L. Erdman, Deryck O. Lodrick, and Lloyd I. Rudolph, 217–41. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Talbot, Cynthia. 2016. *The Last Hindu Emperor: Prithviraj Chauhan and the Indian Past, 1200–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tod, James. (1829–1832) 1920. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Edited by William Crooke. 3 vols. London: Oxford University Press.

Ziegler, Norman P. 1976. “Marwari Historical Chronicles: Sources for the Social and Cultural History of Rajasthan.” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 13 (2): 219–50.