ALEKSANDRA TUREK

# A GOOD VILLAIN: THE BRAVERY OF THE DACOITS FROM THE ŚEKHĀVAṬĪ REGION OF RĀJASTHĀN

## 0. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present the way the bravery of brigands is depicted, and how this peculiar type of historical figure from the Śekhāvaṭī region is memorialised in regional, oral literature. Such analysis is based on texts known as *Chāvaḷī*, oral works from the 19th century, composed in Śekhāvaṭī, the dialect of Rājasthānī, in order to commemorate the deeds of the local gang of dacoits. They were active and became famous in the first half of the 19th century in the region of Mārvāṛ known as Śekhāvaṭī. The word *chāvaḷī* is also translated as 'glory' or 'fame'. Such a title also indicates that the deeds of the highwaymen were remembered as good and brave. This is contrary to the popular opinion that brigands are wicked people disobeying the law. The chief of the gang, *ḍākū* Ḍūṅgar Siṅgh, is a pious, noble man who not only gives orders to plunder the cantonment of British officers of the East India Company, but also carries out the looting of local rich people (*seṭh*) and distributes the plunder to the poor. Those dacoits are thus, heroes of the Śekhāvaṭī region, good villains. The analysis of certain techniques used in the text to depict a hero's bravery, such as using particular verbs while introducing indirect speech or a stock of epithets, can confirm that a dacoit can be considered a great hero and, moreover, the figure of a bandit can be further transformed into a patriot, a freedom fighter, due only to the fact that he dared to sack British outposts. A bandit

(generally a dacoit or, a Thug) is a well-known figure regularly depicted in European literature on Indian culture and its peculiarities. In this paper, however, I would like to focus on the image of the highwaymen presented in Indian literature, i.e. from the perspective of Indian indigenous culture and not from a European point of view. British perception of Indian dacoits is another especially interesting subject of research in terms of colonial, post-colonial and subaltern studies; nevertheless this is not the main purpose of this paper. The analysis of the figure of a brigand presented here is based on three texts generally known as *Chāvaḷī* (Nāhṭā 2013) or *Ḍūṅgjī – Javārjī* (Sahal 1995: 45-51) composed in order to commemorate the deeds of the local gang of dacoits.

## 1. Social and historical context – the Śekhāvaṭī region in the 19th century

The region known as Śekhāvaṭī, located in the northern part of Rājasthān (about 100 km to the north of Jaypur), comprises mainly two modern districts of Jhuñjhunū and Sīkar. The region was named after the name of Rāo Śekhā (1433-1488). He was the first Rājpūt chieftain, belonging to the clan of Kachvāhas from Jaypur (Āmer), who conquered the land between Jhuñjhunū and Sīkar and established his own rule there. He was thus the founder of the dynasty of Śekhāvaṭs, the offshoot of Kachvāhas (Śekhāvat 1998: 11, Sharma 1998: 57). The Śekhāvaṭs reluctantly accepted status of dependency of the Jaypur State, claiming that the tribute paid to Jaypur was due to their bonds of kinship, and not in regard to their submission (Sharma 1998: 14).

The region of Śekhāvaṭī was the biggest administrative unit (*nizāmat*) that belonged to the Jaypur kingdom. In the 19th century *ṭhikānās* of Sīkar and Khetṛī in Śekhāvaṭī were the biggest and richest in entire Rājasthān (Sharma 1998: 103), as they were located on a trading route. Each caravan of merchants had to pay a special tax for passing through Śekhāvaṭī. K. L. Sharma states that the mercantile classes were an important

element of the agrarian economy of the region (1998: 170). As a result, Śekhāvaṭī flourished, especially in the 19th century. This can be seen in the splendid and imposing houses (*havelī*) decorated with unique frescos, built by rich local merchants (*seṭh*). The richest and most beautiful *havelīs* were constructed in the years 1830-1930. Due to this reason, nowadays the Śekhāvaṭī region often is called 'an open air art gallery'.

Rich Śekhāvaṭī merchants were an easy target for all kind of robbers and brigands. Some liege lords (*ṭhikānedārs*) indulged in banditry and looting, too (Sharma 1998: 58). Because of the fact that many local lords (*ṭhākurs*) claimed their rule being independent from the Jaypur state, they asked the British to interfere and help to maintain order in Śekhāvaṭī. Because of the unruly and anarchic situation prevailing in the region, the Śekhāvaṭī Brigade was formed by East India Company in the years 1834-1843, with its headquarters in Jhuñjhunū (Sharma 1998: 58, 72). The chief of the gang of dacoits which will be discussed in this paper, Ḍūṅgar Siṅgh, was a commander of a troop of horses (*risāldār*) in the Śekhāvaṭī Brigade before he took up dacoity.

It should be remembered that in the 19th century, only one fourth of the territory of India was not under direct control of the British colonial system. Princely states of Rājasthān are part of the region which was not included in the British Rāj (Sharma 1998: 24). As a result, there was no attempt to reform the feudal system of the princely states. Especially in Śekhāvaṭī, the feudal system was extremely exploitative (in opinion of K. L. Sharma its form was the closest to an absolute feudal system observed in Europe), and hence the situation of ordinary subjects was dire (1998: 104). The feudal system in Śekhāvaṭī was fragmented to such an extent, that for example in one district of Sīkar there were 45 different kinds of tribute (*jāgīr*) and 175 different types of taxes (Sharma 1998: 76). Neither civil code nor criminal jurisprudence did exist in Śekhāvaṭī (Sharma 1998: 189). In such an oppressive system with autocratic rule, the ordinary people, i.e. the sweated labour, could not seek justice. In this paper, we shall demonstrate that the local gang of Śekhāvaṭī

dacoits could have played the role of protectors of the common folk.

## 2. The *Chāvaḷī*

There are only three publications of the text of the *Chāvaḷī* which have so far been made available, i.e. the ones from 1947, 1973 and 1986 respectively (cf. Nāhṭā 2013). There are in fact oral works[1] written down and published. The story commemorating the deeds of Śekhāvaṭī highwaymen is presented in a form of metric, rhymed poems, composed in the Śekhāvaṭī, a dialect of Rājasthānī, called also the northern Mārvāṛī (Nehrā 2012: 45). Three published texts vary in length, and the episodes presented in each of them differ in detail. They are generally called the *Chāvaḷī* poems, as all texts begin with almost an identical invocation quoted below, in which the word *chāvaḷī* is used.

Let us begin with the analysis of the meaning of the title of these poems. The meaning of the *chāvaḷī* or *chẽvaḷī* word given in the Rājasthānī–Hindī dictionary by Sītārām Lāḷas is: 'reflected image', 'shadow', 'reflection' (cf. in Hindī: *pratichāyā*, *parchāī*, *chāyā*. Lāḷas 1986: 426). The editors of the published *Chāvaḷī* poems translate it, however, as 'glory'/ 'fame' (*kīrti*) as in the first couplets opening the story, where in the invocation this word appears in the following context:

> *Mardã̃ rī chāvaḷī maĩ cyāra kūṇṭa mẽ gāũ̃.*
> *I'm singing the chāvaḷī of the heroes in all directions*
> (Nāhṭā 2013: 21, 43, 61)

Such stories as *Ḍūṅgjī – Javārjī* presented in the poems are good examples which show that an outlaw, a bandit, can be a good man whose pious reflected image is preserved in memory and literature. Despite the fact that *chāvaḷī* does not literally

[1] How the *Chāvaḷī* is presented orally can be watched online under the title *Dung Ji Jawahar Ji Ki Chhawali (Phad)*: https://youtu.be/i1q4OmUGGV4.

mean ‘glory’, it will be demonstrated that Ḍūṅgar Siṅgh and his brigands are considered positive figures by Indian people.

## 3. The meaning of the term *dacoit*

In the English language the word ‘dacoit’ is one of the most well-known and popular terms to denote an Indian bandit. This loan word of Indian origin derives from the word *ḍakait* (cf. Crooke 1993: 290), according to McGregor of unknown etymology[2] (McGregor 2012: 416). From the same hypothetical root *ḍākka* the following Hindī words are created (used also in Rājasthānī): the noun *ḍākū* (‘a robber’; ‘one of a band of robbers’); *ḍakaitī* (‘robbery’; ‘banditry’) and *ḍākā* (‘robbery’; ‘an attack by robbers’), and the verb *ḍāknā* used in the meaning to ‘call out’ and ‘to shout’ (McGregor 2012: 416, 419-420; cf. Śyāmsundar Dās 1965-1975: 1945).

According to the definition of a dacoit given in the *Hobson-Jobson Glossary*, which is still widely accepted today, “by law, to constitute *dacoity*, there must be five or more in the gang committing the crime” (Crooke 1993: 290). The local gang of dacoits from the *Chāvaḷī* poems is formed by a greater number of members. Four individuals, however, are known by name and memorialised as good and pious heroes. They are historical figures as well: the already mentioned the chief of the gang, *ḍākū* Ḍūṅgar Siṅgh (familiarly called Ḍūṅgjī in the poems), was the Rājpūt *jāgīrdār* of the Baṭhoṭh village in the region of Śekhāvaṭī. The second hero is his nephew Javāhar Siṅgh (known as Javārjī), and the other two are their devoted companions: Loṭiyā Jāṭ and Karṇiyā Mīṇā. The gang was most probably marauding in Śekhāvaṭī in the years 1834 –1846.

Contrary to popular opinion that bandits are wicked people disobeying the law, the bravery of the dacoits is depicted in these texts. The poems commemorate their looting of local rich

[2] Platts gives, however, another etymology (S. *daṁṣṭra* + *kaḥ* > Pr. *ḍakkuo, ḍakkuu*), but it also seems yet another proposition difficult to verify and it was not followed by any other scholar (Platts 1993: 562, 565).

merchants (*seṭh*) of the Śekhāvaṭī region, the plundering of the cantonment of British officers of the East India Company and the distribution of the plunder to the poor.

## 4. A bandit as brave as a lion

Epithets used while describing Ḍūṅgjī are also indicative of demonstrating his bravery. The traditional Rājpūt custom of adding the epithet 'Siṅgh' ('a lion') to a name is further enhanced by calling him Ḍūṅg Nhār, which is also a term denoting a lion. When he is detained in the tower of the Red Fort in Āgrā he roars like a lion (*Bāyi buraja mẽ bolyo ḍūṅgjī, jāṇai dhaṛkyo nhār.* 'Ḍūṅgjī spoke up from the left tower, [he] roared like a lion') (Nāhṭā 2013: 30). A play on words, using the word 'lion', can be found in the text along with a well-defined countertype, i.e. a good Rājpūt is contrasted with a shameful English man. When, for example, Ḍūṅgjī is caught by soldiers of the East India Company, he addresses them with these words:

> *(...) The suṇlyau phiraṅgyẽ! Vāta.*
> *Phiṭaphiṭa thẽrī jāmaṇavāḷī, phiṭaphiṭa thẽro bāpa.*
> *Āṭha gādaṛā mila the āyā, karī siṅghasũ ghāta.*
> *Sūtai siṅgha nai dhokhai pakaṛyo phiṭaphiṭa thẽrī jāta.*
> (Nāhṭā 2013: 24).
>
> (…) Oh English, listen to my words.
> Shame on your mothers, shame on your fathers.
> You gathered like eight jackals to catch a lion in a trap.
> You have caught a sleeping lion treacherously, shame on your caste!

The strength and bravery of Ḍūṅgjī is further confirmed not only from the Indian perspective, but also from the British. Even though he is detained in the jail of the Red Fort in Āgrā, an officer of the East India Company describes him using the following words:

*(…) Rāṁghaṛa vaḍo hũsyāra.*
*Bhaḷabhaḷa to mātho karai, naiṇā jaḷai musāḷa.*
*Isaṛo rāṁghaṛa eka hai, re! Je hovai do-cyāra.*
*Māra-māra phiraṅgyẽ nai kara dai kaḷakattai kai pāra.*
*Do botala dārū kī pīvai, pakā peṭiyā cyāra.*
*Bhala-bhala yo jāyo ṭhakarāṇī nhārẽ hando nhāra.*
(Nāhṭā 2013: 24).

(…) He is a very clever Rājpūt.
His forehead glistens, his eyes are sparkling.
Oh! Only one such Rājpūt can be found!
If there were more [such Rājpūts] they would eliminate all English men [reaching] far beyond Calcutta!
Such a man as he drinks two bottles of wine, eats like four men,
He was born from the top-class Rājpūt women, he is the king of lions!

The contrast between combative and brave Śekhāvaṭī highwaymen and weak British soldiers is accentuated well in all three texts. Whenever we find Loṭiyā Jāṭ speaking, we find the formula *baṛakai bolyo jāṭ loṭiyo* (Nāhṭā 2013: 24). The verb *baṛakṇau* is very meaningful here as it not only denotes 'bursting out', 'the bellow (of a bull)', 'to roar' and 'to thunder', but also primarily 'a challenging cry or shout' (Cf. the meaning of this word in Pañjābī. Jośī – Mukhatiār 1999: 605). In such a phrase, more meaning is, therefore, transmitted than the mere information that he has said something. And, hence, we can translate the formula as 'Loṭiyā Jāṭ said and uttered a challenging shout'. On the other hand, wherever we find a British officer speaking in the text, this always occurs with the same phrase *khāya kāyarī phiraṅgī bolyo* (Nāhṭā 2013: 26, 30) 'the English man said cravenly' as the meaning of the Rājasthānī noun *kāyarī* is 'cowardice', 'timidity', 'cravenness' (Lāḷas 1962: 627).

Very often the heroes of the story are provoked into action by challenging their bravery. Ḍūṅgjī's wife does not ask his companions politely for help in rescuing her arrested husband, but accuses them of being cowardly and not being real men. She

suggests to Javārjī, Ḍūṅg's nephew, who at that time is sitting and enjoying drinking alcohol with his gang of bandits, that he should rather be wearing a skirt and bangles and be wearing make up like a woman. After these words Rājpūts' eyes are red with blood from anger. In the same way, Loṭiyā Jāṭ becomes furious when he is challenged by Ḍūṅgjī that he is afraid of the sound of a cannon.

## 5. A bandit as a king

A lion is not only a symbol of strength, but also an animal that is traditionally associated with kingship in Indian culture. Despite using a title of a bandit, *ḍākū*, elements of kingship have been attributed to Ḍūṅgjī. Most importantly his generosity is depicted. Like a king he distributes gold and golden coins (which obviously come from the plunder) to Brahmins, sādhus, bards (Cāraṇs and Bhāṭs) and to poor people on *ghāṭs* at the holy lake on the pilgrimage site in Puṣkar (Nāhṭā 2013: 22, 47).

And, moreover, the fact that he performs meritorious acts according to dharma is accentuated in the text (e.g. *Dharama-punna yõ bāṇṭa ḍūṅgjī jharavāsai nai jāya.* 'Having distributed [goods] in meritorious act according to dharma Ḍūṅgjī went to Jharavāsa' (Nāhṭā 2013: 22).

We can presume that at the beginning of the 19th century due to the decline of the Moghul Empire and, hence, the fragmentation of power into various self-proclaimed regions, the phenomenon of dacoity became quite widespread at the time of the rise of domination of British power in India. On the other hand, in times when state institutions were weak, as it was in the case of Śekhāvaṭī, in the role of protectors and generous donors dacoits became heroes for ordinary people. Maybe this is one of the reasons why, in folk literature elements of kingship are also attributed to them. Kathryn Hansen aptly notes that "the bandit hero marks the emergence of a proletarian 'king', an overlord who is of and for the poor" (Hansen 1993: 136). This statement can be supported further by the fact that folk, popular and pulp literature of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century,

literature which does not belong to the main stream, is full of many figures of dacoits – good villains who take care of the poor and ordinary people. *Sultānā Ḍākū* (Śarmā 1980; Pahalvān 1980), one of the most popular plays of *nautaṅkī* (for more information on *nautaṅkī* see Hansen 1993), folk theatre from North India, is a good example here. The bandit Sultānā is also known under the name *Garībõ kā pyārā* which can be translated as the darling of the poor. Another folk play worth mentioning relates the story of *Ḍākū Mān Siṁh* (Hansen 1993: 140-141). He was also Rājpūt, of the Rāṭhauṛ clan, who became a famous dacoit.

## 6. Deification of a bandit

The figure of a bandit can be also deified. Let us quote a longer passage that exemplifies deification of an outlaw in Pañjābī culture, i.e. in the region adjacent to Rājasthān. "Another pattern which is common among other folk deities is also associated with the thief's leap or *cor dī tāp*. Usually a thief invokes the saint and the saint helps him and protects him from danger. The same pattern of divine protection of the robber or the thief is associated with cult of mother goddess.

The legendary thief *Jānī-Cor* was a worshipper of *Devī* and a recent dacoit hero Jiuna Maur who is going through a process of deification is also shown as a devotee of *Naina Devī* in various legends associated with him. In the last episode of the life of Jiuna Maur it is said that he promised *Naina Devī* a golden canopy or *sone-dā-chattar*. But when he went to present the *chattar* the police encircled the shrine of *Naina Devī* which is situated on the top of a hill. Jiuna prayed to the *Devī* and jumped from the hilltop. With the protection of *Devī* he survived. There is still a place at the shrine of *Naina Devī* in Ropar district to commemorate the leap of Jiuna Maur.

It is an interesting fact that the robbers or thieves become the favourite devotees of the gods or goddesses, who are otherwise considered the protectors of social and moral values. The theme

of the protection of the robber and thief is associated with a number of folk deities" (Bhatti 2000: 124-125).

Coming back to the region of Śekhāvaṭī, the dacoits of the *Chāvaḷī* are not deified in the poems, notwithstanding, they are presented as pious men acting according to dharma. We find, however, information outside the poems that the people of the Śekhāvaṭī region worship the dacoit Loṭiyā Jāṭ as a folk deity and visit his place of cremation (*samādhi*) in the Baṭhoṭh village. The cenotaph (*chatrī*) of Rājpūt Javārjī, the nephew of Ḍūṅgjī, built in the Paṭoḍā village in 1883 by his son in memory of his dacoit father is also a popular place for the local people (Ranvā 2000: 86, 90).

## 7. A bandit as a flexible hero

The heroes of the *Chāvaḷī* underwent further transformation and, in fact, their figures are still in the making. The 19th century perception of their bravery is not enough in the nationalist discourse of the 20th century. Ḍūṅgjī's sack of the treasure at the outpost of the East India Company is stressed more by modern Rājasthānī scholars than the fact of looting Indian merchants. And, thus, Ḍūṅgjī and Javārjī became both freedom-fighters and patriots. Maybe the fact that the story was published for the first time in 1947 is not accidental either. The meaning of such characters as the brave dacoits could then be exploited in another way. Gupta and Bakshi note, however, that "[t]here is irrefutable evidence of their kidnapping of ladies of wealthy merchants on promises of payment from interested quarters. It would, therefore, be erroneous to regard these dacoits for 'freedom fighters'. The masses in Rajasthan never took them as such, though their memorials were visited in the customary spirit of hero-worship. It has been adopted as a recent fashion to dignify all such cases as those of freedom-fighters" (Gupta – Bakshi 2008: 133).

It seems like the reflected image of their bravery perpetuated in the poems became a starting point for the further development of these figures. Nonetheless, the most interesting

example of what can be done with the figure of a dacoit can be found in the character of Loṭiyā Jāṭ. In the cultural milieu of the Jāṭ caste, Loṭiyā Jāṭ became not a bandit, but a revolutionary, freedom fighter, social reformer, Marxist thinker and even ecological activist (environmentalist) because he preferred to fire at the leg of his brother-in-law than to allow the tree to be cut down.[3] In this situation, Baṭhoṭh is also not an ordinary village any more, but "the centre of revolutionaries under the leadership of Loṭiyā Jāṭ".[4] In the present-day Śekhāvaṭī region with its completely changed social structure (as Rājasthān witnessed the greatest changes due to abolition of landlordism in 1954; Sharma 1998: 113. 175), stories of brave Rājpūts are now in the shadow of narration of low caste movements like Jāṭs' associations. In their aspiration for political power they are in the process of creating new heroes. Loṭiyā Jāṭ seems to be such a new hero for the Jāṭ farmers of Śekhāvaṭī. It is not surprising then that on the Internet more information can be found about Loṭiyā Jāṭ than about Ḍūṅgjī. The process of diminishing the image of Loṭiyā Jāṭ as a bandit is many-sided and still in the making. There is a page in English on Wikipedia dedicated to this figure.[5] The fact of its existence in the Wikipedia is evidence that the message about the life of Loṭiyā Jāṭ is not addressed to academic scholars, but to a wider audience. A book on this figure was published, as well, in 2000 by Mansukh Ranvā under the very meaningful title *Amar Śahīd Loṭhū Jāṭ* (*Immortal Martyr Lothoo Jat*) (Ranvā 2000). The Jāṭ website (www.jatland.com) relates the recent news about the erection of a statue of Loṭiyā Jāṭ in Baṭhoṭh village in 2013.[6]

To sum up, the figure of a dacoit does not need to have a solely negative connotation in Indian culture. The *Chāvaḷī* poems present the outlaws in a very positive way, especially Rājpūt Ḍūṅgjī and Loṭiyā Jāṭ are depicted as great heroes. In the Śekhāvaṭī region Rājpūts and Jāṭs predominate as the two main communities (Sharma 1998: 81). An overt hostility and rivalry

[3] http://www.thefullwiki.org/Lothoo_Nitharwal.
[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bathot.
[5] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lothoo_Nitharwal.
[6] http://www.jatland.com/home/Bathot.

between these castes particularly in Śekhāvaṭī is legendary. Perhaps, we can draw another conclusion among others, that the image of Ḍūṅgjī and Loṭiyā Jāṭ as characters who act jointly and severally for the good of the poor, immortalised in the *Chāvaḷī* stresses solidarity in the Śekhāvaṭī region.

The *Chāvaḷī* poems not only commemorate the bravery of the highwaymen of that region, but also reveal the important social role of a good villain, a pious outlaw. With the example of Loṭiyā Jāṭ it can be observed that in new circumstances and in new reality of social structure in Śekhāvaṭī also the figure of a dacoit can be assigned to various roles as may be required by the needs of the times or the interests of a dominating group.

## Bibliographic References

Bhatti, H.S. 2000. *Folk Religion. Change and Continuity.* Jaipur, New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Crooke, W., ed., 1993. *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd. (1st published in 1903 by John Murray).

Dās, Śyāmsundar. 1965-1975. *Hindī śabdasāgara*. Kāśī: Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā.

Gupta, R.K. – Bakshi, S.R. (ed.). 2008. *Studies in Indian History. Rajasthan Through The Ages. The Heritage of Rajputs. Rajput Chivalry and Martydrom*, vol. 3. New Delhi: Svarup and Sons.

Hansen, K. 1993. *Grounds for Play. The Nautaṅkī Theatre of North India*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.

Jośī, M. M. – S. Mukhatiār, ed., 1999. *Pañjābī Aṅgrezī koś. Punjabi English Dictionary*. Patiala: Punjabi University.

Lāḷas, S., ed., 1962–1978. *Rājasthānī sabad kos, Rājasthānī-hindī baṛ̔hat koś*. 9 vol. Jodhpur: Caupāsnī Śikṣā Samiti.

Lāḷas, S., ed., 1986. *Rājasthānī-hindī saṁkṣipt śabdakoś*. 2 vol. Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān.

Nāhṭā, K., ed., 2013. "Rājasthānī Gaṅgā. Ḍūṅgjī-Javārjī viśeṣāṅk". Aprel-Disambar no. 2-4.

Nehrā, G. S. 2012. *Rājasthānī bhāṣā aur uskī boliyõ kā svarūpgat citraṇ*. Jaypur: Gautam buk kampanī.
McGregor, R.S., ed., 2012. *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Pahalvān, Śrīkr̥ṣṇ. 1980. *Sultānā ḍākū urf hāy re paisā*. Hāthras: Śrīkr̥ṣṇ Khatrī.
Ranvā, Mansukh 2000. *Amar Śahīd Loṭhū Jāṭ*. Sīkār: Ranvā Prakāśan.
Sahal, K. 1995. *Rājasthānī lok gāthā koś*. Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Sāhitya Saṁsthān.
Śarmā, Gauṛ Nathārām. 1980. *Sultānā ḍākū urf garībõ kā pyārā*. Hāthras: Rādhāvallabh Śarmā Gauṛ.
Sharma, K.L. 1998. *Caste, Feudalism and Peasantry. The Social Formation of Shekhawati*. New Delhi: Manohar.
Śekhāvat Surjansiṁh. 1998. *Rāv Śekhā*. Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Granthāgar

**Web sources**

https://youtu.be/i1q4OmUGGV4.
http://www.thefullwiki.org/Lothoo_Nitharwal.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bathot.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lothoo_Nitharwal.
http://www.jatland.com/home/Bathot.