
The Court Protocol and Social Ordering in Jaipur State

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Abstract: *This work is a study of the political and religious dignitaries in the court protocol of the Jaipur state from early-eighteenth to early-nineteenth century. This being a relatively fresh theme of research relating to the Jaipur state, an attempt has been made to confine our work to the influential political dignitaries who visited the Jaipur Darbar (court) from time to time. At the court hundreds of people were bound together in one place by peculiar restraints which they applied to each other. A more or less fixed hierarchy, a precise etiquette bound them together. A specific distribution of power, socially instilled needs and relationships of dependence made them constantly converge at the court. This led to the foundation of court society. One of the objectives of this study is to test the correctness of the view that the court society was the larger society in a microcosm. Did the social formation of the court society signify a certain stage in the development of society in general? Did it form the tip of a society articulated hierarchically in all its manifestations.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The politico-religious practices do not hold the same meaning in the different contexts of history. The complexities of time in history can never be reduced but efforts can be made to put events in sequence. Through it a broader canvas of events and facts can be drawn which helps us to understand the events of past better. In the eighteenth century the politico-religious grouping within the Amber/Jaipur court was changing in tune with the requirement of the newly evolving Jaipur state. With the waning away of the Mughal Empire the territories of the Jaipur state were not only expanding but the state was acquiring a sophisticated existence in its functioning. Sawai Jai Singh was the main architect of this change in the Jaipur. He was constantly working to forge new political alliances and extending the ambit of largesse to wider religious groups. The older religious institutions were gaining prominence in the Jaipur region and simultaneously new religious groups also began to be patronized. Certain religious practices and rituals which were dormant for years were revived by the Jaipur kings by actively participating in them. For example in 1709 A.D., the *Vajpayajana* was performed by Sawai Jai Singh after his victory against the Mughals in the battle of Sambhar. This *yajna* was performed for thanking gods for the much needed victory. "In course of his long reign, the Kachhwahaking Sawai Jai Singh (Jai Singh II; r. 1700-43) of Jaipur came to be epitomized as the perfect Hindu king and the savior of the cosmic order from the perils of the Kaliyuga."¹ Following some typical trends Jai Singh became a great symbol of Hindu tradition. The events occurring during the reign of a king are manifestation of the king's nature, writes Mukhia albeit in the context of the Mughal emperor.² To portray himself as the savior of Hindu order Jai Singh even worked out for his own funeral rituals. "the road for his own funeral procession, laid out three years before his death, follows the direction that the mythical Yudhisthira took on his ascent to heaven."³ Besides the revival of Vedic rituals and patronizing of *Vaisnavabhakti* sects, the Kachhwahaking made efforts to assimilate diverse religious groups in the environs of Jaipur. Various mercantile groups were also invited and helped to settle in the new city of Jaipur. These efforts were mainly to put diverse social groups in one place which would appear to be a kingdom in miniature. The walled city of Jaipur was laid out with a proper understanding of a stratified society. All the groups which were categorized as 'higher classes' were mainly the *Thikanedars*, *Thakurs*, priests, saints, ascetics, businessmen,

¹ Monika Horstmann, "Theology and State Craft", published in *Religious Cultures in Early Modern India*, (edt.) Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, Routledge, New Delhi, 2011, P. 75.

² Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India, introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, USA, reprint 2005, p. 8.

³ Monika Horstman, "Theology and State Craft", p. 75.

richtraders, *seths*, bankers, merchants, *Charans*, *Bhats* etc. The layout of the city is also planned in a manner that the houses of the classes with substance faced the main lanes of the city. The plan of the city was made keeping in mind the social order in the state. The groups which were categorized in the lower strata of Jaipur state were mainly *Khatis*, *Naaais*, *Dums*, *Chamars*, *Sasis*, *Banjaras*, *Kumbhanis*, *Aheers*, *Darzis*, *Badwas*, *Gujars*, *Meos*, *Meenas*, *Sunars*, *Pawars* etc. Both the groups vied with one another to serve SawaiJai Singh in his project strengthening of the Jaipur state, through the orthodox political norms. The classification of the castes in the “higher and lower strata” is possible through a study of treatment meted out to the individual caste leaders and individuals when they appeared in the Jaipur court. Being attached to the court the political and religious groups became the representing face of the court and came under direct political disciplining. The protocol laid out for the different social groups was depending on the status of the individual appearing in the court. A magnificent court structure was evolving in which primacy was given more to status and less to wealth. At times the purpose of visit was also the determining factor for the protocol to be applied. If the visit was for attending certain state celebration and delivering of the honours, the individual without notice of his caste was treated with due state reception. In a social milieu where status was the ruling concern than wealth the enforcement of protocol reinforced the hierarchies. The protocol varied in the Jaipur court according to the status and occasion of visit and individual. The formatting of the roles of the king and the courtiers had emerged in which solidity of structures grew at the cost of personal preference. The contours of social change prevalent in the Jaipur court indicated the existence of differing degrees of protocol. The religious groups were treated with a fixed protocol meant for ensuring their acceptance of the king and his rule, whereas the protocol applied to the various political groups varied constantly and it depicted the significance of individual and the occasion. The *DasturKomwars* open a window on the formatting of etiquette in the Jaipur court. For instance in 1813 A.D Shri Dev Nath Jogi came from Jodhpur to meet the king of Jaipur, his *dera* was arranged at Rup Nagar. He was *guru* of Maharaja Maan Singh of Jodhpur. To receive him *Raja* Sawai Jagat Singh went till *Bazaar Deodhi* in a *Nalki* (a palanquin with fixed chair). On seeing the Jogi, Jagat Singh got off from the *Nalki*. The Jogi came into a palanquin and *Shriji* (Raja Jagat Singh) performed *Dandwat* (postulation by lying on ground) after that the Jogi got off the palanquin. Then both of them got in to a palanquin and came till the inner chowk and *Shriji* escorted Jogi and his followers to the *Khass Dera* (a space specially and exclusively arranged to receive top dignitaries), where both of them sat on a *galeecha* (woolen carpet). Then *Shriji* presented *7-mohars* and Rs.5/- along with various others gifts. The gifts presented were *7-siropavthaans*, Rs.2498/- of *jawahar*, *30-paagrimal*, Rs.100/- of *parcha*, 2 pairs of pearl earrings, *1-sarpechjadau* (Rs.359.12anna and 2 paisa), *1-dupatta* green (Rs.17/-), *2-thirma pashmibutaadar* (Rs.150/-), 2-pairs of gold bangles (Rs.700/-), 1-pearl necklace (Rs.513.8anna), 2-clothes of *dorna* (Rs.76/-), *1-ghora raas* (leash of horse), *1-haati zanzeer* (elephant chain), *1-mohar* and Rs.2000/-. The *10-thirma pashmibutaadar* of varying costs were given for the followers of Jogi Dev Nathji. Then *seekh* (seeing off) was done and the king went till the chowk to see off the Jogi and returned to his palace after the Jogi left for his *dera*.⁴ Various instances like this appear when the religious dignitaries come to the Jaipur court. However, the king rarely went to receive them. This event highlights the fact that certain religious personages were becoming important due to their political influence even if elsewhere.

The varied sources of the Jaipur state indicate the shaping of a very complex society with multiple layers. During the eighteenth century the Jaipur state was reordering the castes for instilling loyalty for the state. Clearly, the order in the court was becoming a text for social order. For it quantitative measures of religiosity, spirituality and sociology were adopted. Within the *Darbar* a sophisticated vocabulary of communication was evolving. The push and pull, tension, accommodation and functions under the absolute monarchy, regulation of court etiquette and adjustments to the constantly changing equilibriums at court provide an entry point into the study of court culture.⁵ The Jaipur *Darbar* became a centre of constant public interaction. It may be stated here that despite occasional tensions nobody was allowed to impair the normative structure. Earlier the *Darbar* was a space of elite interaction only but during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh even the ordinary began to appear in the court. The entries of *DasturKomwar* show the various castes, sects and groups who were coming to

⁴DasturKomwar, vol. 7, Jogi, p. 653-55. Event dated MitiAsojisudi 15 v.s. 1870/1813 A.D.

⁵ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, Edmund Jephcott (tr.), Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited, England, 1983.

the Jaipur court.⁶...the king was the pivot around which the court, and in its view the society, revolved, graded spatial distance between the throne and the courtier, measured almost to an inch, defined their social standing.”⁷Nonetheless royalty was too awesome to be shared. In order to fix the followers and instill loyalty, the king became suspicious of hollow doctrines and insisted on the social acts. The *Darbar* was more than an institution which gave the visitors a social position along with binding norms. It was a center where various sections of society co-related with overlapping of differential functions and duties allotted to them. The court was a space where every activity was enacted on scale that would appear theatrical to an outsider. The vision of social order is clearly visible from the day to day happenings in the court. Through enactment of these acts the aim was of distancing the king from the mass of his subjects. The court being the microcosm of society as well as its apex, it reflected and regulated social order by regulating itself. Through the application of social order the difference between the extraordinary and the ordinary was made visible. Understandably, the treatment and appearance of the various menial castes in the Jaipur court was very brief.⁸ Even the gifts and presents to them were of lower value. Whereas the reception applied to the elite visitors was very extensive and costly in terms of value of gifts. The gifts presented to them were also of high value and large quantum.⁹The strict observance of protocol was a means to preserve the social order. In reality members of each group constantly made efforts to seek a push in individual status. The rituals and happenings in the court were becoming a source of legitimacy. The elites who were heading distinct social groups were considered as the ‘connecting link’, through which the king appealed to the general masses. For example the followers of one particular sect like the Gaudiyas would be loyal to the Jaipur king because of the nature of association between the Kachhwahaking and the *Swamis* of the sect. The followers of the sect kept faith in the *Swami* who through *Gosteas* and *Sabhas* instilled loyalty in them towards the king. While singing the *bhajans* in the *mandalis* the *Swamis* did not fail to incorporate the name of the king and his dynasty. Through these *bhajans* the *Swami* thanked the king for protecting their order and prayed to god for the longevity of his regime.¹⁰“Discussions of the legitimacy of regimes has somewhat recent origins in political theory, political sociology and even more so in history.”¹¹But attempts of rulers to generate source of legitimacy is quite old. The economy and symbolic systems of the court were combined in the state functions to rank the hierarchies of the court. Thus gifts were presented to the visitors in order to mark their status. The gifts were reserved depending upon the rank and status of individual visitor. The gifts such as *siropavs*, *sarpech*, *tora*, *thaans*, *kharchrupiyaetc* were reserved for the dignitaries of higher order. The religious dignitaries were honoured personally by the king by offering *nariyal* (coconut), *mohar*(gold coin) to them and receiving of *dupattaprasad* in return. In 1823 A.D, while returning from Bharatpur, *Mahant* N and Kawar came to Jaipur and a *bhent* (offering) of 1-*mohar* and 1-coconut was presented to him. In return *Mahant* gave a *dupatta* to *Shriji* as *parsad*.¹²The relationship between the king and the religious heads was of a giver and receiver of gifts. The king was sacrifice and on his behalf the rituals were executed. Through patronage of religious activities the kings were working for enhancing their reputation throughout the kingdom. The transformation in the rituals of *Darbar* was vital and the politico-religious significance attached to it was quite wide. Gradually the etiquette had become detailed and less plastic. However, in the midst of fixity of protocol there was evolution. The *Thikanedars* and *Thakurs* were the representative apparatus of political structure of the Jaipur state. In their case the bestowing and acceptance of gifts was a mark of mutual co-operation for both the parties. Through these act both extended support for each other. “Generosity and distribution of

⁶ The castes appearing in the Jaipur court were Ahir, Khichi, Khati, Gujar, Gusaai, Darji etc. An alphabetical appendix is prepared by me which shows all the groups, sects and castes who came to the Jaipur court.

⁷ HarbansMukhia, *The Mughals of India*, P. 77.

⁸ D. K., vol. 1(*Ahir, Kumani*), vol. 5 (*Goud, Gosi, Gujar*), vol. 8 (*Darji*), vol. 17 (*Baidar*) and vol. 23 (*Meo, Meena*)

⁹ D.K., vol. 7 (pp. 653-55) vol. 11 (pp. 92-4, 113-4, 132), vol. 31 (p.....). Entry dated MitiAsojsudi 15 v.s. 1870/1813 A.D., MitiChaitisudi 4 v.s. 1775/1718 A.D and MitiAsadhsudi 15 Budhwar (Wednesday) v.s. 1874/1817 A.D. Large number of documents with extensive details of the gifts are available but due to the constrain of space all of them can't be mentioned here.

¹⁰ My personal visits to the temples of Jaipur, The temples visited were of Govinddevji, Galtaji, Shila Devi, Laxmi-Narayan Mandir and MotiDungari. Many local folk songs usually sung on marriages, child-birth etc. do have strong references where the name and clan of king and the name of deity and the sect is mentioned.

¹¹ HarbansMukhia, *The Mughals of India*, p. 14.

¹² D. K., vol. 31, p..... Event dated MitiBaisakhsudi 13 v.s. 1880/1823 A.D.

largesse to all and sundry seems to have been a tradition with the Mughal family.”¹³ The same kind of ideology was adopted by the Jaipur state to keep its social networks active. The social networks helped the king to maintain law and order in the state. Further loyalty was instilled amongst the general populace of the state. Instances recorded in the Dastur Komwar documents show that large numbers of gifts were given to all the visitors, whosoever arrived at the Jaipur court. The exchange of gifts was a method for keeping the ties active and the Jaipur king was periodically sending gifts to the religious and political institutions. The gifts were also meant for acknowledging the efforts and services of the individuals. Various *meharbangisiropavs* were bestowed upon the *Thikanedars* and *Thakurs* to recognize their services for the state. The bestowing of *Siropav* was mainly associated with the political dignitaries. A *Meharbangi Siropav* was bestowed upon Gur Harsahay Bakshi when he reached Jaipur with Raja Harsahay to join the service of the Jaipur state.¹⁴ Similarly a *siropav* was given to Aman Singh for joining service of the state.¹⁵ On certain occasions the *siropavs* were also given to the religious dignitaries. In 1813 A.D, 7-*siropavs* were offered to *Shri DevNathji* (Guru of Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur).¹⁶ Three *siropavs* were offered to *Mahant Sewan* and along with a *kanthi* (pearl string) and *peshkash* of Rs. 7000/-.¹⁷ The offering of *siropavs* to any religious dignitary was a rarehappening in the Jaipur court. The *siropav* was only offered to the *Mahants* and *Swamis*; with whom the king had a close association. It was usually considered as a prerogative of *GuruMahant* or *GuruSwami*.

II

The literary expressions of the happenings in the court are helpful to draw some commonalities and differences of treatments meted to the castes. A careful reading of DasturKomwar¹⁸ documents the type of castes, political and religious groups appearing in the Jaipur court becomesclearly visible. Several types of protocol were applied to the visitors within the court, outside the court¹⁹, within the royal family²⁰, with the religious heads²¹, interaction with the political leaders and the tribal chiefs. Within the court, position and hierarchies were defined by the seating arrangement and the status of individual was reflected through the gifts presented to him.²² Both religious and political dignitaries were received in the court and the protocol applied was different for each individual. Proximity to the king, kinds of words said by him or a visit to their residence depended on the lineage of the political dignitary and the status of a religious head. The individual treatment meted out to the general visitors was depending on their caste whereas, the treatment of all the religious and political dignitaries varied depending upon their status and occasion of visit. The specificity of protocol applied in the court determined the hierarchy of individual in the social sphere. While interacting with the religious heads the king performed the *sastangparnam/ dandwat* albe it occasionally. Sawai Jagat Singh went till the Bazaar Deodhi to receive *Shri Dev Nathji*

¹³ HarbansMukhia, *The Mughals of India*, P. 72.

¹⁴ D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, pp. 38-9. Event dated Mitisudi 2 v.s. 1816/1759 A.D.

¹⁵ D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, p. 49. Event dated MitiMangsirsudi 3 v.s. 1816/1759 A.D.

¹⁶ D. K., vol. 7, Jogi, pp. 653-4. Event dated MitiAsojsudi 15 v.s. 1870/1813 A.D.

¹⁷ D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, p.... Event dated MitiKartiksudi 14 v.s. 1882/1825 A.D.

¹⁸ DasturKomwar, The documents are available both in *tozi* and register form in the Jaipur Historical Section of Rajasthan State Archives at Bikaner. It is in 32 volumes which are alphabetically arranged. The entries are made by the name of visitor along with the date and year.

¹⁹ D. K., vol. 19, *Musalman*, Event dated Mahasudi 1 v.s. 1791/1734 A.D. *Shriji* (Sawai Jai Singh II) went to Surwal village to meet Nawab Khan-i-Daurani and nearly a *kos* away from Nawab's *sdera* he got down from the palanquin and Nawab's son (Yadgar Ali Khan) came to receive him.

²⁰ D. K., vol. 24 & 25, *Rajlok*. Events recorded put light on the processes of reception and festive celebrations happening in the private apartments of the king.

²¹ D. K., vol. 7 (Jogis), vol. 8 (*Thakurdwara*) & vol. 31 (*Swami, Sanyasiand Shami/Shyami*). These volumes narrate the protocol applying to the various religious dignitaries. The visits of Kachhwaha kings to the temples and the kind of exchanges between the king and *Swami/Mahant* are also described. The language provides a window to clearly understand the differential approach and treatments of events.

²² D. K., vol. 7 (Jat, Jogi, Jadam), vol. 11 (Naruka), vol. 26 (Nathawat), vol. 8 (*Thakurdwara*), vol. 19 & 20 (*Musalman*), vol. 9 & 10 (*Dhakini*) etc. show the various receptions laid out for the visitors of state. The visitors were religious and political dignitaries who were coming to Jaipur State on various occasions.

Jogi and performed *dandwat*, then the Jogi blessed him.²³ This clearly indicates a very respectable position of the religious head. It was mainly depending upon the personal belief of the Kachh wahakings. During the reign of Jai Singh III, *Mahant* Sewanand came to Jaipur while returning from Alwar. The king came in a chariot named *Inder Viman*, at Ramat Karwa to meet the *Mahant*. As he saw the *Mahant* he performed *dandwat* and offered 1-mohar and 1-coconut as gift. In return *Mahant* blessed Jai Singh III.²⁴ The reception of the religious dignitaries by the king personally and through appointment of an official respectively was dependent upon the personal equation shared by the king with the religious guest.

For the political dignitaries the king was the centre of the entire political setup. Therefore, the etiquette followed was around the king; keeping him at the centre and apex. The narrative in the documents also emphasizes on the presence of the king. The factors such as lineage, age, status, sect association and gender were also crucial for fixing the protocol for any visitor of state. The seniority and political position of a visitor was an influential factor at the court. During the eighteenth century the court of Jaipur had become a hub of all the castes living within its territories. This was unlike in the Mughal court of in the Mughal Empire. "There was no space for ordinary in the court; it was a theatre for extraordinary persons and events only, grimly aware of encapsulating the destiny of a vast territory and its innumerable people."²⁵ The state was represented by the king in which; the king was at the helm of affairs. The courtiers represented each section of society and had decisive role in determining the prerogatives of royalty. The court rituals have constantly evolved through an assertion of royal authority. The performance of rituals in the court was observed under strict adherence to the prescribed protocol and control over the emotions was strictly observed. The court was a space of control and self-discipline. Even slight deviation from the prescribed norms was unacceptable. The king encapsulated both authority and parenthood and it was reflected through his actions. The *Thikanedars* and some *Thakurs* were the extended family of the king due to their membership of the Kachhwaha clan. The *Thikanedars* were the extended clan members of the Jaipur king, but when they were received in the court their status was of court members. This policy was strictly followed because the *Thikanedars* could not be treated as family members in the court.

The daughters and sisters of *Thikandars* were received with the protocol applicable to the royal ladies i.e. *Bais* and *Kawars*.²⁶ Their visits to Jaipur were mainly on *Raksha-Bandhan* for tying *Rakhi* to the king and *Kuwar* (prince).²⁷ The *Raksha-Bandhan* was the festival for the daughters of the *Thikanedars* (*Bais*) to visit the Jaipur king. In return the *Baijis* (sisters) were presented money, clothes and jewelry. In 1733 A.D, Bai Vichitar Kawar came to Jaipur court on the festival of *Raksha-Bandhan* and she was presented Rs.691/- in total.²⁸ Various other instances of the presents given to the *Bais* are also available which indicate that the *Baijis* were regularly coming to the court on *Raksha-Bandhan*.²⁹ It was due to the family linkage and for adherence to the families of the *Thikanedars*, who were crucial for the state polity. The presence of ladies was not expected in the court. The lady guests whosoever came to the Jaipur were received in the private apartments of the king. Many of the royal ladies were received by the chief queen, in the *Zenani-Deodhi* (female apartments). In order to meet Maharani ShriRathoriji, the wife of Badan Singh Jat came to Jaipur from Bharatpur. She was

²³ D. K., vol. 7, p. 654. Event dated Miti Asojsudi 15 v.s. 1870/1813 A.D.

²⁴ D. K., vol. 31, Swami, P..... Event dated Miti Mangsirbudi 13 v.s. 1885/1828 A.D.

²⁵ Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India*, p. 87.

²⁶ D. K., vol. 25, Rajlok-Bai, pp. 415-730.

²⁷ D. K., vol. 25, Rajlok-Bai & Rakhi, pp. 508-12 (*Bai Ram Kawari*), pp. 515-7 (*Bai Lad Kawar*), pp. 709-33 (*Bai Amar Kawar*, *Bai Vichitar Kawar*, *Bai Lad Kawari*, *Bai Paran Kawar* etc.)

²⁸ D. K., vol. 25, Rajlok-Bai, p. 709. Event dated Miti Bhadwabudi 4 v.s. 1790/1733 A.D. *Shrji* gave Rs.450/- and Rs.241/- were presented by Kawar i.e. Madho Singh.

²⁹ *Bai Amar Kawar*, *Bai Shri Vichitar Kawarji*, *Bai Kishan Kawarji*, *Bai Lad Kawarji* etc.

received in the *Zenani-Deodhi* and various gifts were presented to her.³⁰ The visits of Begum Ijtul-Nisha to Jaipur are numerous but she was never received in the court and private chambers of the Kachhwahaking. The arrangements for meetings between the Jaipur king and the Begum were always made at the *dera* of Begum. Large quantities of gifts were offered to the Begum whenever the king went to meet her.³¹ The gifts for the ladies were mainly clothes and jewelry. Thus ladies were not coming to the court instead and they all were received in the *Zenani-Deodhi*.

The presence of the king in the court reflected him as a political head and spiritual guide of the populace over whom he was ruling. Through performance of various rituals of showing respect, the position of the king was elevated and differentiated from the other subject member of the court. The performance of the rituals like *salaam*, *tazim*, *tasleem*, *bagalgiri*, *matha hath dharyo*, *beedapaan*, *khusbuilagawan* etc. were due exclusively to and for the king. The king was the symbol of obeisance and all the gestures of respect were due to him only. In 1731 A.D., Ajit Singh came from Lalsot to meet *Shriji* and did *salaam*, *Shriji* responded and did *bagalgiri* (hugging) with him.³² This kind of response from the king showed a cordial relation between the king and the visitor. On receiving different kinds of greetings from the visitors the king responded differently. Suraj Mal came to the Jaipur *Darbar* and performed *salaam* thrice by touching the ground.³³ *Shriji* responded by placing hand on his head.³⁴ A different kind of greeting was extended to the loyal members by the king. In 1731 A.D., while returning from Mathura, Raja Gopal Singh of Karolicame to Jaipur. Raja Ayamal was sent to receive and escort him to the court. When he arrived *Shriji* rose and got down from the seat, blessed him, did *bagalgiri* and applied perfume.³⁵ Various different kinds of greetings were extended to different individuals who were arriving in the court. Similar greetings were not applicable to all the visitors. When Raja Tursan Pal came to the Jaipur court and *Shriji* received him by getting down from the *masnad*, both of them performed *mujara*.³⁶ Two members performing *mujara* to each other indicated the equal status shared by them. Even the greetings were not same for one particular individual at all the times.

The honour of the individual also reflected from the seating space allotted to the visitor in the court. Three kinds of spaces were allotted to the visitors whenever they appeared in the court. The allocation of seat on the right side of king (*Raja kadahinabaithayo*) was the highest level of honour in the Jaipur court. The highest honour associated with the seat offered on the 'right hand side' of king was also prevalent in the Mughal court. "Honour was also differentially apportioned to space on the right and left sides of the Emperor; being allowed to stand or sit on one or the other was acutely observed as indicative of either status or the ruler's (dis) favour." writes Mukhia.³⁷ The seats offered to the visitors in the Jaipur court were either on right, left or in front of the king. The allocation of the seat to a political dignitary was on the basis of the status and honour of the individual. A seat on the *Raja kadahanitarafbaithayo* (right hand side of *Shriji*) was offered to Suraj Mal of Bharatpur when he came to the Jaipur court to meet Sawai Jai Singh.³⁸ The seat on the right side in the court

³⁰ D. K., vol. 7, Jat, p. 448-9. Event dated MitiBaisakhbudi 6 v.s. 1788/1731 A.D.

³¹ D. K., vol. 19, *Musalmaan*, Events dated MitiMahasudi 3 v.s. 1791/ 1734 A.D., Sawanbudi 5 v.s. 1796/1739 A.D., MitiBhadwasudi 11 v.s. 1796/1739 A.D., Mangsirbudi 7 v.s. 1877/1760 A.D., Chaitisudi 6 v.s. 1820/1763 A.D., Kati budi 4 v.s. 1821/1764 A.D.

³² D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, p. 38. Event dated MitiJaithbudi 6 v.s. 1788/1731 A.D.

³³ D. K., vol. 7, Jat, p. 561. Event dated MitiDutiAsadhbudi 8 v.s. 1808/1751 A.D.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ D. K., vol. 7, Jadam, p. 62. Event dated MitiMangsirbudi 12 v.s. 1788/1731 A.D.

³⁶ D. K., vol. 7, Jadam, p. 137. Event dated MitiBaisakhsudi 7 v.s. 1820/1763 A.D.

³⁷ HarbansMukhia, *TheMughals of India*, p. 92.

³⁸ D. K., vol. 7, Jat, p. 561. Event dated MitiDutiAsadhbudi 8 v.s. 1808/1751 A.D.

was offered to the most respectable individuals.³⁹ The change in the seating arrangement at the court was a usual occurrence. In 1800 A.D., Raja Manik PalJadamof Karolivisited the Jaipur court and he was made to sit on the left hand side of king (*Raja kabaaitarafbaithayo*) below the *masnad*.⁴⁰ Again in 1801 A.D., he came to meet the Jaipur king; Sawai Partap Singh and in this visit he was offered seat on the right hand side of the king (*Raja kadahinitarafbaithayo*).⁴¹ Clearly the allocation of seats on different sides was as per the status of an individual. The simple deviation from the norm of the court could change the position of an individual in the Jaipur court. The seat offered on the left was considered as a mark of low respect and disfavor. The seat offered on the left side was considered inferior in comparison with the seat offered on the right side. The Mughal Emperor Babur also described right-hand side as the place of honour.⁴² The recordings in the Akbar Nama notes that sitting on the left or right of the Emperor depended upon one's status. *Raja* Suraj Mal was regularly visiting the Jaipur court. The constant change in his status is visible in the Jaipur court through the seating arrangement allotted to him. In 1751 A.D., he visited the Jaipur court four times. In every visit the sitting arrangement and reception was different. In his first visit he performed three *salaam* by touching the ground and *Shriji* blessed him.⁴³ In the second visit Suraj Mal was offered a seat in front of the king and both went to watch elephant fight.⁴⁴ During his third visit to the Jaipur court, officials namely Pem Singh, Har Govind, Bhattjand an *umra* (name unknown), were sent to receive and escort him to the court. Further *Shriji* received him in the court and hugged him (*bagalirikari*). Then a seat was offered to him on the right hand side of the king.⁴⁵ "Among the devoted Hindus the left hand is dirtier one, and eating with it or even giving a gift with it would send shivers of horror from head to foot."⁴⁶ Similar kind of association with the right and left side were also followed in the Jaipur court. Whenever less favored individual was received in the court he was made to sit on the left side of the king's seat. The seat on the left side of the king was offered to Ikram Mohmad when he came to the Jaipur court accompanying Muhamud KhanSikka.⁴⁷ Even in the Mughal court this similar practice of offering seats on the right and left of the Emperor, was associated with the favorable and non-favorable respectively. The seat allotted to the courtier in the court was mark of honour and status of the individual courtier and it distinguished between the favoured and un-favoured. For example when Khusrau was brought to Jahangir after his failed rebellion, he was brought in from the left side.⁴⁸ Even the Islamic theology states that on the Day of Judgment, Allah will place the virtuous ones on his right and vicious ones on his left.

A number of religious dignitaries were also attending the Jaipur *Darbar*. The occasions of visits made by the religious heads, were limited but their presence in the court was altogether a different privilege. The proximity of religious heads with the Kachwahaking was depicted in the court through the symbolic following of rituals. Whenever the religious dignitaries visited the court they were received personally by the king by standing up from his seat and walking till the door of *Darbar*. When Dev Nath Jogi visited Jaipur, Sawai Jagat Singh went till the *Bazaar Deodhi* to receive him and performed *dandwat*.⁴⁹ In the exchange of greetings between the king and religious dignitary, first the *Raja* performed *dandwat* and the religious

³⁹ D. K., vol. 7, Jadam, p. 137. Event dated MitiBaisakhsudi 7 v.s. 1820/1763 A. D. Raja Tursan Pal JiJadam was received by king by coming 7 steps down from the *masnad*. He was made to sit on the right side of king.

⁴⁰ D. K., vol. 7, Jadam, p. 206-7. Event dated MitiAsadhsudi 14 v.s. 1857/1800 A.D.

⁴¹ D. K., vol. 7, Jadam, p. 209-10. Event dated MitiBhadwasudi 10 v.s. 1858/1801 A.D.

⁴² HarbansMukhia, *The Mughals of India*, p. 93.

⁴³ D. K., vol. 7, Jat, p. 561-2. Event dated MitiDutiAsadhbudi 8 v.s. 1808/1751 A.D.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ D. K., vol. 7, Jat, p. 565. Event dated Miti Kati sudi 12 v.s. 1808/1751 A.D.

⁴⁶ HarbansMukhia, *TheMughals of India*, p. 93.

⁴⁷ D. K., vol. 7, Jat, p. 565. Event dated Miti Kati sudi 12 v.s. 1808/1751 A.D.

⁴⁸ HarbansMukhia, *The Mughals of India*, p. 93.

⁴⁹ D. K., vol. 7, Jogi, p. 654. Event dated MitiAsojsudi 15 v.s. 1870/1813 A.D.

head blessed him. Sawai Jagat Singh did *dandwat* and received *Mahant* and Kavar in the court.⁵⁰ When Jai Singh II went to the *dera* of *Mahant* Nand Kavar, *Mahant* came till the gate of *dera* to receive the king. On seeing the *Mahant*, the king performed *dandwat*.⁵¹ In 1868 A. D., Sankaracharya came from Deccan. He was received in the temple of *Mahadevji* (Shiv) and the king (Ram Singh II) came in the temple to meet him and greeted him by doing *dandwat*.⁵² Few *Swamis* and *Mahants* were offered seat beside the king or they shared the same seat with the king; in which the kings sat on the corner and the centre was given to the religious visitor. When *Shri* Ganga ramji Bhatt arrived in the Jaipur court to receive *matamisiropav* on his father's demise, *Shriji* performed *dandwat* and offered a seat made of two *gaddis* to Bhattji on his right side.⁵³ The king was sitting on a *masand* and to raise the level of Bhattji's seat, two *gaddis* were placed one above the other. When a *Mahant* and *Swami* appeared in the court they were offered *gaddis* (a small mattress used for sitting) by the king. In 1869 A.D., when Vidya Guru Bhatt came to the court for receiving *matamisiropav* on the death of his father, *Shriji* performed *dandwat* and offered 2-*gaddis* to Bhattji for seating.⁵⁴ The king offered coconut and *mohars* to the religious guest while standing and later took seat below the level of the seat of *Mahant/Swami/Bhattji*. Brahman Jagat Dutt was invited to the Jaipur court by Raja Partap Singh and a seat with 1-*gaddi* was arranged on the right hand side of the king which was offered to the Brahman. As the Brahman took his seat the king stood from his *masnad* and offered 1-coconut and 1-*mohar* to the guest.⁵⁵ This kind of treatment was reserved for the religious heads of Govinddevji temple and the *Swami* of Sita-Ramji temple. The *Swamis* and *Mahants* of Sita-Ramji temple, Govinddevji temple and Laxmi-Narayan Mandir were the religious dignitaries who were received with the most extensive protocol. The offering of coconut, *mohar* and sweets by the king was limited to the heads of these three temples. The sect heads, who were receiving the offering from the Kachhwahaking, were Ramanandis, Balanandis, Gaudiya, Dadupanthis, Nimbarkites and Nathpanthis. The association of Jaipur kings to these temples and sects was due to the religious significance of these sects through which the king was seeking legitimacy. The association with the sects also helped in instilling loyalty and assimilating the general populace. The donations and offerings of the king were not reserved for the Hindu sects only. The king was also donating money to the various *Sufi* shrines and *Fakirs*.⁵⁶ Many a times the Jaipur kings visited the *Dargah* of Muinuddin Chisti at Ajmer. Sawai Jai Singh visited the shrine of *Khawaja Garib Nawaz* and offered 2-gold *mohars* along with Rs.1132/-.⁵⁷ In 1724 A.D., Jai Singh offered 8-*mohars* and a *nazar* of Rs.1620/- at the Ajmer *Dargah*.⁵⁸ Whenever the king visited these shrines he offered some money for the *deeg-pakawan*⁵⁹ and also donated money to the *Khadims*. In 1736 A.D., while returning from Pushkar, Sawai Jai Singh offered 2-*mohars* and Rs.1341/- at the shrine of Muinuddin Chisti.⁶⁰ Various *Sufi* saints came to the Jaipur court while going to Delhi from Ajmer, Malwa and *vice-a-versa*. In 1743 A.D., *Peerzada* Faizulla Khan of Malwa was offered Rs.100/- by the Jaipur king while he was going to Delhi via Jaipur.⁶¹ As per the influence of *Sufi* saints the Jaipur king received them and presented gifts to honour them. Whenever the *Khadims* of the

⁵⁰ D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*. Event dated MitiBhadwabudi 1 v.s. 1871/1814 A.D.

⁵¹ D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*. Event dated MitiMahsudi 11 v.s. 1888/1831 A.D.

⁵² D. K., vol. 7, Jogi, pp. 658-9. Event dated MitiBaisaksudi 11 v.s. 1925/1868 A.D.

⁵³ D. K., vol. 15, Brahman, p. 327. Event dated Miti Posh sudi 7 v.s. 1903/1846 A.D.

⁵⁴ D. K., vol. 15, Brahman, p. 374. Event dated MitiBaisakhbudi 13 v.s. 1926/1869 A.D.

⁵⁵ D. K., vol. 15, Brahman, Event dated Miti Posh sudi 2 v.s. 1837/1780 A. D.

⁵⁶ D. K., vol. 18, Musalmaan&vol. 12, Fakir.

⁵⁷ D. K., vol. 18, Event dated Asadhsudi 10 v.s. 1780/1723 A.D.

⁵⁸ D. K., vol. 18, Event dated Bhadwabudi 10 v.s. 1781/1724 A.D.

⁵⁹ D. K., vol. 18, Event dated Bhadwabudi 8 v.s. 1797/1740 A.D and Kati sudi 14 v.s. 1799/1742 A.D. A sum of Rs.1100/- was presented for *Deg* at Miranji's shrine (1740 A.D) and Rs.1000/- was presented at *DargahGarib Nawaz* (1742 A.D) for *Deg* respectively.

⁶⁰ D. K., vol. 18, Event dated Sawansudi 15 v.s. 1791/1736 A.D.

⁶¹ D. K., vol. 18, Event dated Asojsudi 5 v.s. 1800/1743 A.D.

Ajmer shrine visited the Jaipur court they were presented *siropavaz-ruh-i-meharbangi* (*siropav* of kindness).⁶²In 1723 A.D., the king visited the shrine of Miranji and offered a *nazar* of Rs.200/-.⁶³The gifting of largess was an enduring and salient cultural feature of the Jaipur court. These efforts (bestowing of gift) were not only limited to religious favours, certain political aspirations were working behind it. In 1747 A.D., the *Peerzada* of Iraj was on his way to Mecca, Rs.500/- for *kharch*(expenses) were presented to him from the Jaipur court.⁶⁴Every year on the occasion of *Urs* festival of the Ajmer *Dargah*, the Kachhwahakings sent Rs.500/- as *khairat*.⁶⁵The aim behind all these activities was to integrate large territories and instilling of loyalty in the subject population of the state. The protocol in the court was pivoted around the king. The protocol applied to the religious dignitaries indicated the status of the sect and the head of that sect. In 1814 A.D, *Shriji* went to the temple of *Shri Sarvesavanji* to meet *Mahant Nand Kavar* and performed *dandwat*.⁶⁶ The respect enjoyed by the sect representatives in the court was also an act to display grandeur of royalty before the followers of the sect. The significance of symbolic presence in the court was depicted through the physical proximity to the king. If court etiquette expressed hierarchy and power, the trajectory of its evolution kept close to the contours of state's power empirically, if not in theory. The reception in the court was an extensive festivity executed and organized through the king. The instances of favour in the court were administered through the norms and gifts.

The visits of the king to the temples were also arranged according to the protocol. The visits of the Kachhwahakings were regular only to the temple of Govinddevji. Besides it, the visits to Sitaramji, Laxmi-Narayanji and Shila-Devi temples were occasional. The visits to various temples by the Kachhwahakings were mainly to meet various religious dignitaries who were coming to these temples. In 1817 A.D., *Mahant Nand Kavar* came to Jaipur from Salemabad and stayed in the temple of *Shri Gopi Vallabhji*, *Shriji* arrived in the temple to meet him.⁶⁷The occasional visits to these temples were on the days of state celebrations and festival days. The state organized various processions on the festivals of *Holi*, *Gangor*, *Teej* and *Ekadashi* to keep the vitality of the capital alive. The festive processions were also occasions for the king to interact with the ordinary masses of his kingdom. These state occasions were events for the masses to participate in the state celebrations. Through these celebrations the king was trying to cultivate goodwill for himself and his idea.

III

The court was a formal assembly and the norms for attending the *Darbar* were also fixed and varying according to the status of individual. The aim and aspect of accessibility to the throne was the competitive spirit in the court. The purpose of accessing the proximity to the throne placed the nobles in competitive sprits in the realm of court. The association of nobles with the king brought various responsibilities on the courtiers. The responsibilities were mainly administrative, ceremonial and functional. The nobles who had a higher status in the court were usually given responsibility of receiving and escorting the religious head and political dignitaries in the court. Various instances prove that the status of individual provided them accessibility to the private chambers of the king. The access into the private chambers was also a mark of respect. Indirectly it also reflected the trust and bond shared by the king and the individual dignitaries. In 1786 A.D., *Bhatt Moti Duttji* was received in the *Pritam-Niwas* after bestowing of the *Guru Padvi*.⁶⁸As far as the religious dignitaries are concerned they had direct access into the private chambers of the king. In 1828 A.D, *Mahant Nand*

⁶² D. K., vol. 18, Musalmaan, Event dated Asojsudi 2 v.s. 1797/1740 A.D.

⁶³ D. K., vol. 18, Musalmaan, Event dated Bhadwabudi 4 v.s. 1780/1723 A.D.

⁶⁴ D. K., vol. 18, Musalmaan, Event dated Asojsudi 2 v.s. 1795/1747 A.D.

⁶⁵ D. K., vol. 18, Musalmaan, Event dated Mahbudi 4 v.s. 1839/1782 A.D.

⁶⁶ D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated MitiBhadwabudi 1 v.s. 1871/1814 A. D.

⁶⁷ D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated MitiAsadhsudi 3 v.s. 1874/1817 A.D. on Miti Posh sudi 4 v.s.1886/1829 A.D., *Shriji* went to the temple of *Brij Raj Bihariji* to meet *Mahant Nand Kavar*. On MitiMahsudi 12 v.s. 1888/1831 A.D., *Shriji* arrived at the temple of *Shri Radha Madhoji* to meet the *Mahant*. Various such instances appear in the documents where the King is going to various temples to meet the religious dignitaries.

⁶⁸ D. K., vol. 16, Brahman, p. 226. Event dated MitiAsojbudi 14 v.s. 1843/1786 A.D.

Kawar was declared successor of the Nimbarkite *Sampradaya* of Salemabad. To announce his succession he was received in Sukh-Niwas and a *dushala* was presented to him.⁶⁹ Besides it, certain religious heads also had a direct access to the *Zenani-Deodhi* (female apartments), though entry in the *Zenani-Deodhi* was restricted and it was strictly under surveillance. The *Mahants* and *Swamis* of Gaudiya *Sampradaya*, Ramanandi *Panth*, Balanandis, Nimbarkites etc had an unrestricted entry into the *Zenani-Deodhi*. In 1836 A.D., Baij Nath was invited by Maji Sahib into the *Zenani-Deodhi*. He blessed Maji Sahib and gave a *dupattaparsad*.⁷⁰ It was due to the religious affiliation of the Kachhwahas. The ladies of the Kachhwaha house constantly engaged in the religious activities and the ritual performances required the presence of religious heads and priests under whose guidance it was performed. A temple of Madan-Mohanji was built by Rani Bhatyani and *Mahant* Nand Kanwar was taken to the temple on orders of the *Rani*.⁷¹ The political dignitaries were not allowed to enter in the *Zenani-Deodhi*. Certain political dignitaries were allowed entry into the Sukh-Niwas (residence of king) as per their status in the state hierarchy. Mainly the visitors coming in the Sukh-Ni was were associated with the queen either through religiosity or maternal relations. Bahadur Singh of Hastheda, was called in the Sukh-Ni was and a *siropav* out of kindness was bestowed upon him.⁷² In 1836 A.D., Raja Nopal Singh was received in the Sukh-Niwas along with various other *Thakurs* for *Salaami Khass Chowki*.⁷³ This *khass Darbar* was organized for ending the condolence period of Nopal Singh's father, Bahadur Singh. This limited access was only for the father and brothers of the queens who have come to the court earlier. All these norms and regulations were indicative of the status of the dignitary.

The Jaipur kings were in service of the Mughal state for long. The prolonged association of both the houses had a long lasting impact on the Jaipur court. The proceedings of Jaipur court had a clear reflection of the Mughal court's etiquette. Various norms and etiquettes followed in Jaipur court were taken up from the Mughal court. Mainly the processes associated with display of status and honour indicated the Mughal influence. The allocation of seats and bestowing of honours to the political and religious dignitaries were also influenced by the Mughal court rituals. Important epithets of the Jaipur kings were '*Maharajadhiraj Kamal Charnan*' which is adopted to equate the king with the divine power. The similar idea in the Mughal court was of *Zillai-Illahi*, where the Emperor was considered as shadow of god. The bestowing of *siropav* by the Jaipur king was also a custom similar to the granting of robe of honour by the Mughal Emperor. Harbans Mukhia notes that the formulation of *Din-i-Illahi* by Akbar was an evolutionary stage for the structure of courtly behavior and it was an effort to tie the entire ruling elite by one single thread of discipline which will take away the regional and religious disparities.⁷⁴ The religious disparity of the subject populace made Jaipur kings to accommodate all the sects and religions within their territories. The revival of Vedic rituals by Sawai Jai Singh was an effort to demonstrate his association with Vedic Hinduism because the masses over whom he was ruling were mainly Hindus. But through the acts of donation and bestowing of gifts the king kept all the other religious sects and religions connected to the court. Through the sects effort was to made ensure that the loyalty should be owed to the throne not to the individual. The valorization of throne and its occupant was the main purpose behind all the religious and social acts.

The exchange of gifts was an act to acknowledge the status of the visitor. "Formal presents of symmetrical value are exchanged between equals; unilateral presents or unequal exchanges reaffirm hierarchies of status."⁷⁵ When the *Thikanedars* and *Thakurs* visited the court they offered *nazar* to the Kachhwahaking. The courtiers also presented *peshkash* (gifts/presents) to the king; which usually included money and clothes. The king touched the *peshkashthaal* (the plate on which the gifts were brought) and after the king kept only one or two items and the rest was returned to the visitor. The

⁶⁹ D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated MitiChaitbudi 8 *Budhwar* (Wednesday) v.s. 1885/1828 A. D. Instances like this are few but these instances are indicating the status and respect enjoyed by the respective guests.

⁷⁰ D. K., vol. 16, *Brahman*, p. 38. Event dated Mitisudi 2 v.s. 1893/1836 A.D.

⁷¹ D. K., vol. 31, *Swami*, Event dated MitiChaitbudi 8 *Budhwar* (Wednesday) v.s. 1885/1828 A. D.

⁷² D. K., vol. 26, *Nathawat*, p. 586-7. Event dated MitiFagunsudi 12 v.s. 1850/1814 A.D. Many political dignitaries were received in the Sukh-Niwas, but they were mainly the members of Bara-Kotri. The members associated with the Rajput houses like Kama's of Jahali, Rana's of Udaipur, Bhatti's of Jaiselmer were also received in the private mahal of King. This accessibility was depending upon the matrimonial alliances.

⁷³ D. K., vol. 26, *Nathawat*, p. 439-40. Event dated MitiFagunbudi 13 v.s. 1893/1836 A.D.

⁷⁴ Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India*, p. 99.

⁷⁵ Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India*, p. 106.

nazars were presented to the king only. The gifts bestowed upon the visitor by the Kachhwahaking in the Jaipur court were mark of respect for visitor and ensured his status in the court nobility. The bestowing of *siropavs* and *sarpech* were reserved for the political visitors who enjoyed the good will of the king. In general the envoys and the regular visitors were rewarded with cloth and money. At times some envoys were presented with *siropav*, *sarpech* and large number of gifts. This was done to recognize the occasion of their visit. It was mainly when the envoy came with the *Saranjaam Rajtilak* and *Kawar Badhai*. The gifts offered to the religious dignitaries by the Jaipur Raja were different from what was offered to the political dignitaries. The Jaipur kings offered *dushala*, *thirmabutadar*, *coconut*, *janaiu*, *kundalkanka* (earrings of gold), *kanthimotiyaki* (pearl string), *mohar* etc as gifts to the religious dignitaries. The religious dignitaries were not expected to bring present for the king. When the king presented ritualistic gifts to the religious dignitary then the former blessed the king with a *dupattaprasad* (a stole). This was the usual exchange of greeting/ gift between the king and the religious visitor.

During the eighteenth century certain religious dignitaries became politically influential and their influence made them regular member of the Jaipur court. Balanand who was a militant-ascetic of the Ramanandi sect had a large militant ascetic following ever ready to fight. Through his influence the Jaipur king was able to deal with Rao Partap Singh Naruka, a rebel of Macheri.⁷⁶ He was also a mediator between the Marathas and the Jaipur state and successfully averted the Maratha attack on Jaipur which was imminent due to the non-payment of tribute. Madhji Sindhia was halting outside Jaipur and making preparations to attack Jaipur. The Jaipur king was unable to pay the fixed amount which invited the wrath of the Maratha *Sardar*. Balanand intervened and got the matter settled by making a token payment of Rs.2 lakh. This diplomatic feat enabled Balanand to receive more gifts and large amount of money from the Jaipur king.

The Jaipur king was visiting the mansions of various political and religious dignitaries. The visits of the king to the *havelis* of religious and political dignitaries were on the occasions of child-birth, marriages of children and condolence meetings. The king went to attend the ceremonies of child-birth and marriages and presented gifts to the child, bride and bride-groom. In 1845 A.D., a son was born to Baij Nath. In order to attend the ceremonies associated with child-birth the king went to the *dera* of Baij Nath and offered Rs.5/-.⁷⁷ The gifts were also extended to the religious dignitary and his family members. The ladies of Kachhwaha house also dispatched gifts for the various ladies of religious dignitaries on occasion of child-births and marriages of their children. *RajBdaran* Kesar was sent to the *dera* of Baij Nath to congratulate the Bhuttniji for child-birth.⁷⁸ She was sent by ShriMaji Sahib Chandrawatji and various presents were sent for Bhuttniji.⁷⁹ The visits of the king to the mansions of the *Thikanedars* were a mark of the host's status. The occasions of visits were mainly marriage, child-birth and condolence. The visits of the king to certain *Thikanedars* were for political purpose and a similar reception was applicable. Whenever the king visited the *Thikanedar's Haveli*, he was received at the door and escorted in by the *Thikanedar* himself. In 1760 A.D., *Shriji* rode on a horse and reached to the *dera* of Tursan Pal Ji for condolence of Raja Gopal Singh. Tursan Pal made an effort and moved to present *peshkash* to *Shriji* but *Shriji* said "*Matamimaipeshwai koi dasturnahi*" (*peshkash* is not a custom at condolence).⁸⁰ The *peshkash* was not accepted by the king. On another occasion *Shriji* reached to the *Haveli* of Chand Tongiya for *matami* (condolence meeting) of Raja Hari Singh's son.⁸¹ He did not present anything to the hosts. The *masnad* (seat) was spread out and the king was offered the seat. Then the *Thikanedar* presented gifts and all the other members attending presented *nazar*. The *nazar* was presented by an inferior and it is reflective of the hierarchy of relationship. The king was not liable to present any gift to the *Thikanedar* when he visited the *Thikanedar's* house. It was unlike of the king's visit to the mansion of any religious dignitary. When

⁷⁶ D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, p. 166-71. Event dated MitiAsadhbudi 9 v.s. 1838/1781 A.D., Miti Kati sudi 5 v.s. 1840/1783 A.D.

⁷⁷ D. K., vol. 16, Brahman, p. 40. Event dated Miti Kati sudi 4 v.s. 1902/1845 A.D.

⁷⁸ D. K., vol. 16, Brahman, p. 41. Event dated Miti Kati sudi 4 v.s. 1902/1845 A.D.

⁷⁹ D. K., vol. 16, Brahman, p. 42. Event dated Miti Kati sudi 4 v.s. 1902/1845 A.D. The gifts sent were 1-*mohar* for Bhuttji, 1-*mohar*, Rs.5/- of *nazar* for Bhuttniji, 1-*mohar* for the child born, Rs.10/- for 2 sisters of Bhuttji, Rs.5/- for wife of Bhuttji's brother, Rs.5/- for son-in-law of Bhuttji and Rs.5/- for the niece of Bhuttji.

⁸⁰ D.K., vol. 7, Jadam, p. 132. Event dated MitiSawansudi 7 v.s. 1817/1760 A.D.

⁸¹ D.k., vol. 26, Nathawat, p. 735. Event dated MitiSawansudi 6 v.s. 1824/1767 A.D.

the king went to attend a condolence meeting at the *Haveli* of a *Thikanedar* he did not carry any gift, as it was against the court protocol. On the next day of the king's visit a *siropavrangeen* was dispatched for the *Thikanedar* to mark the end of condolence period, which extends till 13 days called as *tairvi*. In 1807 A.D., a *matamisiropav* was presented to Ajit Singh Naruka for expressing grief on the death of his father Sardar Singh Naruka.⁸² In another instance father of Udai Singh Naruka died, a *siropav* was sent for Udai Singh Naruka and next day a *paagrangeen* was sent.⁸³ At times certain *Thikanedars* presented gifts to the king when he reached their mansion for condolence and those gifts were not accepted by the king. When, *Shriji* arrived at the *dera* of *Raja* Tursan Pal Jadam for condolence of *Raja* Gopal Singh. Tursan Pal wanted to present a *peshkash* but it was refused by the king.⁸⁴

The exchanges of gifts in the court were part of the court protocol and it mainly depicted the status and influence of the recipient. The giving and receiving of gifts implicate various relationships in which status and hierarchy formed the core. The association to the gift culture is even visible in the Mughal court. Badauni notes that Akbar issued a general order that everyone from highest to lowest should bring him a present.⁸⁵ The gifts were also used as a binding force by the Jaipur kings. Through granting of gifts the visitors were made to believe that the state represented by king was a stable unit which consistently worked for the prosperity of the masses. During the regime of Sawai Jai Singh and Madho Singh the quantum of gifts presented to the political and religious dignitaries increased many-fold. But in late eighteenth century the number of gifts given from the court tended to shrink. Even for paying the tribute money to the Marathas the Jaipur kings relied on the bankers, *seths*, traders and merchants. The merchants paid the tribute money and in return received *ijara* of some revenue paying area from the king to realize the money. The fiscal crisis of the Jaipur state during second half of the eighteenth century has been attributed to the frequent raids by Marathas.⁸⁶

The caste-wise application of the protocol in the Jaipur court clearly indicated the efforts made by the Kachhwahing to put the subject populace in proper social order. The process of social ordering started in Jaipur during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh. Immense efforts were required to keep the social order working with proper etiquette. The purpose of social ordering was not to differentiate between the various groups who were arriving to the court. It was for granting proper space to the political and religious dignitaries in the court. Through the process of social ordering it was easy for the king to demarcate, and decide the kind of relationship (distance or closeness) to be maintained with the concerned dignitaries. The influence of the dignitaries was a major factor in deciding their status in the court. The Jaipur court continued with the above discussed kind of set up till early twentieth century. The protocol in the court was largely predicted upon the status of the visitor. Thus it can be said that the Jaipur court was a space for the interaction of the king with various political and religious dignitaries who were coming to the court and their reception and treatment by the king depended on their political influence and status. To conclude it may be emphasized that unlike in the Mughal court during the late eighteenth century, the inflexible formats, with their governing rules of etiquette, continued to be unchanged in the Kachhwaha court of Jaipur. Clearly, the court protocol applied to multiple institutions, groups and individuals inside the *Darbar* and outside in the open was an instrument to maintain the social order in the realm.

⁸² D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, p. 48. Event dated MitiSawansudi 11 v.s. 1807/1750 A.D.

⁸³ D. K., vol. 11, Naruka, p. 65. Event dated MitiBhadwabudi 11 v.s. 1915/1868 A.D.

⁸⁴ D.K., vol. 7, Jadam, p. 132. Event dated MitiSawansudi 7 v.s. 1817/1760 A.D.

⁸⁵ HarbansMukhia, *The Mughals of India*, p. 100.

⁸⁶ Singh, Dilbagh, *The State, Landlord and Peasants: Rajasthan in the 18th century*, Manohar, 1990.

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