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MAHARANA PRATAP

SRI RAM SHARMA,

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D. A.-V. College Historical Monographs No. 1.

MAHARANA PRATAP

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD

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MAHARANA SIR BHUPAL SINGH
K. C. S. I., G. C. S. I.
MAHARANA OF UDAIPUR

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FOREWORD

Prof. Sri Ram has written a spirited account of Pratap Singh, the Rana of Mewar, who defied the might of Akbar. Indomitable courage, the protection of his jungles and ravines and the loyal assistance of the Bhils—themselves conquered by his ancestors—enabled the Rana to resist the armies of what was then the most powerful Empire in the world and to scorn an alliance, matrimonial or feudal, with the Great Moghal.

The author hesitates for a moment whether to class this heroic figure with others like Hereward the Wake, who have used some geographical advantage to lead a forlorn hope in refusing to accept inevitable changes. On the whole he concludes that "Pratap was rather a harbinger of organised reaction against the domination of Delhi."

However that may be, the story makes good reading. Colonel Tod was the first to write it in English, and every subsequent account must start with his Annals of Mewar. In doing so, Prof. Sri Ram has by no means followed blindly the lead of that account written a century ago. Rather he has searched

all the sources he could find, whether in Persian or Hindi, and for every point and incident he quotes his authority.

In this way this little book gains in value for the student of history, who is not satisfied with a romantic story, but wishes to know what were the actual facts on which the romance is based and how those facts can be determined. Then only is he in a position to study their general historic importance.

It is more important to stress this point, because it would appear that Indian historians have sometimes started with romances and used them as if they were reliable sources of information. Sometimes a literary fictitious "history" masquerades as a true one.

If the author of a historical novel has made a careful study of his subject, the novel contains much that is true like Kingsley's Hereward the Wake. But no historian would quote Kingsley's book as a source of evidence. When the writer allows his imagination a freer rein, still greater is the danger in regarding a good story as a good history.

Even after a critical study of the evidence Rana Pratap stands out as a valiant figure.

RANA PRATAP.

INTRODUCTORY

The history of Rajputana is a fascinating study ; it abounds in the unusual, the romantic and the chivalrous. With an inhospitable land as their background, the Rajputs—Sisodias and Rathors, Kachhwahas and Bhatis, Chohans and Pramars—raised up a building which gathered around and in it all that was noble. Many have been the pilgrims who were attracted to it, but the corner which has been built by the doughty deeds of the Sisodias has had the largest amount of homage. And there the niche in which Rana Pratap stands has become the holiest of the holy. He stands for all that is usually associated with that romantic word, Rajput, and more. If courage was the distinguishing badge of the Rajputs, Pratap had more than his share of it ; if unflinching resolution and indomitable will ever made a hero of a man, Pratap was one. If ever a man fought against fearful odds and pulled through them, it was he. Men have shrank back from the very thought of adversity ; Rana Pratap, a prince among

men, invited it. Comfort and luxury have been hugged by thousands of this world's heroes; Pratap scorned them when they had to be bought at the cost of his independence. Persia and England, Baghdad and Arabia felt honoured in sending costly embassies to the court of the Great Mughul, but Pratap was content with sending his word of defiance. And the result? "There is not a pass in the Alpine Aravalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratap, some brilliant victory or more glorious defeat." Generations of Rajputs have sworn by his name and the deeds with which he made every corner of the Mughul Empire ring. What a sight it must have been, Pratap against the might of Akbar! Wherever his language is spoken, Pratap's is a name to rouse the disheartened. But why Rajputs alone? In the collective memory of the Hindus he has got a place along with Shivaji and Ranjit Singh; and along with them he proved that not even centuries of Mohāmmadan domination could kill the spirit out of a proud race.

✓ And yet he had very poor chronicles to record his brave deeds. Tradition has preserved many fine couplets to commemorate his warlike adventures; local memory yet retains

his association with many places in Mewar. But inspite of all this, of a connected contemporary history of his times, we have not yet found a trace. It is surprising and may even be considered startling, that not many bards thought it fit to adorn their verse by the heroic exploits of this sturdy champion of Mewar. They may have been drawn away to the more splendid court of his imperial rival, Akbar. But what a difference does it make to us ! Court painters of the day, of course, transferred to their canvas his heroic stand at Haldi Ghat, yet not a single chronicler thought it fit to give us a word picture of the ups and downs of that Thermopylae of Rajasthan.¹ The fact is to be regretted, and yet the loss is to be made good from other sources.

The following pages make an attempt at a continuous story of Rana Pratap's life. I have no wish to invite comparison with that priceless treasure of Rajput historical traditions, Tod's Rajasthan. Yet without being presumptuous, I hazard the statement that Tod's work needs a thorough revision which unfortunately was not undertaken even by his latest editor. Elsewhere, I have pointed out the

1. A few stanzas have been rescued and preserved in Maharana Yash Parkash.

urgent need of revising many of his conclusions and statements;¹ this is no place to dilate upon that. My obligations to Tod are immense, yet I have not hesitated to differ from him where more reliable evidence of Persian chroniclers, Rajput writers, local traditions, and contemporary records was forthcoming.² This is a pioneer attempt at co-ordinating these conflicting authorities without any prepossessions and should be judged as such. All sources of information—English, Persian, Rajput, Sanskrit, Hindi and even Urdu—have been tapped. Written chronicles, inscriptions, local traditions, bardic tales, royal histories, travellers' impressions (not their tales), have all been examined with a view to arriving at a just estimate of men and things with which this short monograph deals. An attempt has also been made to dive beneath the surface, to look for motives and impulses, to connect cause and effect and thus try to present an intelligent account of the chequered career of this great hero.

1. A Forgotten Hero of Marwar; J. A. S. B. Vol XXI No. 1, p. 97.

2. M. M. Pandit Gori Shankar H. Ojha's monumental and valuable history of Rajputana has as yet reached its third volume only and the story of Mewar even has not yet been completed. The bulk of this monograph had been written before Ojha's third volume dealing with Pratap was published. My indebtedness to his work is immense however.

The story of Rana Pratap is one of which any nation may well be proud. This attempt to preserve his memory may not, and probably does not, do full justice to his personality. We would ask the reader's indulgence for the poverty of the treatment on the strength of the nobility of the theme treated.

I am very much obliged to A. C. Woolner, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B., Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab, for his kindly going through the MS. suggesting improvements, and contributing the Foreword. *

I have further to thank M. M. Rai Bahadur Pt. Gorishankar Ojha who very kindly read the MS. I am indebted to him for several corrections and suggestions.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

CHAPTER I. EARLY HISTORY.

The traditional history of Mewar under the present dynasty began in 728 A.D.¹ when Kalbhoj Bapa expelled the Mori prince from Chitor and possessed himself of the state. Of Bapa and his exploits tradition has preserved many memories. They are necessarily dim and confusing and it is difficult to present a historical picture of this progenitor of the Sisodias. He is reputed to have stemmed the tide of Mohammadan invasion of India when Mohammad-bin-Qasim after conquering Sind started eastward. Mohammad was defeated, and thus the rest of the country was saved from falling into the hands of the Muslims. He resigned power in 754 A.D.,² and was succeeded by a race of brave warriors. When Shahab-ud-Din invaded India in 1191, Sumer Singh, who is alleged to have married a sister of Prithvi Raj, is said to have been reigning at Chitor and proved Prithvi Raj's³ staunch ally. Eighth in descent

1. Tod, new edition vol. I, p. 285; Vaidya II, p.75.

2. एक लिंग महात्म्य Chapter 22, verses 21, 24.

3. cf. The Bajsamund Inscription written in 1722 A.V. or 1665 A.D.

from Sumer Singh was Rana Ratan Singh, the royal spouse of Padamani, whose annals have a romantic hallow thrown over them by the story of the first sack of Chitor and the determined opposition with which Bhim Sen, his Commander-in-Chief, met the attack of Ala-ud-Din.¹ Of Padamani's exploits it is needless to say much. She set the fashion which was later on followed by every Rajput princess, of daring the flames do their worst rather than allow themselves to fall into the hands of their Muslim conquerors. The conquest of Chitor by Ala-ud-Din in 1296 marked the end of the first stage of the history of Mewar during which its rulers had enjoyed a sturdy independence. It also began the second and the more eventful period of a strife, never decided, yet never ending, between Mewar and Delhi which dyed the history of this state deep in the blood of its heroic defenders.

Chitor was under a Mohammadan and the thought was too much for its brave rulers. And then rose Hamir Singh (1301 to 1364 A.D.) to avenge this insult to the might of the Sisodias. He expelled the Rajput governor whom the

1. Farishta, Persian text, p. 115 ; Briggs I, pp. 853, 854 ; Amin Khusru in Tarikh Allahi in Elliot, Vol. III, 76.

Khilji had put in at Chitor and lived to wage a successful war against Mohammad Tughlaq when he tried to win back Mewar¹ for Delhi. Mohammad was defeated and made a prisoner. He was only released when he had surrendered Ajmer, Ranthambor, and Nagaur to his victorious captor. Hamir lived to be recognized as the sovereign lord of all the Rajput princes of Rajasthan. Equally great was Rana Kumbha whose Pillar of Victory still records his triumph over Mahmud, king of Malwa.

But the most famous of Pratap's ancestors was his grandfather, Rana Sangram Singh (1509 to 1528). Not content with an easily acquired sovereignty over the whole of Rajputana and Central India, he was maturing designs upon the throne of Delhi as well. In early youth he had been deprived of his patrimony, yet living through all the vicissitudes of an exile's life, he succeeded in making himself the lord and master of Mewar on May 24, 1509. Then began his victorious career. In a few years he became the overlord of all the territories which owned the Rajputs as their masters.

He defeated Sultan Mahmud of Malwa and

1. Inscription on the temple of Mahavir Swami in Chitor, (dated 1438 A.D.) J.A.S.B. Vol. 28, p. 50.

made him a prisoner¹. Rajput rulers felt honoured in following in his train whenever his hosts moved out. He was in reality the lion of the battlefield which was his sporting ground. The god of war was always favourably inclined towards him and besides a rich harvest of victories endowed him with eighty scars as an especial mark of his favour. He lost one hand, an eye, and a leg in battle. Yet this so well marked a man always lived to inspire his Rajput followers with a courage and an enthusiasm which his heroic struggles, his personal bravery, exacted all but too easily.

The throne of Delhi was at this time filled unworthily by Ibrahim Lodi, the last degenerate specimen of a tribe that had done great deeds. Sanga defeated him at Khatali ($75^{\circ} 55' E.$ $25^{\circ} 26' N.$) in 1517 and again in 1518 conquered Chanderi². Weakened otherwise as well, the sceptre of sovereignty all but shock in his hands and his turbulent Pathan chiefs were getting restive under his effeminate yet proud sway. A march on Delhi by the unaided arms of a Rajput warrior would have been resisted

1. Babur Nama, II, 341, 343.

2. Babur Nama, II, 323.

Tarikh-i-Salatin Afghania in Elliot, V. 19 ; Tarikh-i-Daudi in Elliot, V. 12 note.

probably by the united efforts of all the Moham-madan states. Delhi was a sign and an emblem ; sign of Allah's favour to the believers and the emblem of Mohammadan domination over India. Sanga resolved to wait for somebody else from outside to give the first rude shaking to this crumbling empire before he could himself throw down the gauntlet. A man—as brave as Sanga himself—came ready to his hands.

Babur had felt the lure of India very early in his career and the growing discontent among the Pathan nobles at last gave him his chance in 1526. At the battle of Panipat, Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and with this defeat the old system of the domination of India by aliens holding her by their military camps almost came to an end. Babur had come to conquer but stayed to rule. There is nothing improbable in the Rajput tradition that Babur had been invited by Sanga among others¹. But Rana Sangram Singh had counted without his host. Babur was not a Timur to sweep through the country and depart ! He decided to make India his home—in exile. But though the Lodis had lost the game, there were the Rajputs under Sanga ready to dispute Babur's right to stay in India. And now

1. Babur Nama, II, 254.

the Greek met the Greek and there was the clash of war!

Babur had never been easily daunted. Yet this mighty challenge to his as yet scarcely founded dominion perturbed him. The craven fears of his followers, the prognostications of the astronomer, Babur's heroic sacrifice of his love of wine all show conclusively that more than anywhere else Babur recognized here the crisis of his life. At last he succeeded in persuading his followers to meet Sanga's Rajputs and fight for the throne of India; for Sangram Singh's victory would undoubtedly have established Hindu dominion ~~in~~ Imperial Delhi.

The battle of Khanua ($27^{\circ} 2'N.$ $77^{\circ} 33'E$) that followed was in the main like so many decisive battles of medieval India. Rajput courage was matched with Mughal organization, Sanga's generalship had a worthy antagonist in Babur's indomitable will. Then came the usual tale of a perfidious Rajput chief going over to the Mughals when Babur's stratagem had beguiled the Rajputs into the belief that the Muslim armies were running away. Babur's linked guns played havoc and Rana Sanga was at last defeated on March 17, 1527. Babur's title to the empire of India was confirmed, the

Mughul Empire in India received its baptism of fire and disheartened Rana Sanga retired to his own country, though only to die on January 30, 1528. Thus ended the first great attempt at establishing a Hindu empire in Medieval India.

Sanga's death was followed by a more than usual tale of anarchy and intrigue. Ratan Singh who followed him, and Vikramajit and Banbir who came after, were never able to establish themselves well on the throne of Mewar. And when at last Udai Singh succeeded to his father's title in 1537, he also sat uneasily in that place. He did not inherit any of the qualities that had made Rana Sanga a leader of men. He was indolent, ease-loving, and shirked responsibility. Yet enough of Sisodia blood ran warmly in his veins to make him desist from succumbing to Akbar's blandishments. One of his minor sons, Shakti Singh had found his way to the imperial court, yet apparently this had not appeased Akbar's ambition¹. An attack on Mewar was at last decided on and the imperial armies marched on Chitor, that citadel of Rajput heroism. Udai Singh hastily gave up the command of the fort to Rao Jaimal Rathor of Merta and himself left

1. Akbar Nama, II, 302.

for a mountainous retreat in the far-off hills. Then occurred the third, and fortunately the last, sack of Chitor.[✓] Akbar's patience had been tired out by the long drawn-out struggle which a handful of Rajputs had dared to organize against his imperial ambition, and when the fort fell on February 24, 1568, he gave orders for a general massacre¹. The tradition has it that the number of slain was so great that their sacred threads weighed 74 $\frac{1}{4}$, maunds of 8 seers each.

The heroic defenders of Chitor were dead now and Udai Singh had retired to his new city of Udaipur built some years before. But after this crushing defeat he had not many years to live and died on March 3, 1572² at Gogunda³ about 19 miles northwest of Udaipur.

✓ Udai Singh's reign was an unfortunate episode in the history of Mewar. Rana Sanga had left no successor worthy of his name and able to contend against the might of the Mughal Empire which was to be consolidated under Akbar. Udai Singh had not been able to husband his resources and had frittered away his energies uselessly. Not only had Mewar

1. Akbar Nama, II, 323.

2. Nensi, 1, p.61; Phalgun Shudi 15, 1629 A.V.

73°32' E, 24°46'N.

lost the proud position she had acquired under Sanga, but her original native splendour had been bartered away as well. To his successor, Udai Singh bequeathed an all but vanished dominion, the enmity of mighty Akbar yet an untarnished name.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION TO THE THRONE.

Unfortunate in his life, Udai Singh was unwise at his death. Husband of twenty-five royal consorts, he was father of more than a score of legitimate sons.¹ Of them Pratap, born on May 9, 1540, was the eldest.² He had never been known to have incurred the displeasure of his father in his life-time; yet Udai Singh exercising his father's right to disinherit a son and his sovereign's prerogative of determining the line of succession,³ willed that Jagmal, his second son, from his favourite wife, should succeed him to the exclusion of Pratap.⁴ This departure from the strict line of succession was unfortunate and it might have proved fatal as well. Jagmal was not known to possess any overwhelming virtues; Pratap had so far done nothing to merit disinheritance. It was clearly an invitation to civil war in Mewar and as subsequent events

1. Neusi I, 61 to 65.

2. Nensi, I, 68 : Jyeshta Shudi 3,1597

3. Ch. System of Administration in Marwar by the present writer in *Calcutta Review*. February, 1925.

4. Nensi I. P. 62.

proved this supersession of Pratap would have been supremely unwise.

'In Mewar there is no interregnum. 'The king is dead, long live the king' is the usual custom. Udai Singh's death had to be followed immediately by the installation of his successor; all mourning was to be performed at the house of the *Purohita*. ✓ It is by the orders of his successor that the late ruler's body is borne to the cremation ground. For once, however, there was a deviation from the ordinary practice, probably because now there was no question of the usual costly ceremonies and attendant functions. The body of Udai Singh was taken to the cremation ground and there the absence of Jagmal was noticed. The chiefs were now informed of Rana Udai Singh's decision to allow Jagmal to succeed and this came as thunderbolt upon them. Some of them resented it as a personal insult because they had not been consulted.

An intrigue to right this wrong followed. The decision of Udai Singh was so manifestly unjust that Jagmal did not find supporters enough to risk an open challenge. The flower of Mewar's Chiefs were with Pratap. Rao Akhai Raja of Jhalor, Pratap's maternal uncle took the lead and after consulting Rawat Kishan Dass

Rawat Sanga, and Raja Ram Parshad, the deposed ruler of Gwalior, he decided on a *coupé de main*.¹ They presented themselves in the court, and there they made Jagmal vacate his royal seat and motioned him to the seat opposite reserved for the royal princes. Jagmal dared not disobey this all but peremptory demand and scowling took his seat as asked. But the throne was now vacant. In the bustle of the moment Pratap's absence had not been marked. He was now fetched from outside his quarters where he was busy saddling his horse in preparation for leaving the land which needed him no more. With all the usual ceremonies Pratap was now proclaimed Rana, the chiefs paid in their customary *nasrana*, and the sky resounded with the cries of Pratap ro Jai, victory to Pratap.

The ease with which Udai Singh's blunder had been undone inclines us to believe that apart from his natural right to rule as the eldest son Pratap may have had other things as well to recommend his succession. Of course, the future career of Jagmal and Pratap amply justified the unstinted support which Pratap's claim enlisted

1. Nensi, I, 62, only mentions Kishan Dass of Solambra as the chief actor in this drama. Vir Vinod, Vol. II, p. 135 of D.A.V. College transcript, supplies the rest of the information.

from all sides Jagmal left Mewar immediately and hastened to the Mughal Governor of Ajmer to lay his grievance before him. The Governor was only too glad to provide refuge to this claimant to Mewar. At a suitable opportunity Jagmal presented himself before Akbar, that universal dispenser of favours, who gave him 'Jahajpur' * (in modern Mewar) as a jagir.¹ Later on in 1581 Jagmal was appointed to be the ruler of Sarohi in succession to his father-in-law, the late Rao Man Singh. There on October 17, 1583, he met his death in the famous battle of Dattani (on Mount Abu) fighting against Rao Surtan, the nominee of his father-in-law and a rebel against imperial authority.²

Was it then unfair that the Sisodias should not have allowed such a prince to tarnish the fair name of Mewar? Udai Singh had done mischief enough already in leaving the defence of Chitor in the hands of a Rathor chief in 1568. They did not want a repetition of the same scandal. But what strikes us as rather suspicious is the absence of any mention of Pratap and his exploits before 1572 in the Rajput chronicles

* $95^{\circ}17'$; $25^{\circ}87'$ N.

1. Vir Vinod, II, 189.

2. Nensi, p. 62.

except a solitary victory against the Chohans¹. Pratap was 33 years of age when he succeeded his father. At the last sack of Chitor he was twenty nine, yet we do not hear of him at the defence, though we would like to suppose that he was there among the defenders. Yet the fact that the defence was carried on first by Jaimal Rathor and then by Fatah Singh Sisodia proves conclusively that there was no princely Sisodia to hearten the brave defenders. Where was Pratap? Probably as the heir-apparent it was thought too dangerous for him to stay in Chitor leading a forlorn hope. Of any other earlier exploits of Pratap also we are ignorant, yet the peaceful expulsion of Jagmal leaves us in no doubt that Pratap had already made a name for himself.

The accession fell on the *Holiday* sacred to the royal hunt in Mewar. It was already late in the day, but after the exciting turns of fortune Pratap was not inclined to miss this auspicious beginning of his reign by the hunt. He asked his followers to get ready for the game and when they came back in the evening they had their fill of it. As things were then understood this was a very good omen.

1. Udaipur. (MS.), 42 (a).

EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION

All this had happened at Gogunda.

Pratap now left it for Kumbalgarh¹ there to celebrate his coronation. The news of Udai Singh's death had now spread and at Pratap's coronation was present Rao Chander Sen of Jodhpur² who had vowed eternal enmity against Akbar. One of Chander Sen's daughters had been married to Rana Udai Singh, but his presence excited more than usual interest and meant much more than a formal visit of ceremony. Chander Sen was an incarnation of the Rajput spirit of resistance seen in a Rathor and an understanding between Pratap and Chander Sen, an alliance between Rathors and Sisodias, would have brought about a very considerable change in the Rajput politics of the day. That Akbar was alive to this significance of the event was shortly made clear when, in going to Gujerat, Akbar took special pains to station a reserve of forces at Jodhpur and Idar.³ Thus were Akbar and Pratap brought face to face; thus did Rajput particularism come in clash with imperial ambition of Akbar. What this meant for Pratap

1. 79°33' E., 26°9'N.

2. *A Forgotten Hero of Marwar* by the present writer, J. A.S.B.
Vol XXI, p. 97.

3. *Akbar Nama*, III, 51.

Badayuni, II, 40.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Elliot V, 341.

we shall see in the next chapter. Let us remember here that accession to the throne of Mewar at this time was not a bed of roses, but that it was hard and stern responsibility which had thus devolved upon the shoulders of Pratap. How well he was to discharge this trust we shall soon see.

CHAPTER III. INDIA IN 1572.

The Alternatives before Pratap.

In an earlier chapter we saw how Sanga's dream of a Rajput empire in India was shattered at the battle of Biana. Babur did not live to consolidate the conquests that he had made, nor was it given to his son Humayun to succeed in that direction. Humayun was generous to a fault and in those turbulent times he was not fitted to keep an empire under his control. Coupled with this came the treachery of his brothers and when Sher Shah challenged the imperial sway in Bengal, the last blow had come. The battle of Kannauj on June 23, 1539, saw Humayun a fugitive and, after wandering through the deserts of Rajputana and Sind, he had to seek hospitality in Persia. Here he nursed his wrongs for some time, and then expelled his brothers from Kabul and Kandhar. Soon after he felt himself strong enough to risk the field against the Afghans in India, more particularly because of the dissen-

sions which were rending apart the different Sur factions. In November, 1554, he attacked India.

Once more it was a Hindu, this time a *bania*, from whose hands Humayun tried to wrest the sceptre of government which had all but slipped through Sur fingers. At Sirhind he defeated Sikandar Shah Suri on June 19, 1556, but the call of prayers one evening came to him as a call of death and he expired in Delhi on January 27, 1556.

His son Akbar succeeded him and had to fight hard for the empire of Hindustan—a task but half done by Humayun. Hemu, who had from a shopkeeper risen to be the Commander-in-Chief of Adil Shah and now the virtual master of the Doab, disputed his title to the imperial throne of Delhi. He was not the contemptuous figure that Mohammadan historians would have us believe; a general who could make Humayun's veterans think of their distant homes must have acquired fame enough¹. At the battle of Panipat, on Novem-

1. Hemu was born at Macheri (near Raj Garh in Alwar). He belonged to the Dhusar tribe of the Aggarwals. He set up as a shopkeeper at Rewari selling saltpetre. He acquired the position of the government chaudhri under Salim Shah. He seems to have been an honest taskmaster which, coupled

(Continued on the next page)

ber 5, 1556, however, this second attempt at establishing a Hindu empire in India failed and Akbar was secure on the throne of Delhi, thanks to Bairam Khan. For some time till 1559, Bairam Khan held the reins of government tightly in his hands. Then at Talwara (in the district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab) Bairam Khan surrendered to Akbar's rising ambition. A period of petticoat government followed from which Akbar freed himself in 1564. Now he was Emperor at last.

The problem of governing India as it struck Akbar was two-fold. On the one hand there was the question of conquering the larger part of India and consolidating that conquest.

(Continued from the last page.)

with his business capacity, brought him to the notice of Salim Shah who gave him some minor job in the government. At Salim's death and Adil Shah Suri's accession, Hemu rose to high power. He became his prime minister and commander-in-chief. He defeated Mohammad Khan Suri, Governor of Bengal, at Cappasghata where he was killed. He further defeated other competitors of Adil Shah and at last made him the undisputed master of India.

'He did great deeds such as men could not conceive.' Always sick and suffering and carried on an elephant's back, he was yet able to defeat Sultan Mohammad, King of Bengal, again. He fought twenty-two battles against Adil Shah's opponents and was successful in all of them. He took the title of Raja and called himself Vikramajit.

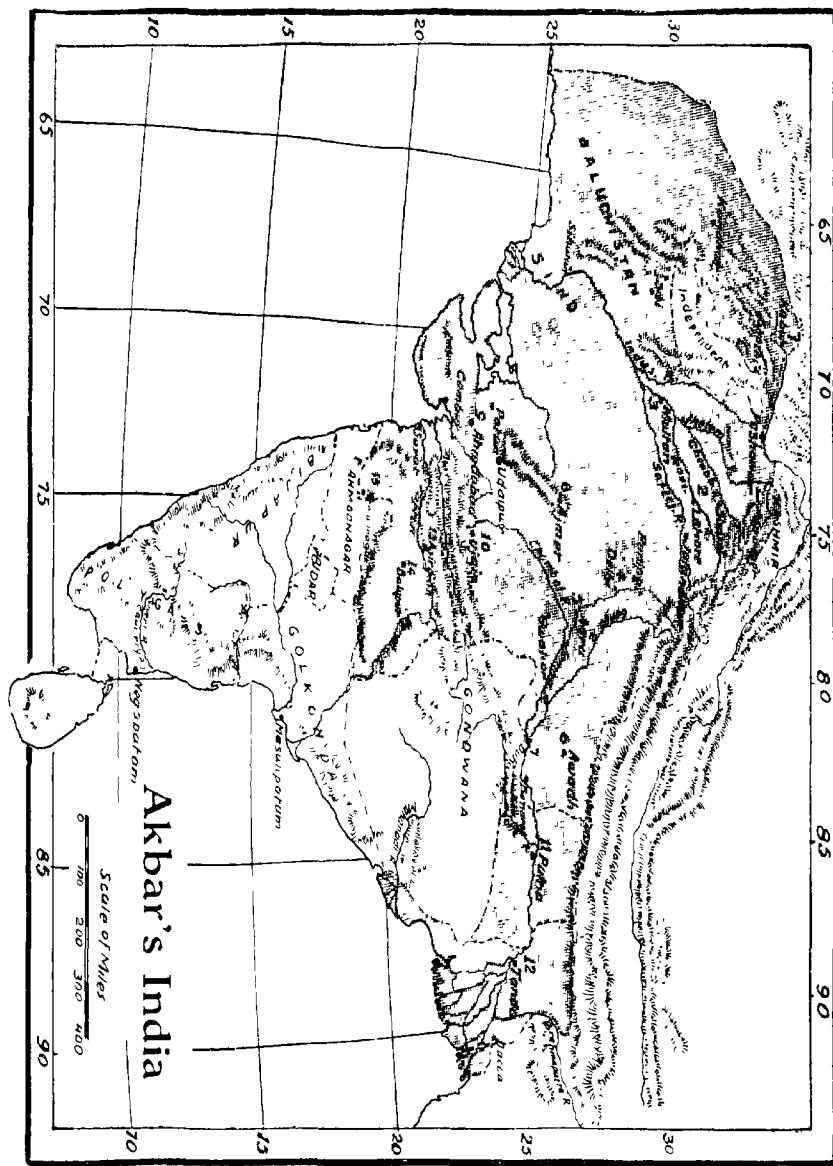
On the other, some method of governing India, apart from the Mohammadan theocratic ideal of government, had to be discovered. If the second presupposed a conquest of India, the consolidation of power depended upon the policy that Akbar would adopt for the government of this vast territory. The system of military camps, indeed, could not last indefinitely. The Imperial throne had to be set on something less shaky than the Muslim ideal of government in a predominantly non-Muslim country where there was no prospect of converting the non-believers to the Faith.

These two problems Akbar set out to solve and soon found out a solution. He wisely decided so to enlarge the personnel of government as to allow the inclusion of a large number of non-Mohammadans. He went further by sanctioning and countenancing practices which were either extra-Mohammadan or non-Mohammadan. He abolished the humiliating distinctions between his Hindu and Mohammadan subjects. His system of Mansibdars was wide enough to include Hindus and of 415 Mansibdars of the rank of commanders of 500 horse and more mentioned in the Ain-i-

Akbari, 56 were Hindus¹. But these included Raja Todar Mal, and such famous generals as Raja Bhagwan Dass, Raja Man Singh and Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner. By offering lenient terms to the conquered, by allowing them, in the case of Rajputs, to retain their territories as a fief from the Imperial Government and by other generous measures, he made it easier for his opponents to submit to such a magnanimous foe.

By these methods and with the help of his brave generals, by 1572, Akbar had conquered a large part of India. The defeat of Sikandar had given him the Punjab alone ; the battle of Panipat in 1556 put the Doab at his disposal ; in 1557 Mewat and Alwar fell ; Jammu was conquered and occupied in 1558 ; while Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior was dispossessed in 1559. Malwa had to be conquered twice from Baz Bahadur of Rupmati fame. Gujerat followed in the wake of the conquest of Malwa and Muzaffar Shah wandered a fugitive.

Among the Rajputs the first to feel the imperial heel on his neck was Rao Maldev of Jodhpur who lost Ajmer, Nagaur ($73^{\circ} 44' E$;



MAHARANA PRATAP

27° 12' N.) and Jetaran¹ to Imperial commanders in 1558. The first to submit was Raja Bhar Mal of Amber (modern Jaipur) who came to pay his respects as early as 1556². In 1562 Akbar married a daughter of Raja Bhar Mal who became the mother of Salim³. In 1564 Rao Chander Sen of Jodhpur was finally expelled from his territories and took refuge in the friendly mountains of Shiyana⁴. Four years later the reduction of Mewar was taken in hand and after a trying siege of some months Chitor fell on February 24, 1568⁵. As explained already, this meant the occupation of the larger part of the plains of Mewar. In 1569 Bundi fell before the imperial assaults and on March 24, 1569, Rao Surjan handed over the fort of Ranthabor⁶ to the Emperor in person. In November 1570, Rao Chander Sen of Jodhpur, Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner, and Rao Udai Singh Rathor, the exiled and disinherited brother of Chander Sen, paid their respects to the imperial presence at Nagaur and of these three, two confirmed their

1. Akbar Nama, II 46.
2. Maa Sir-ul-Umra, II, p. 112.
3. Maa Sir-ul-Umra, II, p. 113.
4. Akbar Nama, II, 197.
5. Akbar Nama, II, 320.
6. Akbar Nama, II, p. 338;

submission by matrimonial alliances. A princess from Bikaner, Rao Kalyan Mal's niece, entered the Imperial harem, while Udai Singh would offer only the hand of Rukma Bai, a daughter of Rao Maldev through a maid Tipu.¹ He surrendered Phalodi in the north-east of Jodhpur to the imperial command.

This was followed by the submission of Jesalmer where Rawal Har Raj sent his daughter, who had been previously affianced to Rana Udai Singh of Mewar, to Akbar through the mediation of Raja Bhagwan Dass.² In 1572 came the turn of Sarohi and an attack on Khan Kalan by a stray Rajput from Sarohi furnished a pretext for an invasion. Unable to fight the imperial forces, the Rajputs left the plains to their enemies and themselves hastened to the friendly shelter of their mountains³. When Pratap succeeded to the throne of Mewar, Jagmal, as explained above, sought favour at the Court of Delhi and entered the Imperial service.

This was not all. Akbar's fame had spread far and wide to countries outside India and foreign potentates were only too glad to have

1. A Forgotten Hero of Marwar, as cited before, *Kaviraj* (MS) p. 42, Nensi (Jodhpur), p. 128

2. *Akbar Nama*, II, p. 358, 359.

3. *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 4, 5.

their embassies accepted and honoured by him. From far off Persia and Turan¹ the representatives of far older dynasties had hastened to pay their respects to this rising sun in the east.

And Akbar had well earned all these conquests and honours. He had organised his army and civil administration so well as to leave everything so far done far behind. He had a standing army of 25,000 soldiers while the contingents of Mansibdars would swell it to any numbers. Moreover, the reforms he had introduced in it made his army a very effective weapon. It had not yet become effete as were the armies of Aurangzeb. The resources of the empire, moreover, were being well husbanded. In 1593 his revenues were to reach the colossal figure £32, 000,000² which, considering the value of money in those days, represents much more than appears at first sight. Of course, we must make some allowance for the expansion of the empire and for the better organization of the land revenue department between the years 1572 and 1593, but making all allowances it seems that Akbar's resources at this time were much greater than those of any previous king.

1. Akbar Nama, II, p. 368.

2. Thomas : Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, p. 54.

Thus, when Pratap assumed the position of the Rana of Mewar, the larger part of India and almost the whole of Northern India acknowledged Akbar as its sovereign and master. From Kamrup to Ahmedabad, from Kashmir to Gwalior and Khandesh, almost every square inch of territory owed allegiance to this mighty ruler. Of the Rajput rulers, the Rathors of Jodhpur and Bikaner, the Bhatis of Jesalmer, the Kachhwahas of Jaipur, the Deoras of Sarohi, the Sisodias of Mewar, the Hadas of Bundi, had all been made to feel the presence of this Great Ruler on the throne of Delhi. All these states except Mewar, Bundi and Sarohi confirmed their submission to the Emperor by matrimonial alliances. There were only two Rajput chiefs, Rao Chander Sen of Jodhpur, and Rao Surtan of Sarohi who were holding out against Akbar at this time but their possessions had dwindled down almost to nothing. What was Pratap to do? Was he to throw in his lot with the majority of his tribe and bow submission to Akbar? Or, was he to adopt the path of a rebel against the Imperial authority and join Rao Surtan and Rao Chander Sen? Before we can answer this question it is necessary to look at these alternatives rather closely.

The Rajput chiefs who had submitted to

Akbar had to surrender their possessions to the Emperor, and receive them back as a jagir for the Mansib to which they were appointed¹. Their territories might be augmented following upon a rise in their Mansib, their position in the hierarchy of imperial officials. Sometimes there was a decrease in their territories consequent upon a reduction in their commands. Of course, the Emperor always took care to leave the homelands of different Rajput tribes in the possession of their chiefs. Yet the fact of the matter was that these chiefs were no better than hereditary Jagirdars. They maintained their representatives at the courts of the provincial governors and the Emperor. Their armies were at the beck and call of the Imperial government. There was sometimes interference in the internal affairs of the state as well by the Emperor or less frequently by the provincial governors, and never was such interference represented as useless or impertinent meddling. Akbar's usual policy was to keep these chiefs occupied either in distant expeditions or to keep them dangling about his own person. They were to be in their own states as seldom as

1. System of Administration in Marwar by the present writer,
Calcutta Review: February, 1925.

possible and by making the commands entrusted to them commensurate with their traditions and powers Akbar was able to make these chiefs forget their exile. It was essential for a chief who submitted, either to be present at the Imperial court himself or to keep his eldest son in attendance on the emperor. In these various ways did Akbar make these proud Rajputs remember their places. But this was done in a most significant manner in deciding questions of inheritance. As said above, these states were hereditary Jagirs. But the Mughal system of administration did not recognize any hereditary office in theory. Whenever a Raja died, his heir and successor was given an Imperial Sanad granting his father's or predecessor's homelands to him along with any augmentation to or reduction from the additional territories that might have been granted to him. But it was not merely formal. The usual custom became that whenever a Raja died, Akbar would pay his successor a visit of mourning and give him a robe of honour, if the heir be at court. This would be followed by a Sanad of accession granting him the Jagir. If the heir be not present at court this would be done by an imperial representative of rank. The continuance of the

Jagir and the holding of a Mansib was contingent on receiving these imperial letters of authority. Naturally this put a good deal of power in Akbar's hands. He could put difficulties in the way of a successor if he was not acceptable to him. Sometimes Akbar did, though after 1572, alter the succession or sanctioned alteration from the strict line of succession. Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur was, in 1595, succeeded by his sixth son, Sur Singh. Thus it is clear that the Rajput chiefs did not occupy a very happy position; their lands were Imperial Jagirs in theory, they were liable to be tossed from place to place by Imperial orders, their armies and strength were at the command of the Emperor, if he liked the emperor could change the line of succession.

Along with all this came another unwritten injunction. Almost every prince who had submitted had made the path of imperial forgiveness easy by matrimonial alliance with Akbar or one of the royal princes. Thus Jesalmer, Bikaner, Jaipur had all pocketed their traditional pride and given princely daughters of their houses to Akbar. Jodhpur had so far done a little better, here a daughter of the late Rao Maldev from a naid had been married to Akbar, but soon after

it was to follow its sister states by marrying Manavati (Jodha Bai) to Salim. It had thus become a customary sign of submission to get connected with the Imperial family by marriage. These matrimonial alliances played a great part in shaping Akbar's pro-Hindu policy and were a part of the great scheme by which Akbar was to declare to all and sundry that here in India he was the king and Emperor of all, Hindus and Muslims alike, and as fortune would have it, of a much larger number of Hindus at that. There is no need to get behind the obvious and fish for other less honourable motives for these attempts of Akbar. But the Rajput suspicion that they were thus lowering themselves was also well founded. In the medieval world government was a matter of personalities. Was there any guarantee that the system of a secular government which Akbar had adopted in defiance of theocratic injunctions would be allowed to continue? It had no institutional basis and depended upon the circumstances of the times. As a matter of historical fact it did not survive Akbar's death even by half a century. Was it politic or wise, Rajput princes might well have argued, though hopelessly, to give up principles, not of a lifetime or of a generation but of centu-

ries, for the idiosyncracies, however well intentioned, even of an Emperor? As we have said, it was a hopeless argument and most of the Rajput princes could not survive the trial. Yet Rajput objection to these matrimonial alliances remained.

Rajput tradition asserts that Akbar made a proposal to give Imperial Princesses in marriage to Rajput princes because he declared that in India there was not enough of blue blood among Mohammadans to allow the Emperor to marry them.¹ The Rajputs it is asserted feared that if they allowed Muslim princesses to get into their families they would have to relax their principles of cast exclusiveness. They accepted, therefore, the second half of the proposal to marry their own daughters into the Imperial family! More likely, this is a myth invented by the family bards to cover the shame of these alliances, but the presence of this excuse proves that an excuse was felt to be necessary.

Colonel Tod was responsible for spreading the belief that submission to Akbar meant the necessity of the Rajput princesses going to Mina Bazar.² This also they might have resented,

1. Vir Vinod, II, P. 155.

2. Tod, II, p. 383.

but it seems that Mina Bazar was not instituted as yet. Of course, the putting up with minor indignities, that was what they seemed to the Rajputs, such as mounting guard on the imperial camp, keeping standing when in court, and hushing their drums might have galled the proud spirit of the Rajputs, but as in the case of Hadas of Bundi, a chieftain could contract out of these smaller services.¹

This was then what was required of Pratap. He was to surrender Mewar and receive it back as an Imperial Jagir; he was to present himself at the Imperial court or to keep his eldest son there, one of the princesses of the royal house of Mewar was to be given into the Imperial family; in a word he was to surrender the independence of his house to the upstarts of yesterday, and sacrifice his principles. In return for this, every honour would have been showered on him, as it was on his grandson Karana, he might well have become the first Mansibdar in the land. He would have had a princely time of it and assuredly would have been exempted from personal attendance at the imperial court. Mewar would have once more become the wealthy land that it had once been, her sons

1. Tod, p. 382,383.

would have ranked inferior to none among the Mughal courtiers and reared in the lap of luxury, they might have enjoyed themselves.

And the alternative? Nothing more sweet, nor more tempting than wandering like the hunted doe on her homelands; yet with the consciousness that he had upheld traditions of centuries, that the grandson of Sanga, like his sire, had not bowed his head to the rising star, that independence could be nursed even in a cottage. What Pratap's choice was to be we shall study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRIAL

Pratap's accession to the throne complicated the problem of Rajputana politics for Akbar. In a previous chapter we saw how the presence of Chander Sen of Jodhpur portended stormy days for imperial armies in Rajputana. What was Akbar to do in the circumstances ? Chitor was in his hands and so was the larger part of Mewar. He had done his best to introduce ordered government in those tracts. The land had been measured and its revenue assessed. It was divided into 24 districts and its revenue was put at Rs. 7,51,191. Whether this amount was ever realized we cannot definitely say. What is so very interesting in the account that has come down to us in the *Ain* is the large amount of land that had been endowed for religious purposes. Akbar had tried hard to do his work of reconstruction and had even renamed Mohan and Rampura, two districts in the state, as Islampur.¹ That even then it had not been

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 273, 274.

possible for him to gain access to all parts of the country is clear from the fact that out of 24 districts, 7 had not been measured even when the Ain was written. It seems that he had tried to colonize the districts of Budhnor, Khulia, Bavebra, Pur and Bhimsrovar with Muslim immigrants as is clear from the fact that the religious endowments were only made in these districts.

There was however no hurry in dealing with this new problem. Just then Akbar was busy preparing an expedition to Gujarat and he saw no reason to deviate from his path. Yet the way to Gujarat led through Rajput territories and part of it passed through Mewar. Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner, son of the reigning Raja Kalyan Mal, was sent to Jodhpur to keep the way clear for the imperial armies. It was felt that the situation warranted special precaution and accordingly orders were issued to all and sundry imperial officials of the neighbourhood to help Rai Singh if and when the situation demanded. Rana Pratap could have cut off the imperial line of communication, it was feared, unless special precautions were taken and the measures taken by Akbar clearly indicated that he had fully gauged the strength

of his antagonist.¹ Pratap made a bold bid for the assertion of the old Sisodia prerogative at this time, when following a civil war in Sarohi he nominated his maternal nephew, Kalla, as the Rao of Sarohi.² This must have looked an outrageous affront to Akbar who thought making capital of local disturbances was his own speciality. It was this probably that led Raja Man Singh who accompanied the expedition to Gujarat to try to open negotiations with Pratap. He was not successful therein though he seems to have been well received by some of Rana Pratap's chiefs.³

But this was only a negative line of conduct. It did not make clear how Akbar was going to face the real issue presented by Pratap's stubbornness. Probably Rai Singh's governorship at Jodpur was simply a feeler and Akbar wanted to give Pratap time for making up his mind. Anyhow the Rana resisted the temptation of an entanglement with the imperial armies so early. He had to consolidate his own power and had to chalk out a definite path for himself. Before he could have

1. Akbar Nama, III, 5; Badayuni, II, 140.

2. Nensi, I, 129.

3. Nensi, I, 68.

ventured to break his lance against the Mughal or the quasi-Mughal shield, he had to settle the problem of the internal government of the mountainous districts that were still left to him among the ruins of Mewar's greatness. He soon made up his mind to organize the resources of his country. He introduced a more orderly system of administration and, following probably the Mughal model, made more definite arrangements settling the precedence of different chiefs round about him. The Bhils of the Aravils were to form his last line of defence and he established more friendly relations with them thus attaching them all the more to his person. One thing he clearly saw through. Mewar was sure to receive Mughal attention soon and he had no intention whatever to help the Mughals, directly or indirectly establish themselves in his beloved Mewar. With this end in view he gave strict orders that all the lands in the plains were to be laid waste, not an acre of pasturage, nor a single crop was to be allowed to stand. The Mughals, if and when they came, should find the land inhospitable and would have to depend upon supplies got from outside. This would naturally make their position more difficult and make their foraging

parties a sure target for Rajput attack. This interdict was strictly enforced and now and again the Rana would sweep down the hill side to see for himself how far his orders were being respected.² At such times the offenders would be severely dealt with to make an example of them. Thus Mewar was stripped of all verdure so that there was to be not a single crop to feed the Mughals nor even a lonely pasture to allow their horses a hearty meal. It was a necessary sacrifice if Mewar was to keep herself free. For himself and his followers, enough was yet left in the inaccessible parts of the mountains.

Akbar was successful in his expedition to Gujrat. Sultan Muzaffar was brought a prisoner before the Emperor on November 17, 1572. Akbar remained for sometime more in Gujrat to settle its affairs. By April, 1573 things had taken a sufficiently favourable turn and arrangements for the future government of Gujrat had all been made. On April 14, 1573. Akbar left Ahmadabad for Agra and detailed a contingent of the imperial army under Man Singh and other imperial commanders for service in Idar, in Dongarpur and other neighbouring states. As usual the imperial commanders were at first to try to persuade the chiefs to submit to the

mighty emperor and if this failed they were to conquer those states by force¹. Raja Narain Dass of Idar was Pratap's father-in-law, while Rawal Askarn of Dongar Pur was a brother Sisodia. This expedition was mainly sent against them and as such the main idea was to snatch away Pratap's supports. If these chiefs submitted, as was unlikely, Pratap might be disposed to follow their example, otherwise their conquest would mean the weakening of his strength.

Man Singh now decided to try his strength. The presence of independent Rajput states was a personal stigma and insult to those Rajputs who had already submitted and, naturally, they were always zealous in compassing measures to terminate their independence. Man Singh showed a new convert's zeal in his attack on Dongarpur which was accordingly conquered after a hard fought battle². The state was given to plunder and Rawal Askarn sought safety in the friendly mountains.

Thus a blow had been struck at Pratap's strength, one of his arms had been lopped off as it were. But for him better treatment had

1. Akbar Nama, III, p. 94.

2. Akbar Nama, III, p. 40; Tarikh-i-Gujrat, p. 91.

been vouchsafed. Man Singh dared not risk an engagement with Pratap without special instruction. Instead, he decided to visit Udaipur as a Rajput rather than an imperial ambassador. He was returning from Gujerat to Agra and Mewar fell in his way. He was in duty bound to pay his respects to Pratap, the Head of all the Rajput clans, more especially as he had but recently ascended the throne. Akbar as well wanted to feel his way with the Rana by means of these informal visits and was prepared to wait for a more opportune moment for more formal and peremptory demands. Man Singh, accordingly, sent the bulk of his army to Ajmer and with a handful of attendants he set his face towards Mewar in June 1573.

Man Singh reached Udaipur in due course. Here he was very well received by Rana Pratap with his usual courtesy. As a Rajput, though now in imperial service, coming to pay a visit to the Sisodia chief, he had his rights and Pratap was chivalrous enough not to forget that. He gave Man Singh befitting reception. But what a meeting it must have been? Man Singh decked out in all the fineries of Hindustan, proud with a name which, in imperial service, had been heard and was yet to resound

in all the corners of India, nephew to the Emperor and first cousin to the heir-apparent, servant of an imperial power, brave beyond words courageous to a fault. And Pratap? He was yet to be tried. But the signs were not wanting which showed that here was a contrast in some respects. If Man Singh was brave, Pratap was heroic; where the Kachhwaha was courageous, the Gehlot united a spirit of independence with his courage; if Man Singh had won a name in a hundred hard fought actions, Pratap had not yet prostituted his talents in the service of any master he emperor or king. Man Singh's family had been the first to better their fortune by a matrimonial alliance with the Emperor, to the Sisodias of Mewar such a thing had not yet been hinted at though Akbar would have liked an alliance with Mewar as his crowning glory. The Rajputs are never very ostentatious in their dress and with an impoverished and reduced inheritance Pratap could not have displayed even Mewar's former grandeur. What a contrast it must have been! The royally bedecked Man Singh and the poorly clad Pratap! Luxury in excelsis against roughest independence, the polished courtier turned out the day before against a single chip of the old Rajput block, Kachhwaha against Sisodia!

And they met. What transpired at the meeting is rather differently and for the matter of that even oppositely told. The court historian Abul Fazl would have us believe that the Rana almost submitted, met the imperial ambassador outside the gates of Gogunda, received the imperial order, donned the royal robes of honour, and then put off Man Singh with pliant excuses.¹ It is rather surprising, however, that Jahangir should have forgotten this earlier submission of Ranas of Mewar when mentioning the defeat of Rana Amar Singh in 1614 in his own memoirs.² Sir Thomas Roe as well who was present on that occasion admits that before this the Ranas of Mewar whom, by the way, he describes as the descendants of Poru had never before³ submitted. Ralph Finch is also quite definite in his statement that the Ranas had never before bowed down their proud head.⁴ Further Nur-ul-Haq when he mentions Akbar's attack on Haldi Ghat⁵ describes the Rana as passing his days in rebellion. The writer of Tarikh-i-Badshahan-i-Temuri,⁶

1. Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 67.

2. Rogers, p. 274.

3. Roe p. 496, 82, 90.

4. Finch p. 170.

5. Zabdatu Tawarikh (MS.) leaf 171.

6. Rauza ut Tahirin, MS. leaf 182.

is discreetly silent about the matter. Da-Laet; Firishta and Khafi Khan all are significantly silent on such an important question. It seems that Abul Fazl did not want to record the unpalatable truth of the failure of Man Singh's mission, and, as in some other cases as well, he makes a misstatement in order to cover the shame of it.

✓ To our mind the Rajput accounts of this meeting are more convincing and look less improbable. And almost all of them agree; Mehta Nensi,¹ Raj Prashasti² and Jai Singh Charita,³ all these explain at great length the outcome of this meeting.

The Rana arranged a feast to be held in honour of Kanwar Man Singh on the Udai Sagar lake. Thither all the chiefs went and Kanwar Amar Singh began to do the honours of the table as the host when the time for partaking of the feast came. Kanwar Man Singh wanted to have the honour of sitting at dinner with Pratap who, however, profusely excused himself on the plea that some trouble in the stomach indisposed him from the pleasure of Man Singh's company

1. Nensi, I, 65.

2. Chapter 4, verss 21, 22.

3. Quoted in Vir Vinod, II, p. 134.

at dinner. Man Singh saw through this thinly veiled excuse and at once guessed that the marriage relations between the house of Amber and Akbar constituted the real cause of Pratap's keeping away. It was not very pleasant to be reminded that a princess of Amber had been married into the Mughal family and this by a man who could not be taunted with anything even faintly smelling of such conduct. Man Singh replied rather curtly hinting at a probable invasion of Mewar. For once Man Singh overreached himself. Pratap's refusal had only indirectly reflected upon the honour of the house of Amber, but now the Rana retorted that Man Singh would always be welcome whether he came on his own account or under orders from his maternal uncle, the Emperor. Some more unpleasant words passed between Man Singh and a Sisodia chief, Bhim Singh, who promised Man Singh an attack on his elephant whenever he should be pleased to come. Man Singh now needed no urging to quit the place and after offering the usual portion to the goddess of foodstuffs he left everything untasted and went on his way back to Agra.¹

1. राना सों भोजन समय गही मान यह बान ।
हम क्यों जैवे आपहु जैवंत हो किन आन ॥

(Continued on the next page.)

After Man's departure, Pratap gave orders for the purification of the site of the feast. Every dish that had been served was thrown into the tank along with the gold and silver plate that had been used. The earth was dug up deep enough to remove all stains of its having been defiled by the presence of a Rajput who had preferred luxury to hard independence. The holy water of the Ganges was poured out on the place to wash away all the sin of having had such a man as a guest. Every proud son of a Rajput mother who had been invited to the occasion bathed and changed clothes in order to remove the unholy touch. Such were the

Continued from the last page.

कुंवर आप आरोग्य राजा भाल्य हेरी ।
मोहि गरानी सी कुछु अबै जैहँ फेरी ॥
कही गरानी की कुंवर भई गरानी जोहि ।
अटक नहीं करदेहुँगे तूरण जूरण तोहि ॥
दियो ठेख कांसो कुंवर, उठे सहित निज साथ ।
चुलु आन भारे हाँ, कहौ पौँछ रुमालन हाथ ॥
जयसिंह चरित

Quoted by Vir Vinod, II, 184.

When they sat down to dinner Man Singh asked the Rana to join him in the feast. Rana requested Man Singh to take his meals as he was indisposed. "I know" declared Man Singh, "what this indisposition means and shall cure it in time." He rose leaving the meal untasted. Cf. however, Udaipur, MS. 42 b.

Rajput notions of courtesy and honour! As long as Man Singh was there every honour except the highest was shown to him, but when he had left, Rajput traditions rendered necessary all the penance that could be gone through.

Man Singh duly reported all that had happened to the Emperor. It is rather difficult to say how Akbar took this incident, whether he was pleased at the proud spirit shown by his great opponent or whether he was enraged at having his relations with Amber thus slighted and laughed at. Anyhow he made no haste to pursue the quarrel into which Man Singh had rather so hastily drawn himself. He still wanted to tempt Pratap into submission and with this end in view he again asked Raja Bhagwan Dass to pay the proud chief of Mewar a visit.¹ The Raja was returning to the capital after the adventurous journey of the Emperor to Ahmadabad which had now been finally reduced. Raja Narain Dass of Idar, Pratap's father-in-law submitted this time and with this news to cheer him, Raja Bhagwan Dass paid his respects to Pratap at Gogunda, sometimes in October, 1573. Man Singh's earlier visit had

1. Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 66.

done its work and this time the Rana showed more reserve and a prouder temper. Abul Fazl would again have us believe that this visit was even more successful and that the crown prince, Kanwar Amar Singh, accompanied Raja Bhagwan Dass to Delhi while Partap once more excused himself.¹ It would take more than this court historian's statement to make us disbelieve—what Jahangir in his Memoirs emphatically asserts—that Amar Singh had never visited the Mughal Court. Roe, as quoted before, is emphatic in his statement that never before had these proud Sisodias humbled themselves before the Mughal throne, there is no mention of any command being conferred on Amar Singh or Pratap consequent upon this submission; and if Pratap had submitted this time we are left in the dark as to the reasons which prompted the Emperor to invade Mewar soon after. Once more this seems to be 'the consummation to be devoutly wished for' by Abul Fazl rather than the actual historical thuth. The proud Rana shuffled off Bhagwan Dass as before, he refused to sit with him at dinner and Bhagwan Dass came back empty handed.

1. Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 66.

It seems Akbar knew this man. Hardly had Man Singh forgotten his insult and Bhagwan Dass was probably still smarting under the sharp words exchanged at Gogunda, when Raja Todar Mal visited the Rana in December 1573.¹ The two Kachhwaha chiefs owed it to their older traditions to visit the head of the Rajputs when they were passing close by his territories. But this Khatri from the Punjab, however he might have gloried in the proud mien of Pratap, did not owe him any formal visit.² We find him visiting Mewar and seeing the Rana on his way back to Fatehpur from Gujrat where he had been left to complete the land revenue settlement.³ Todar Mal had not as yet risen to his later fame as the great Finance Minister and for a long time the Prime Minister of Akbar, yet he had sufficiently distinguished himself in peace and war to warrant this intrusion upon Pratap. He had the advantage of not being personally allied with the Emperor and he was simply a great

1. The date has been arrived at after a good deal of calculation. The Akbar Nama, III, p. 79, mentions the fact that Akbar left for Ajmer on February 8, 1574. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I, p. 132, declares that this happened two months after Todar Mal's return to the capital. Todar Mal must have visited Merwar in December, 1573.

2. Tarikh-i-Gujrat, p. 94.

state servant. We are sure all these things would have induced the Rana, courteous as he was, to accord him a better welcome. But when it came to imperial business all Todar Mal's acumen and 'wise' words failed to shake Pratap from his resolution¹ and Todar Mal also returned probably feeling a greater respect for the Rana.

These repeated visits to the Rana and their failure give the first sign of Akbar's anxiety to get Pratap to the Royal court. The empire of India was not worthwhile if it left two sovereign heads in India; Akbar, the Lord of the land and Pratap, the Hindupat. The Emperor did not very much like an expedition to Mewar after the experience he had had in the last sack of Chitor. Mewar, the holy land of the Rajputs, could not be light-heartedly invaded. And then what of Man Singh and Bhagwan Dass? As we shall see below they were never fully trusted against Pratap even after the battle of Haldi Ghat. A fortiorioi there was all the less chance of their undertaking an expedition against Mewar before their being slighted at Pratap's court. Akbar knew probably that in his heart of hearts every Rajput loved Mewar and that this meant that

1. Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 67.

many of them sympathised with the traditions which the Rana might be said to be bent upon maintaining. He may have purposely sent Man Singh and Bhagwan Dass to Mewar, knowing full well the character of both the sides. There was sure to be a quarrel between the Kachhwaha and the Sisodia and Akbar may have counted upon that to remove whatever reluctance and repugnance Bhagwan Dass and Man Singh might have felt from undertaking an attack on Mewar. If so, his surmise proved more than correct and both these chiefs returned to the court smarting under the sharp words addressed to them in Mewar, all the sharper because they were true. He had also succeeded in convincing them that Pratap would not come to the court and now only one alternative was left—war and probably war to the death.

Akbar and Pratap were now face to face. The veil of conciliation had fallen down and there was Akbar sternly bent upon incorporating Mewar in the imperial territory. Could not Akbar's dream of a united Empire under a Muslim Emperor afford place for one independent Hindu Raja? Was the conquest of India really incomplete without this small patch of sand and stone feeling the imperial heel? Was Pratap

after all a particularist rebel bent upon spoiling the fine dream of Akbar's great Empire? As these questions emerge, an answer is suggested again in the fact that Akbar's Empire governed in Akbar's way did not last half a century after his death, that as said before it had no institutional basis. But then does a Hereward the Wake fighting against the inevitable conquest of England by the conqueror need an apology? Do we lament the fact that Wallace and Bruce did not allow King Edward of England to treat Scotland as a mere appendage to the English Crown? Pratap cannot be regarded a rebel against an authority to which he had never submitted. He was clinging to the independence of his state which had once aspired to give a lead to Delhi itself and where a proud pillar of victory proclaimed those doughty deeds of his race that had subdued Gujrat and Malwa. Yes, he had made up his mind. What other Rajput states had done, what had been done even by his own debased brother, Jagmal, made no appeal to him.

The offer of a place in the Imperial Court had been made and he had scornfully rejected it. He had decided to hug the independence of Mewar to his bosom and defend it as long as

he could, and then die in its defence. What this decision was to cost him we shall soon be able to judge.

CHAPTER V.

THE BATTLE OF HALDI GHAT.

The last embassy to Pratap had left Mewar in December 1573. Raja Todar Mal had reported his failure to the court in the following January. Akbar must have been thinking of sending an expedition to Mewar just then. It is only on that supposition that we can explain these repeated attempts at negotiation made by him. But the year 1574 found him in difficulties of his own. Troubles had been brewing in Kabul and Akbar had to send a strong expedition to quell the disturbances there. More important, however, was the flag of independence that was raised about this time by some chiefs in Rajputana. Rao Chander Sen of Jodhpur who had been present at Pratap's coronation in 1572, now won over his nephew Kalla, son of his eldest brother Ram Rai, and they raised the standard of revolt.¹ He was joined by Rao Meghraj of Mahoba (now Mallani in the state of Jodhpur) and Rao

1. *Akbar Nama III*, p. 81.

Surtan of Sarohi. Pratap would not have missed this chance and he seems to have joined the insurgents and played his part in this war of independence as I have termed it elsewhere.¹ From the official accounts in the Akbar Nama it seems that their rebellion effected a very large part of Rajputana and tried the Mughal strength to its utmost. But as usual it was possible for Akbar to divide the allies and attack them one by one. Sojat, 44 miles south east of Jodhpur, was first attacked and it fell after Kalla had fought hard for his estate. He was given back the district of Sojat and made to submit. Then came Rao Meghraj's turn. He was attacked and hard pressed till at last he had submitted. But the main problem was that of Siwana, 54 miles west of Jodhpur. Here Chandar Sen held out equally against Mughal blandishments and threats. In December 1574, the Mughal besiegers had to go back to Ajmer and ask for reinforcements from the Emperor who was there.² Reinforcements were sent, yet when they reached Siwana, Kalla was up in arms again and the work of reducing Siwana had again been

1. A Forgotten Hero of Marwar, op. cit.

2. Akbar Nama, III, pp. 110, 111.

complicated. We have Akbar Nama's account to tell us that the Rana had been giving the imperialists trouble in the Southern mountains¹ and it seems it was in the neighbourhood of Chander Sen's scene of action and in concert with him that Pratap was making it hot for the Mughals. The Maasir-ul-Umara throws further light on Pratap's activities by representing Jalal-ud-Din Qurchi and Sayyad Hashim who had been sent against Siwana as deputed to check the activities of Pratap.² Jalal-ud-Din's death in November 1575, while conducting operations agianst Chander Sen freed Pratap and though strong reinforcements were at once sent, it became possible for him to inflict considerable losses on the Mughals. This long drawn out conflict at least induced Akbar to make war on Pratap though the fort of Siwana had to be taken first. In March 1576, Siwana fell at last and the imperial armies were now released.³ They could not have attacked the Rana with this 'one of the strongest forts in Rajputana'⁴ unconquered and especially when the Mughal armies had been repulsed

1. Akbar Nama, Vol. II, 180.

2. Maasir-ul-Umara, II, 378.

3. Akbar Nama, III, 167, 168.

4. Akbar Nama, III, 81.

repeatedly and kept at bay for two long years. At last when Siwana had fallen, Akbar undertook operations against the Rana.

Rana Pratap had been ruling whatever had been left to him of Mewar for about four years now when Akbar made up his mind to invade Mewar once more and terminate its independence. During this interval we are sure Pratap must have made preparations to meet the calamity of an invasion which he knew all along was coming anyday. We have seen how he had made Mewar rather too barren for the Mughal armies of occupation. From his hill capital of Kumbhalgarh he was gathering together under his banner all that was left of chivalry in Rajputana. Raja Ramā Shah, ex-ruler of Gwalior must have been of great help to him in the matter of organising resistance. For four years then Akbar let him alone and then at last came the inevitable.

✓ Akbar was in the habit of visiting Ajmer almost every year after the birth of Prince Salim on August 30, 1569. This visit always served two purposes ; it was an act of pious pilgrimage and it enabled the Emperor to have a sharp eye on Rajputana. This time Akbar left Fateh-

pur for Ajmer on February 17, 1576,¹ where he reached on March 18. About a fortnight was spent in discussing plans and on April 3 Kanwar Man Singh was appointed to command the expedition against Pratap². He was ably assisted by Asaf Khan, Paymaster general, Sayyad Hashim Barha, Raju, Sayyad Ahmad, Raja Jagan Nath Kachwaha, Man Singh's uncle, Mehtar Khan, Commander of Ranthambore and Rai Lun Karan Kachwa.

Sakat Singh, a renegade brother of Pratap, was there though Jagmal does not appear on the scene. Sakat Singh had a quarrel with Pratap after the latter's accession to the throne. Bitter words and reproaches led to violence when the family *parohit* appeared, he tried to prevent them from flying at each other's throat but in vain. He then pushed forward and thrust himself in between the two combatants. Sakat Singh's spear killed him and Pratap was just in time to keep back his hand. This '*Brahm Hatya*' resulted in Sakat Singh's exile and he left for the imperial court. He had been there for some time during the lifetime of his father as well. Akbar gave

1. Akbar Nama, III, 164.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 166.

him Bhainsror 'in Udaipur; 24°. 58'N and 75° 34' E.) as a jagir and now his hand was raised not only against Pratap but against his mother-land as well. Kanwar Man Singh's appointment was significant. He had to wipe out the insult of his meeting with Pratap, and as Mo'tamad Khan asserts in his Iqbal Nama Jahangiri,¹ his ancestors had been the liegemen of the Ranas of Mewar ; by sending him Akbar assured that the Rana would give battle rather than evade the imperial troops elusively. By sending Man Singh as the General-in-charge of the expedition, moreover, Akbar made it less probable, though more possible, for him to exhibit his pro-Rajput and pro-Rana proclivities of which not even that meeting at Udaipur had cured Man Singh. It is amusing to note that some of the Mohammadan officers in the army resented the appointment of Man Singh as the General-in-command because he was a Hindu.²

Tod has handed down the tradition, we do not know where he picked it up, that it was Salim who led the imperial armies at this time. All contemporary writers and the Rajput traditions of a century later agree in declaring that

1. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, 303. Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 193.

2. Badayuni, II, 22.

it was Man Singh who led the imperial armies. Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, as we have seen, goes so far as to suggest a reason for that appointment. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni asserts that a friend of his in the army resented the appointment. The official historian, Abul Fazl, nowhere mentions Salim and on the Rajput side as well all evidence is against Salim's being the leader, real or nominal, of this expedition. The contemporary portraits of this action represent Pratap and Man Singh¹ engaged in mortal combat and do not suggest Salim at all. And to clinch it all Salim was barely six years of age,² born on August 30, 1569, unable to take any part in the engagement much less to play the part which Tod has assigned to him. The Jagdish temple inscription at Udaipur also speaks of Akbar's army being led by Man Singh.³

Man Singh left Ajmer with his army on April 3, 1576. From Ajmer he pushed on to Mandal Garh⁴ there to wait for all the chiefs to join him and to organize his line of communication.⁵ This was extremely important because

1. Vir Vinod, p. 140; Painting in the Palace, Udaipur.

2. Akbar Nama, II, 844.

3. Written on May 18, 1652.

4. Some seventy miles from Ajmer; $75^{\circ} 7'$ East and $25^{\circ} 13'$ North.

5. Akbar Nama, III, 173.

Pratap had laid waste all the plains of Mewar and it was very difficult to procure supplies. Of course, the parts that had been conquered earlier from Udai Singh might have been of some help. Mewar had, of course, been deprived of its additional territories but the imperial armies do not seem to have penetrated the homelands of the Sisodias very far, and hence the need for keeping communications open. At last however, these preparations were complete and about the middle of June, Man Singh moved on to Gogunda. Nensi¹ declares that Man Singh had 40 000 troops whereas Badayuni put down their number at 5,000². Here on the banks of the river Banas, Man Singh encamped at Molera³ and spent some days in making a thorough acquaintance with his surroundings.

Rana Pratap had learnt of Man Singh's preparations in April and he set about making his own preparations. He had to gather together every son of a Rajput mother able to bear arms

1. Nensi, I, p. 68.

2. Badayuni, II, 228.

3. Nensi, Vol. I, p. 68. Molera is situated at 74°4'3" E, 24°56'N.

in order to withstand this imperial assault. With the best of wills in the world a large army could not be collected. His ranks had been thinned by the temptations held out by Akbar to which some of his allies had succumbed. We have seen that Rawal Askarn and Raja Narain Dass had already submitted to the Emperor; some lesser fry as well may have been baited. But his own chiefs were kept together by a sense of devotion to duty, an idea of loyalty to such a chivalrous chief, the consciousness of standing higher than their neighbours. Who dared desert such a Rana bent upon maintaining the ancient glories of Mewar? All told Pratap was able to collect about 3,000 Rajputs' besides the trusty Bhils who, though unable to take part in a regular battle, could work a good deal of havoc on the enemy by their ancient weapons and still older tactics.

His men collected, the Raja waited anxiously for news of Man Singh's advance. Of course the best plan would have been to lure Man Singh's armies up into the mountains and there utilizing the natural advantages of the country give him battle where his retreat could be cut

off by the trusty Bhils commanding a pass and where Pratap's followers would be able to sell their lives dearest. But Pratap was probably afraid of letting in the Mughal armies into his mountainous fastnesses ; for if once there, they could not be prevented from occupying even those barren rocks though that would be a very costly experiment for them to try. But the Emperor could pour in a constant stream of reinforcements and Pratap decided, therefore, to give up this advantage. The Rajputs, moreover, had not yet learnt these tactics well and Pratap could not have used it as effectively as did one of his successors, Maharana Raj Singh, later on against Aurangzeb. There was, besides, that Sisodia impatience to try conclusions with a foe, especially when he was a Kachhwaha. Pratap so much resented this impertinence of Man Singh in invading Mewar that he almost decided to attack that prince when he was at Mandal Garh.¹ This would have been sheer madness ; Mandal Garh was much nearer Ajmer and any number of reinforcements could have been poured in here, it would have meant throwing away all natural advantages. Probably

1. *Akbar Nama*, III, 173.

one of the chief reasons of Man Singh's staying at this place for about two months was to lure Pratap out to the open. Pratap, however, thought better of it with the result that Man Singh had to move¹ on to Mojera at the foot of the Haldi defile, a few miles to the North of Gogunda. The pass is called Haldi Ghat on account of the yellow colour of the soil there.

The Rana moved south from Kumbhalgarh towards Khamnur². His movements were so secret that Man Singh had no idea that the enemy was so near. This ignorance would have one evening made an end of this expedition but for the chivalric sense of honour among the Sisodias. Pratap's scouts brought him the news at the village of Lohsing³ one evening that Man Singh was busy in hunting near by with about one thousand of his army. It was suggested that a night attack should be delivered and so impatient were these tried warriors to measure their swords against those of the enemy that the suggestion was almost accepted. Then one old chief, Bida Jhala, who was to lay

1. *Badayuni*, II, 280.

Tabakat-i-Akbari, Elliot, V. 398.

2. Khamnur is situated at $73^{\circ} 42' E.$ $24^{\circ} 55' N$

3. *Mahta Nensi's Khayat* 1. 69.

down his life in the battle in order to save Pratap, banned the expedition and Man Singh was saved.¹

The Kachhwaha chief lay encamped at Mojera and had no intention of venturing into the famous Haldi Ghat. It is a small pass though much frequented as it lay on the way to Gujrat and was used by the pilgrims to Mecca. The huge mountains on all sides shoot out of the neighbouring country and if Man Singh would but venture into it, it might be possible for Pratap to teach him a lesson that he was not likely soon to forget. But this he would not do and the Rana at last decided to give him battle after passing through the pass to the village of Khamnur and on June 21, 1576, the two armies met. For once the Rajputs assumed the offensive.

Man Singh knew his opponent well and he took every precaution so to dispose off his forces as to make them most effective. The van was led by his uncle, Raja Jagan Nath and a chosen party under Sayyad Hashim was set apart to bear the brunt of the first attack.² On the right, stood Sayyad Ahmad Khan Barha who had won

1. Nensi, I, 69.

2. Badayuni, II, 281.

Battle of Haldi Ghat.

Mehtar Khan.
Madho Singh.

Sayyad Ahmad.

Man Singh.	Ghazi Khan
	Badakhshi.
	Raja Lun Karn.

Barha Brothers.

Raja Jagan Nath.
Mohd. Raffi Badakhshi.

Sayyad Hashim Scout.

Hakim Khan Sur.
Bhim Singh.
Ravat Krishan Dass.
Ram Dass.

Pratap.

Jhalla Man Singh.

Raja Ram Shah of
Gwalior & his sons.
Bhama Shah.

Man Singh.

Rana Punja.
Purohit Gopi Nath.
Mehta Rattan Chand.
Jagan Nath.

a name for himself on many a battle field. The left was commanded by Ghazi Khan Badakhshi with Rai Lun Karn Kachhwaha of Sambhar to help him. In the centre stood Man Singh on an elephant and was assisted there by many other officers. Mehtar Khan with Rai Madho Singh Kachhwaha was kept back in the reserve to join the battle when necessary.¹

Rana Pratap led his forces through the pass and Man Singh dared not dispute his passage. The Rana had arranged his battle line in a fine array. Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior led the right with a chosen band of officers. Man Singh Jhala commanded the left assisted by Man Singh Sanogra, son of Akshay Raj. Curiously enough the van was led by a Mohammadan, Hakim Sur Pathan, who had with him the Chundavat Krishan Dass² and Ram Dass, son of Jaimal of Chitor fame and Bhim Singh.³ Pratap was in the centre which was supported by Rana Punja of Panarwa, Purohit Gopi Nath and Mehta Ratan Chand.

Then came the shock of the battle. The

1. Akbar Nama, III, 174.

Zabdut-Tawarikh by Nur-ul-Haq (MS) 171.

Tarikh-Badshahan-i-Temuri, (MS) 182.

2. Badayuni, II, 231.

3. Amar Kavya, 88 (b)

Rajput van attacked the imperial vanguard. The ground was uneven and it abounded in prickly shrubs. The Rajputs under their Pathan leader and Rajput chiefs made it too hot for the imperial van which fell back upon the centre. Even thus combined, the Mughal armies were not able to withstand the mad rush of the Rajputs. On they came with their tribal war cry on their lips and smote to their right and left. They had not had such a chance for the last ten years and even in the siege of Chitor they had played the defensive. Now when their weapons came in free play they wanted to slake their thirst to the full. The left wing of the imperial army was also defeated. The central division of the Rana's army under the Rana in person charged out of the pass and swept out Ghazi Khan, who had been posted there. His centre was broken and his men were flying. Ghazi Khan stood his ground well till he received a sword thrust whereupon he fled.¹ The left and the van were broken and the imperial army was hastening to run away from a foe who knew no danger—a thing that it had not done for the last 20 years since the defeat of Tardi Beg at Delhi. Abul Fazl and Badayuni agree in sing-

1. Badayuni, II, 293.

ing the praises of the Rajputs who with their valour pushed back the imperial line. The burning heat of the June sun was also making itself felt. It was rather unfortunate that some of the Muslim commanders, in the panic of the moment, shot their arrows indiscriminately on the Rajputs whether they belonged to the imperial ranks or formed a part of the Rana's army. Badayuni curiously enough asked a commander nearby how to distinguish between the imperial Rajputs and the Rana's troopers. The officer was brutally frank in his reply and declared that it did not matter. Whosoever was shot at and killed, Islam gained. This must have added to the confusion in the ranks of the imperial troops.¹

Most of the soldiers now ran away and did not breathe easily till they were some twelve miles from the line of action.² The rest took refuge in the centre and it was on this place that Rana Pratap concentrated all his energies. Here his Rajputs began to ply their swords and were using their spears as well. The presence of the Rana gave great encouragement to his

1. Badayuni, II, 292.

2. Akbar Nama, III, pp. 174, 175.

Badayuni, II, 231.

followers and his heroic deeds that day were their inspiration. Here also the imperial line of battle was broken and many were the commanders who sought safety in flight.

The left, the centre, and the van broken, the battle had now been almost won by Pratap's heroic followers.¹ They knew the lie of the land and their Bhil allies were hurling down huge stones on the army beneath. And then they were face to face with a general who to them seemed a renegade. But there are many slips between the cup and the lip and just when the god of battles seemed to be favouring them, the battle took a new turn.

Mehtar Khan who had been detailed for reserve service had been anxiously watching the turn of fortune. The success of the Rajputs for a time dazed him but at last he decided to join the battle line. Beating his drums and using all other devices to convince the Mughal armies that the Emperor was coming in person to lead them on, he rushed into the thick of the battle.² The ruse succeeded and the imperial armies were stopped in their flight. Mehtar Khan had sav-

1. Amar Kavya ; pp. 83 to 85 ; Jagdish temple Inscription, I, verses 40 to 42.

2. Akbar Nama. III, p. 176.

ed the situation. The rumour gave heart to the Mughal armies and once more the battle raged furiously. The advantage of numbers now began to tell upon the fortunes of the day and the Mughals were able to make a decidedly better stand this time. The Rajput line of elephants had penetrated to the very centre of the Mughal armies where Man Singh stood with an anxious face. Here the elephants tried to make their contributions to the day. Man Singh himself was mounted on an elephant. On the Rana's side the famous Ram Prashad did his best that day but an arrow from the imperial ranks killed its Mahaut, the Mahaut of the imperial elephant, Gujmukta, jumped on to its neck and before the animal knew what had happened it was feeling the driving rod.

Rana Pratap had not trusted himself to the treacherous mercy of an elephant and rode his famous steed Chitak. He had been rather busy the whole day and his sword and spear had made a glorious day of it. But there was one thing that he had so much at heart, an engagement with Man Singh here in the very heat of the battle. At last with a slashing sword perfectly managed he cut his way to the very heart of the affray. Here stood Man Singh, riding an

elephant as befitted an imperial commander. The Rana was at last on his prey and balancing his spear spurred his faithful steed. Thus urged Chitak jumped on to the head of the elephant and Pratap delivered his blow full.¹ Man Singh had just time enough to dive into his Howdah and thus parry the blow. The spear struck the steel of the Howdah. Man Singh was saved, but his Mahaut fell down dead. Round the two generals the battle now raged fiercest. The small spear in the long trunk of the elephant pierced one foot of Chitak. Pratap was in the very centre and had to cut his way back to his own army now that Man Singh had slunk away. He succeeded in spearing a way through the increasing rush of his opponents two or three times and now help was at hand. Mana Jhala who led the left now hastened to the side of his chief and joined him.

On another side Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior had done wonders. He had been the honoured guest of Mewar's sovereign who had braved imperial wrath in harbouring him. He was on the right with his sons and made the imperial left feel rather uncomfortable. At last with

1. *Maharana Yasha Prakash*, 41; *Amar Kavya*, 85 (*a*); Painting of Haldi Ghat.

his three sons he fell down dead and thus paid for the peaceful days that he had passed in Mewar. Ram Dass Rathor, son of Jaimal of the Chitor fame, was another chief who sold his life rather dearly.

Pratap, however, was in no small danger. He stood surrounded on all sides. He had his trusted ally, his sword, in his hand and was mounted on his famous steed. But his hand was tiring and Chitak had a very bad cut in one of his feet. Every moment increased his danger and as the Mughal ranks closed round him, chances of getting away from them were becoming rather few. He was an easy target for the attacks of the enemy, because his standard enabled them to single him out. Mana Jhala then played his game and now occurred an event the like of which it would be difficult to find. It was useless for Pratap to lose his life here; as we shall soon see, this defeat did not very much endanger his position. But he would not leave the field to lead the Sisodias hereafter to victory in the end. Mana Jhala snatched the Sisodia standard from his hands and before the enemy could make out what had happened he had drawn all the force of the Mughal attack on him. Pratap cut his

way through and was able to leave the field in safety.

But the battle was lost¹. Try as they might, Pratap's chiefs could not very much stem the tide of Mughal victory and when they learnt that Pratap had escaped they thought better of it, broke the line of battle and left the field. The casualties on both sides were considerable. Badayuni who puts the number of the men engaged at 5000 imperialists and 3000 Rajputs declares that 120 imperialists and 370 Rajputs fell down dead. The wounded on the imperial side numbered another 300. The Rajput accounts put the number of the combatants rather high, 20,000 Rajputs and 80,000 imperialists. Of the Rajputs only 8000 escaped scathless from the battlefield and the casualties among the imperialists must have been correspondingly high².

1. The Rajput accounts claim it a victory for themselves. A Sanskrit inscription dated May, 1652 on the Jagdish temple at Udaipur has two verses (41, 42) thus describing the struggle.

"His beloved dagger in his hands, Pratap jumped into the fray that morning. The enemy's army led by Man Singh was shattered and fled away." It is interesting to note that neither Khafi Khan nor Ferishta mentions this battle. Probably they were afraid of recording this setback. *c.f.* Amar Kavya, 85.

2. Badayuni, II, pp. 233, 234.

Akbar Nama puts the casualties on the sides of the Mughals at 150 and 500 Rajputs were reported dead.

Pratap had left the battlefield earlier, his army had been routed ; but Man Singh did not order a pursuit. The Mughal armies were too tired for once, an ambush was suspected, and Man Singh would not allow the Rana to be pursued. They came back to rest for the evening in their camps¹.

Though there was no general pursuit, two Mughals recognized Pratap when he was making away from the field unnoticed. They gave chase. Chitak was tired out and had gone lame. Pratap was himself feeling exhausted and the pursuers were gaining ground every moment. A running stream came in the way, Chitak crossed it over. His pursuers had to swim and Pratap gained some time. But it was tiresome. He was listening for the sound of their hoofs when he heard three riders galloping after him. Soon came a halloo, '*Nila ghora ra svara*', 'Rider of the blue horse'. Pratap turned round to find Sakat Singh, his exiled brother, in hot pursuit. So this was the end of the whole struggle! His brother was after him. He leapt down from his faithful horse and patiently waited for Sakat Singh to advance. Sakat abandoned the advantage that his fresh

1. *Akbar Nama*, III, 175.

horse gave him and leapt down too. He came on and Pratap was waiting to finish this useless drama. But instead of advancing on Pratap, Sakat waited patiently for the Mughals. When they drew abreast, he fell upon them. Pratap stood amazed for some time. But then he joined his brother and helped him to despatch his pursuers. Sakat and Pratap fell on the two Mughals who died fighting. Now Sakat embraced Pratap and cried out for his forgiveness. His tale was soon told. He had seen Pratap being followed by the two Mughals and blood proved thicker than water. He pursued them and here he was at the service of his brother. Meanwhile Chitak who had been waiting to bear his master to safety fell down dead at his feet. The brothers wept many tears of sympathy and Sakat offered his own horse to Pratap. Chitak's death made the spot sacred and a monument was raised to his memory and the place was till Tod's day known as Khurasani-Multani Seem after Khurasan and Multan to which the two Mughals were said to have belonged¹. Sakat went back to the Mughal camp to make his excuses but pro-

1. Two miles from Haldi Ghat in a village known as Balicha.

mised a speedy return¹. Pratap reached Koliari in safety².

What came of this battle we shall study in the next chapter.

1. Vir Vinod, II, 139.

Rajput tradition has it that Sakat banteringly asked Pratap how it felt when one was flying for one's life. This ill-turned remark of his is remembered against him even to-day. I am thankful to K. Mahendar Singh, Assistant Settlement Commissioner, Mewar, for bringing a couplet of traditional account to my notice which explains this taunt. Sakat had, when at Mewar, been sent on some expedition wherefrom he returned defeated. Pratap had taunted him and this ill-timed jest was a reply thereto.

2. Raj Parshasti : Chapter IV, verses 26 to 30.

Vir Vinod II, 139 ; Vaush Bhaskar III, 2359 ; Amar Kavya, 85 (b) ; Painting of the battle of Haldi Ghat.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IMPERIAL INVASION OF MEWAR.

Rana Pratap and his brave Rajputs though worsted in the battlefield were not yet disappointed. They had all but won the battle and the imperial army was as much damaged by the fighting as the Rajputs. Pratap collected his shattered troops and passing through Gogunda they formed themselves at the village Mujera nearby awaiting further developments¹. They did not, however, regard the defeat as decisive and were nowise inclined to allow the enemy to enter any further into their domains. Pratap was still alive and that was enough for them.

Man Singh on the other hand had to snatch what advantage he could from this hard won victory. He dared not pursue the Rana, but after refreshing his men by a day's halt, he arrayed them in military formation, and passing the *ghat*, occupied Gogunda on June 23². The place had been deserted by the Rana's soldiers,

1. Vir Vinod II, 141. Udaipur (MS.) p. 43a.

2. Badayuni, II, 234.

Akbar Nama, III, 185.

yet it must not be said that it had fallen into the hands of the enemy without a blow ! About two scores of warriors and priests under Sri Chand had volunteered to stay behind and go through the farce of an engagement. They were mercilessly killed in the affray that followed and the place fell into the hands of the imperial commanders.

Man Singh, however, did not think lightly of his opponents. What if Pratap be lurking nearby and be only waiting for his usual opportunity to surprise the Mughals. The possibility of a sudden attack had to be guarded against. Man Singh built a wall round the city and barricaded it to lessen the chances of an effective surprise¹.

Here the Mughal army lay encamped for some time. They were cooped up in the town of Gogunda though no besieging army was visible. They could not venture far into the neighbouring mountains where the Rana's troops would have the opportunity of forcing a quarrel on a ground of their own choice.² Pratap had already laid waste the countryside and the question of provisions had to be faced. The districts nearby lay barren and the occupation

1. Badayuni, II, 234.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 185.

proved rather troublesome. The Rana took further precautions against any provisions being carried through from the plains.¹ Do what he would, Man Singh remained fretting under the difficulties he was labouring. He decided to detail Mughal officers to head foraging parties and thus bring in some provisions. This alleviated their difficulties to some extent². Mangoes, however, were plentiful and the army lived on them as well as on the meat that was procured by driving a herd or two of cattle.³ Even this did not last long. There were skirmishes and the Mughal losses therein at last compelled Man Singh to forbid even this means of rationing his armies.⁴

Meanwhile the news of victory had to be forwarded to the Emperor with a suitable token thereof. Abdul Qadir Badayuni was anxious to go back now that the war against the infidel seemed to be over and after some bantering Man Singh at last consented to make him the bearer of the happy news. The elephant Ram Parshad that used to carry the proud ruler of Gwalior and that the Emperor had many times asked for in vain was chosen as the most suitable present.

1. Badayuni, III, 234.

2-3 Badayuni, III, 235.

4. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 335.

So great was the Mughal dread of Pratap's methods that 300 soldiers had to be detailed to guard the messenger as well as the present. Man Singh himself accompanied the cavalcade for about 32 miles when he returned to Gogunda. As Badayuni proceeded on his way to Fatehpur the news of the imperial victory spread far and wide.¹ Yet such was the people's belief in Pratap's powers of generalship that they would scarcely believe the news.¹ At last, on June 25, 1576, Badayuni reached Fatehpur Sikri where the Emperor then was. There Raja Bhagwan Dass presented this messenger of his great nephew's victory to the emperor². Akbar was very much pleased at this happy news of a victory over his great antagonist, yet he was not generous enough to swallow the fact that Rana Pratap had escaped alive from the battle-field. He had meant it to be a war to the finish and Man Singh was sharply criticized for refraining from pursuing the Rana.³

But this convinced Akbar that he must move himself. Where Man Singh had failed no other general could be expected to succeed.

1. Badayuni, II, 235 ; Amar Kavya, 86.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 176.

3. Badayuni, II, 235 ; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 335

The time for trifling had passed. Haldi Ghat and the occupation of Gogunda had not helped the imperialists very much. He decided therefore to lead the Mughal armies in person and once for all bring this baffling chapter to a close. He had, however, to settle his difficulties in Bengal first. He left Fatehpur Sikri on July 25 and proceeded towards Bengal. The news of the imperial victory in Bengal reached him on the way and he decided to return to cope with his difficulties in Rajputana. Leaving Fatehpur Sikri on September 15 this time, he reached Ajmer on September 25, 1576¹. The news that reached him here was disquieting and he ordered Man Singh and Asaf Khan to hasten to Ajmer, all the more speedily because the peremptory nature of the imperial command made them suspicious. When they reached Ajmer, their worst fears were fulfilled. The Emperor's ears had been poisoned against Man Singh particularly; he was suspected of some partiality towards Pratap and his failure to capture him as well as his refusal to devastate his territories was sharply criticized. Both of them were forbidden the pleasure and the honour of presenting themselves at the Emperor's court

1. Badayuni, II, 239 ; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 835.

and they remained thus in disgrace for some time¹.

Meanwhile affairs in Rajputana had been taking a very serious turn. Maharana Pratap met the danger of the Emperor's presence at Ajmer by one of his grand attempts at combining Rajput chiefs in opposition to him. He once more induced Raja Narain Dass of Idar to rebel against the imperial authority.² This was not all. The Maharana forgot all ancient feuds and invited Rao Surtan of Sarohi—who had been guilty of expelling Pratap's nominee, Rao Kalla, therefrom³—to join him in the coming struggle. With him came his ally Taj Khan of Jalore⁴. Further, Rao Chander Sen of Jodhpur gave the imperialists some trouble in Nadol and he seems to have been in alliance with the Rana at this time⁵. Pratap's example was catching. Rao Surjan of Bundi had, as already explained, submitted to the Emperor. His eldest son, Durjan

1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 385.
Badayuni, III, 247.
Akbar Nama, III, 185.
2. *Akbar Nama*, III, 191.
Tabaqat-i-Akbari 385.
Badayuni, II, 241.
3. *Nensi*, I, 129.
4. *Akbar Nama*, III, 189.
5. *Akbar Nama*, III, 190.

Sal, had been in attendance upon the Emperor. Akbar appointed his younger brother heir-apparent and, incensed at this, Durjan Sal slipped away from Delhi and, leaving his father Rao Surjan and younger brother Rao Bhoj basking in the sunshine of imperial favour, he repaired to Bundi and made himself the master of the state¹. Pratap himself appeared at Udaipur and harassed the countryside.² He took advantage of Man Singh's absence at Ajmer and expelled the imperial commanders from Gogunda which was now occupied by the Rajputs. Other Mughal stations in Mewar were also attacked and occupied about the same time.³ This was a formidable combination. As fortune would have it, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca had to be arranged about this time and as the shortest way ran through Mewar, special arrangements had to be made for the purpose of ensuring the safety of the pilgrims against the Rana. Furthermore, before attacking Pratap, his allies had to be coerced into or coaxed to submission. Tarsur Khan and Rai Singh were despatched to take action against Taj

1. Vansh Bhaskar, III, 2828; Akbar Nama, III, 201; Nensi, I, III.

2. Badayuni, II, 240.

3. Vir Vinod, II, 140.

Khan of Jalor and Rai Surtan of Sarohi. They were successful and Surtan and Taj Khan submitted and hastened to pay respects to and beg for forgiveness from the Emperor.¹ Operations against Rao Narain Dass of Idar were entrusted to the guard that was sent to accompany the pilgrims to Mecca. Qutb-ud Din and Asaf Khan were the leaders of this expeditionary force. Their instructions were to see the pilgrims through Gogunda and the Rana's territories harrying the countryside as they passed through it.² They were further ordered to besiege and reduce Idar where Narain Dass was busy creating work for the imperial troops. They left for Gogunda and reached Pindwara on the way there. Here they were met by Raja Bhagwan Dass who had been appointed to lead the imperial armies against Pratap.³ The combined armies marched on to Gogunda which fell into the hands of the imperial troops without much difficulty. They pushed on to Idar which was stoutly defended by Rao Narain Dass. At last the imperial armies succeeded in reducing it on October 19, 1576, but Rao Narain

1. Akbar Nama, III, 189, 190 ; Carmcandvansutkirkitanakam, 68

2. Badayuni, II, 239.

3. Badayuni, II, 239.

Dass had fled to his mountains.¹

Leaving Ajmer on October 12, 1576, Akbar had now moved to Gogunda. Every day an advance guard was sent to prevent the possibility of a surprise attack on the imperial troops as they pushed on to Gogunda. At last the place was occupied and it remained the imperial headquarters for sometime more.² From here Akbar began to organize a systematic occupation of the country. Contingents of imperial troops were detailed to pursue the Rana wherever he might appear. Bhagwan Dass and Qutb-ud-Din were now back at Gogunda. They were stationed here and especially appointed to ferret out the Rana and capture him. Another army was stationed³ at Haldi Ghat to shut the way upon Pratap on that side.

From Gogunda the Emperor moved on to Mohi where another detachment under Ghazi Khan Badakhshi was stationed. From Mohi he went to Mudaria where still another contingent of troops was stationed. He moved on to Udaipur soon after in November 1576. It was here probably that Qutb-ud-Din and Bhagwan

1. Akbar Nama, III, 192, 193.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 191 to 194.

3. Akbar Nama, IV, 194.

Dass, tired out by their unwelcome task of pursuing the Maharana presented themselves. They had not only failed in that task, but had lost all heart in their work. It had been rather hard on them. They would hear news of Pratap's presence in a neighbouring village but by the time they reached there, his work of overawing the Mughals done, the Maharana had moved on nobody knew where.¹ They could stand it no longer and without waiting for imperial instructions they hastened to Udaipur to pay their respects to the Emperor and beg of him some easier job. Akbar thought they were afraid. To make an example of them, he forbade them from attending the court for sometime.² Bhagwan Dass, however, was soon after appointed to guard the approaches to Udaipur.³

Pratap had already deserted Udaipur and it was occupied without much bloodshed. Here still more troops were stationed to make the conquest of Mewar all the more effective.⁴ Akbar spent some time in Udaipur enjoying the beauties of the place and impressing the coun-

1. Akbar Nama, III, 194.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 195.

3. Badayuni, II, 242.

4. Badayuni, II, 249.

try side with his grandeur.¹ At last he felt that Mewar was honeycombed enough with his troops and that the task of reducing the Maharana to submission would now be easy enough. He now left for Malwa. His way lay through Banswara the ruler of which, Rawal Partap, was a Sisodia. The Rawal seems to have escaped imperial attention so far. Now that the Emperor honoured his territories with a visit, he felt dazed and submitted.² Another aspirant after imperial favour was Rawal Askarn of Dongur Pur. He had been up in revolt so often, But he could not withstand imperial blandishments now that the Emperor was so near his territories. He submitted to Akbar and gave a daughter of his in marriage.³

Meanwhile Rai Singh had left Nadol and been ordered to reduce Rao Surtan of Sarohi who had again rebelled. Rai Singh followed him to his mountainous fastnesses and the plains of Sarohi were occupied by the Mughal armies. At last Abu Garh the strongest fort in the state was invested and it fell before the Mughal

1. Akbar Nama, III, 195. The Rajput chronicles do not record this marriage. Abul Fazal speaks of certain difficulties before the happy event took place, but as usual, he is sure that the marriage was duly solemnized.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 194.

Akbar Nama, III, 195, 196, 210.

attack.¹ Then Rao Surtan submitted again and presented himself at Dipalpur to where the Emperor had moved on from Banswara.² Thus three more allies of Pratap had fallen before the imperial might. Bundi alone remained in the hands of Durjan Sal. Akbar was overjoyed at this defection in the Rana's camp but thought it wise to stay in Dipalpur for sometime more to watch the eventual submission of Pratap which he thought was drawing nearer.

Pratap, however, remained undismayed. He was bent upon making the imperial occupation of Mewar as difficult as possible. Even the passage of the imperial cavalcade through Banswara was not able to render that high way from Agra safe for travelling and when about this time Badayuni, the historian, joined the imperial camp at Dipalpur, he had to come by a circuitous route.³

Pratap's surprise attacks became now too frequent and always came with a shock at all unexpected places. And then his allies were always prepared to give the slip to the imperial armies.⁴ Rao Surtan of Sarohi once again

1. *Akbar Nama*, III, 197.

2. *Akbar Nama*, III, 196.

3. *Badayuni*, III, 242, 243.

4. *Akbar Nama*, III, 196.

left the imperial camp and Raja Narain Dass began his degradations in Idar. On December 18, 1576, the Emperor had to send back Raja Bhagwan Dass along with some other chiefs to Gogunda where probably Rana Pratap had once again appeared inflicting heavy losses on stray parties of imperialists. Not only that, the Maharana, now felt strong enough to send a detachment of troops to Raja Narain Dass whose territory had once more been invaded. A surprise attack was being arranged when on February 19, 1577, Asaf Khan fell on the Rajputs and defeated Narain Dass after a hard fought battle. But the Raja had escaped again.¹

On March 11, 1577, Akbar celebrated the beginning of the 22nd year of his reign at Dipalpur, where an embassy from the Sheriff of Mecca was also received. Akbar had prolonged his stay here in order to hear the welcome news that Pratap had been cornered and was coming to pay his respects. But though Man Singh and Bhagwan Dass ferretted out every hole in the country, Pratap always appeared to be a delusive figure. He seemed to bear a charmed life and with the help of his faithful Bhils he

1. Akbar Nama, I¹I, 199 ; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 837.

could pass on from one mountain to another by tracks which no imperialists could ever follow. But he was not playing the defensive game alone. Even the Emperor's presence in these tracts had not rendered the high way to Gujrat safe for travellers even under the escort of imperial troops.¹ The repeated rebellions of Narain Dass and Surtan were also significant. Durjan Sal was giving trouble enough in Bundi. As usual he left the plains in the hands of the imperial commanders and betook himself to the camel necked mountains of Bundi². Zain Khan the imperial commander pursued him here as well till at last Durjan Sal made himself scarce. Bundi was left in the hands of the Rao Bhoj where as Rao Surjan remained in Ranthambore.³ If the Emperor was a diplomat, so was Pratap who was always ready to provide work enough for imperial commanders in the neighbourhood. After a stay of more than six months the Emperor returned to Fatehpur on May 12, 1577⁴ without having advanced the imperial cause an inch. Pratap was still at large and had even succeeded, though temporarily, in expelling the imperial

1. Badayuni, II, 242, 243.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 201.

3. Akbar Nama, III, 202, 203.

4. Badayuni II, 248.

garrisons from Udaipur and Gogunda. This was all that the victory at Haldi Ghat and the subsequent occupation of the territory by Mughal troops had given the imperialists. Thus the Emperor had again failed.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ATTACK ON KUMBHALGARH.

No sooner was Akbar gone from Mewar than did Pratap's brave Rajputs find their chance. A regular campaign was organized against the officers who had been left behind in charge of the garrison stations. One attack was conspicuously successful. Majahad Beg had been left in charge of the garrison town of Mohi. Here he remained for some time. But when the protecting armies of Man Singh and his colleagues had withdrawn from the neighbourhood, Pratap's soldiers fell upon him and he was killed in the skirmish that followed. Mohi was taken by the Rajputs in September, 1577, and the Emperor made no attempt to re-occupy the place for some time¹. The royal garrisons from Gogunda and Udaipur were also expelled. Most of the troops sent in pursuit of the Rana had now returned to the court to report their failure. In October 1577 when

1. Akbar Nama, III, 216.

the Emperor was at Meerut it was felt that the Rana's activities could no longer be tolerated with impunity. A strong expedition was fitted out, this time under Shabhz Khan Mir Bakhshi, and it included such Commanders of note as Raja Bhagwan Dass of Jaipur, Raja Man Singh; Sayyad Qasim, Sayyad Hashim, Sayyad Raju, the famous Sayyad brothers, Mohammad Pyada Khan Mughal, a Commander of two thousand five hundred horse¹, Sharif Khan Aikab, a Commander of 3000 horse², and Ghazi Khan Badakhshi³. This army left Meerut on October, 15, 1577 and applied itself to the task in hand. When they reached Mewar they found Rana Pratap at large again and afraid of his slipping through their fingers they approached the Emperor for reinforcements. Shaikh Ibrahim Fatehpuri, elder brother of Shaikh Salim of Fatehpur Sikri and a commander of two thousand horse⁴, was appointed to the Government of Ladlai near Ajmer so that he might watch the frontiers.⁵

1. Aini-i-Akbari, I, 387.
2. Ani-i-Akbari, I, 383.
3. Maasir-ul-Umara, I, 86.
3. Badayuni, II, 266
Akbar Nama, III, 218.
4. Ain-i-Akbari, II, 302, 403.
5. Akbar Nama, III, 220.

Shahbaz Khan now turned his attention to the reduction of the fort of Kumbhalgarh, 40 miles north of Udaipur. It lies on a hill difficult of access and had been very seldom conquered before. It is defended by a series of walls with embankment and bastions built on the slope of the hill 3568 feet above sea level and contains a number of domed buildings which are reached through several gate-ways along a winding approach. Shahbaz Khan proved his seriousness for the task by sending back Bhagwan Dass and Man Singh who were suspected of leanings towards Maharana Pratap¹. Disposing of what he might have considered a discordant element in his army, he proceeded towards Kumbhalgarh.

It is worthy of note that thus purged this army did not include a single Hindu officer of note. The sending back of Bhagwan Dass and Man Singh was in itself suggestive. They had been sent in all confidence by the Emperor from Meerut. What called for their ignominious dismissal from the Imperial army after they had actually been in Mewar? Their previous conduct alone could not justify this abrupt step on the part of Shahbaz Khan. He knew of Man Singh's

1. Akbar Nama, III, 238.

method of warfare against the Rana when the Emperor gave him these two Rajput commanders as his assistants. There must have been a quarrel between them. Did these two commanders again insist on keeping this sacred land of the Rajputs unhurt even when repeated Mughal armies were being wasted here? And doing that, did they prefer dismissal rather than participation in the uncongenial task as pursued by Shahbaz Khan? And who would blame them? They had already fallen low enough when they submitted to the Emperor and entered into matrimonial alliances with him. But they would go no lower. The Emperor was bound to try to bring the proud Sisodia chief to submission. They could not dissuade him therefrom. But if they were appointed to accomplish this task, they would do it in their own way and do it mercifully. If they could not do that, if the war against the Rana was to be a war of extinction, they would rather not be a party thereto. Their attitude this time must have been pronounced enough to justify Shahbaz Khan in sending back such near relatives of the Emperor in disgrace. Naturally he must have thought that a good riddance anyhow as he was bent upon using

methods of frightfulness to achieve his object. He wanted to lay the country waste¹, a scheme which they must have opposed.

The Rajput commanders gone, he first advanced on Kelwara that lies about 3 miles from Kumbhalgarh at the foot of the mountains where the fort stands in its majesty. Kelwara was taken and occupied. From here the Mughal army marched into Kumbhalgarh and after strenuous fighting the fort was taken on April, 3, 1578. Its fall was facilitated by the bursting out of a big cannon in the fort which did a good deal of harm. Yet the bird had flown! Pratap had left the fort a few nights earlier entrusting the command thereof to Bhana. When the Mughals entered the fort they were disappointed. Shahbaz Khan had pressed the siege so hard that he was quite sanguine of having trapped the Rana at last. But he was sanguine once too often². He did not know his opponent who was now safely encamping in the fort of Rampura from there passing on to Banswara². Shahbaz Khan hastened in pursuit leaving the fort in the hands of Ghazi Khan Badakhshi.

1. Tabaqat, 341.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 238 Amar Kavya, 87

Pratap could not be so easily captured. Shahbaz Khan however succeeded in conquering Gogunda on April 4 and Udaipur the same night. Pratap however was not to be found here¹. Shahbaz Khan remained busy in laying desolate some of the towns in Mewar but he soon discovered that the pursuit of the Maharana was a tedious business. He was on the lookout for an excuse for returning to the imperial capital when the fates favoured him. Raja Durjan Sal of Bundi had been an ally of the Maharana since 1576 and was with his forces at this time. Shahbaz Khan opened up negotiations with him and was at last able to lure him to the imperial service. This was a signal victory and with this news to cheer him as also the reduction of Kumbhalgarh to his credit, he left Mewar after a stay of three months and reported himself to the Emperor on June 17, 1578 at Thara in the Panjab where the Emperor then was. Akbar was pleased to hear of Shahbaz Khan's success². Before leaving Mewar however he had established 50 Mughal garrisons in Mewar

1. Akbar Nama, III, 239.
Tabaqat, 341.

Zabdut-Tawarikh (MS.) leaf 172.
Rozut-Tahrin (MS.) leaf 186.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 246.

and 30 more in the neighbouring districts. Shahbaz Khan gone, Pratap found his chance again. His prime minister, Bhama Shah, had been present at the siege of Kumbhalgarh but had escaped unhurt. He had gone into hiding in Malwa where Rao Durga of Ram Pura ($24^{\circ}5'N\ 75^{\circ}7'E.$) kept him as an honoured guest. Soon Bhama Shah came out of his retreat and gathered together a large number of faithful soldiers. Under Bhama Shah and his brother Tara Chand, they ravaged Malwa and raised Rs. 25,00,000, and 20,000 Mohurs from the territories through which they passed. With this money as their present they reported themselves at Chulia to Pratap who was very much pleased at their daring. Bhama Shah was again appointed prime minister². With his forces redoubled Pratap now fell upon the Mughal garrison fort of Diber and expelling the imperial garrison under Sultan Khan soon occupied it. Here there was a strenuous fighting and Amar Singh won name and fame by killing the Mughal Commander in a single combat. The expulsion of the Mughal forces from Diber produced great effects and the commanders of

1. Maasir-ul-Umara, II, 593.

2. Vir Vinod, II, 143; Udaipur MS. 54.

many less strongly garrisoned posts left their forts and sought safety in flight. The Maharana moved on to Hamir Sar near Kumbhalgarh which was also soon vacated by the Mughal garrison. Soon the forts at Obran, Javar and the district of Chhappan were occupied by the Rajputs. Kumbhalgarh was not as yet a safe place for the Maharana, however, and he established his headquarters at Chavand. Here a temple was built and a palace was raised¹.

Bhama Shah's brother Tara Chand was still in Malwa. Shahbaz Khan and Tara Chand came face to face at Bassi when Tara Chand was wounded and defeated. However, the local Rao, Sain Dass, took care of the wounded Mewari chief and nursed him back to life. After Shahbaz Khan's departure Tara Chand was carried in all honour to the new capital at Chavand. Kumbhalgarh had been conquered by the Mughals and had been again lost. Shahbaz Khan had come and gone. The net result of all his exertions was that within a period of six months Pratap was again at large. He had as we

¹ Vir Vinod, II, 144.

Khayat of Udaipur 54. Amar Singh is alleged to have conquered 36 garrison towns.

have seen already expelled the Mughals from their forts ; he had attacked Malwa as well. And now came the last straw that broke the camel's back. Rao Lun Karn of Dongarpur and Rawat Pratap of Banswara had submitted to the Emperor. The Maharana now sent an expedition against them under Rawat Bhana. In this work Rao Chandarsen of Jodhpur also co-operated. The two armies came face to face on the banks of the river Som. It was a hard fought battle, but, the Rana's army was successful at last though it cost their commander the life of his son. The two chiefs submitted to the Rana's authority and freed their neck from the imperial yoke¹.

It was probably the news of these skirmishes that made Akbar send Shahbaz Khan posthaste to Ajmer on December 15, 1578. He was, this time, accompanied by Ghazi Khan who had been at Haldi Ghat, Mohammad Hussain, Mir Barr, a commander of 500 horse, Shaikh Timur Badakshi and Mirzada Ali Khan. A large amount of money was entrusted to Shahbaz Khan probably with a view to distributing it among such of Rana's followers as could be bought over. Shahbaz Khan, we

1. Vir Vinod II, 144., Kaviraj 119.

are told, was soon successful in his mission.¹ He returned to the capital on June 10, 1579² and, reported his success to the emperor who was pleased thereat. He had stationed strong imperial garrison behind him in the territory he had been able to overrun but not conquer.

But Shahbaz Khan had not yet done with the affairs in Mewar. He was present with the Emperor when he visited Ajmer on October 17, 1579 and remained at the court till the emperor's return to Fatehpur. On November 12, 1579 when the Emperor was on his way to Agra, he appointed Shahbaz Khan to the command of the forces that had been brought together for the purpose of suppressing the troublesome activities of Maharana Pratap again.³ Akbar had just then declared himself the religious head of the Faithful and there had been some unpleasantness between the Emperor and Shahbaz Khan over religious issues.⁴ His appointment to this important office this time was as much of a compliment to his valour as a hint that his pre-

1. *Akbar Nama*, III, 262.

2. *Akbar Nama*, III, 268.

3. *Akbar Nama*, III, 278.

4. *Badayuni*, II, 274.

sence near about the Emperor's person was not very pleasant to the latter. This was Shahbaz Khan's third independent appointment to the Mewar command and he was determined that this time there should be no trifling with that important task. He set about it very seriously. Besides Maharana Pratap, Rao Chander Sen was also busy in creating work for the Mughal armies and had ventured as far as Ajmer. A separate army under Pahnda Muhammad Khan was despatched to deal with the Rathor trouble¹ whereas Shahbaz Khan busied himself in the supreme task of pursuing Pratap from place to place. The continuous pursuit by the Mughal armies was at last making itself felt on the Maharana's slender resources and this time he had to fight, for some time at least, a losing battle. The mountains fastnessness no doubt remained true to him, but Shahbaz Khan was in no mood to allow the Maharana to escape successfully.² Tired by this pursuit, the Maharana at last decided to take refuge in the mountains of Sodha 12 miles from Abu. Here he became the guest of Rai Dhul of Loyana who gave his daughter

1. Akbar Nama, III, 318.

2. Akbar Nama III, 314.

in marriage to him. Pratap bestowed the title of Rana on his father-in-law thus raising him to equality in status with himself¹. Here he remained till Shahbaz Khan had harried the mountain passes without success. Pratap had escaped, and do what he would, Shahbaz Khan could not cover up the shame of this fact. He remained in Rajputana till May, 1580, when he left it for the imperial capital which he reached on June 12, 1580².

The Prithvi Raj Episode

It is probably to this period of Shahbaz Khan's occupation of Mewar that the famous Prithvi Raj episode can possibly be ascribed. Col. Tod picked up the story that the hardships of this strenuous life at last proved too irksome for Pratap who sought for Imperial forgiveness. Akbar was only too glad to bestow his 'protection' on this valourous chief of Mewar and overjoyed at this turn of fortune he mentioned the matter in the open court. Among those present was Rai Prithvi Raj, a younger son of

1. Maharana Pratap Singh, 38. However I have not been able to trace the marriage elsewhere. Family tradition at Loyana confirms it.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 314.

Rai Kalyanmal of Bikaner and the best poet that Rajputana has as yet produced. Himself a courtier bound to Akbar, he was a great believer in Pratap's steadfastness and power to maintain Rajput honour. He would not believe his ears ! At last he had recourse to his muse and sent the following verses by a special messenger to Pratap with the Emperor's permission.

पातल जो पनसाह, बोलै मुख हूँता वयणा ।
 मिहर पक्षम दिस मांह, ऊगे कासप राववत ॥
 पटकूं मूँछां पाणा, कै पटकूं निज तन करद ।
 दीजे लिखें दीवान, इण दो महलीचात इक ॥

"It is as much impossible for me to believe that Pratap Singh has called Akbar his Emperor as to see the sun rising in the west. Tell me, Diwan, where do I stand ? Shall I use my sword on my neck or or shall I continue my proud bearing ?"

The story runs that these verses nerved the dropping spirit of Pratap and he at once desisted from his rumoured intention of submitting to the Emperor. To Prithvi Raj he sent the following reply :—

तुरक कहासी मुख पनौं, इण ननसुं इकलिंग ।
 ऊगे जांही ऊआसी, प्राची वीच पतंग ॥

खुसी हूंत पीथल कमध, पटको मृद्धां पाणा ।
 पछटन है जेतै पत्तौ, कलमा मिर कवाण ॥
 सांग मूँड महसी मको, साजस जहर सवाद ।
 भड पीथल जातो फलां, दैण तरब सु वाद ॥

"By my god Eklinga, Pratap would call the Emperor Turk alone and the sun would rise in the east. You may continue your proud bearing as long as Pratap's sword dangles on the Mughal head. Pratap would be guilty of Sanga's blood, if he was to tolerate the spreading of the fame of his rival and equal Akbar. You would have the better of it, no doubt, Prithvi Raj, in this wordy quarrel."

Prithvi Raj, we are told, was overjoyed to get this answer and hastened to the Emperor to assure him that the Sisodia would not yet submit. To Pratap he sent the following reply in verse thus paying him a well deserved tribute :—

"In the bazaar of this world, shameless women and honourless men abound with Akbar as the customer. What would Pratap do in such a company? In the Nauroz of the Muslim, every Hindu has sold himself. But, Pratap, the lord of the Hindus, would not sell his warrior's honour in this bazaar of Delhi. Scion of the house of Hamir, Pratap would not allow the

crafty Akbar to cast his longing and covetous eyes on himself. ' The loss of his independence would be a grievous shock to him and the gain of ease by submission a dishonour. That is why Pratap would not sell his Rajputs' honour in the imperial market. Other Rajputs sold themselves into slavery, but mindful of his ancestors' honour Pratap has kept his flag flying. Gone would be Akbar, the crafty, vanished would be his mart one day. But the posterity would remember Pratap Singh for having upheld the honour of the Rajputs. Let all the world then follow in his footsteps.'¹

This story is not worthy of much credence. Abul Fazl who is so very keen on distorting every fact to make it serve his imperial purpose, is quite silent about this intended blacksliding on Pratap's part, nor does any other Muslim historian mention the fact. Though the oral tradition in Bikaner supports the story, no mention is made thereabout in any of the chronicles of XVII century, nor does the chronicle of Dayal Dass written about a century ago know anything about it. Furthermore the whole story reads too thin. We are not told how

1. Cf. Maharana Yash Prakash p. 94 for the original verses. The English translation is Tod's though I have carefully compared it with the original.

Pratap opened up negotiations with Akbar. Is it believable that Akbar who would send for Man Singh from Mewar to reprimand him for the fact that he had not been severe enough against the Maharana would allow his life's dream to be spoiled by permitting Prithvi Raj to hearten up Pratap in his misfortune? Still further, Prithvi Raj could nurse his feelings of respect for Pratap in silence, could even very well allow his muse to sing his praises, but that he should revel in his own shame, call Akbar names, and incite Pratap to treason and rebellion and all this with the Emperor's permission- is to ask us to believe the impossible. What explanation can then be given for the traditional story preserved in Rajputana? Two questions arise. Are the verses in question Prithvi Raj's work?¹ On that the literary critics are not agreed. Furthermore, can the first two verses be accounted for only by believing in the story about Pratap's intended submission? Persian historians, as we have seen, make no mention of such a fact. Again Mehta Nensi is also silent on this question. Under the circumstances we are driven to believe that the verses in question if written by

1. Cf. also Dr Tessitori's Introduction to his edition of Prithvi Raj's ballad on Rukmani and Krishna.

Prithvi Raj record his offering of homage to the Maharana. The first letter to Pratap wherein Prithvi Raj questions Pratap's intentions would then be left unexplained. But alone it does not matter much. The tradition in Mewar supports the story, though it only speaks of a rumour of Pratap's intentions leaking to Delhi.

When Shahbaz Khan left Mewar he was succeeded in the task of subduing the 'rebels of these provinces' by Dastam Khan,¹ a Commander of three thousand horse,² who had since 1577 been the Subadar of Ajmer.³ He was not destined to accomplish much as he was wounded in an expedition against some members of the reigning Kachhwaha house of Jaipur on June 16, 1580.⁴ He died the next day at Sherpur greatly mourned by the Emperor.

Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan was now appointed to the vacant governorship.⁵ Though the Kachwaha trouble was over, Akbar still thought it necessary to give many and varied instructions to Abdur Rahim. Thanks to Pratap, Ajmer had become one of the most important charges in the

1. *Akbar Nama* III, 328.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 396.

3. *Akbar Nama*, III, 210.

4. *Akbar Nama*, III, 326.

5. *Akbar Nama*, III, 327.

imperial gift and the holder thereof had to be rather an astute statesman. Abdur Rahim had served against Mewar before. He had accompanied Akbar when after the battle of Haldi Ghat he had overrun Mewar. He was one of the commanders under Shahbaz Khan when the latter invaded Mewar in 1579. Now that the vacancy occurred in the Subah at Ajmer his earlier experience counted in his favour and he was appointed to be the governor thereat.

What was Khan-i Khanan to do? He had seen Mewar trampled underfoot by Akbar's armies and yet remain unconquered. He had been Shahbaz Khan's accomplice when the latter had tried to indulge in methods of frightfulness to make the Rana submit. Even that had not served its purpose. The Mirza succeeding to this most important task as an independent commander must chalk out a way for himself.

The gods however conspired to take the matters out of his hands. He invaded Mewar, and was staying at Sherpura with his family. Kanwar Amar Singh, Pratap's eldest son and heir, was in command at Gogunda. He swept down on Sherpura and captured the Mirza's family. When Pratap heard of it he at once released them and sent them with all honour to Mirza

Khan¹. The Mirza's heart was touched. Poet as he was, he at once exclaimed :

ध्रम रहमी रहसी धरा, खिमजामे खुरमान,
अमर विस्मभर उपरै, रखिथो नहशो राण॥²

"All is unstable in this world ; land and wealth will disappear, but the virtue of a great name lives for ever. Pratap abandoned wealth and land, but never bowed his head alone, of all the princes of Hind, he preserved his honour"³ This fraternization rendered Abdur Rahim unfit for any more active service in Rajputana and he was recalled towards the end of the year 1591.⁴

1. Raj Parsaasti, V. 32, 33. Amar Kavya 87 (a)

2. Rahim, 7.

3. Todd's translation, p. 272, (1914). A better rendering would run thus, 'Imperial possessions would disappear but Dharm and the earth would always remain. The Rana trusting his gods has made his honour immortal.'

4. Akbar Nama, III. 375.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST EXPEDITION TO MEWAR.

REVERSAL OF IMPERIAL POLICY.

It was probably about this time that Pratap suffered another great loss. His brother Jagmal had long been an imperial grandee and had since 1581 been the Joint ruler of Sarohi. His ambition soon grew unsatisfiable and he succeeded in turning out Rao Surtan, the real ruler of Sarohi, first from his palace and then from the state itself. Surtan sought safety in the mountains of Abu. Thinking that he was not safe in Sarohi as long as Surtan was lurking in Abu, Jagmal invaded the portions still held by Surtan in October 1583¹. At Datani, a fierce battle was fought on October 17, 1583. Rai Singh Rathor, had been sent to reinforce Jagmal's local troops but the combined Mughal forces were unable to withstand the fierce patriotism of Surtan's Chohans. Rai Singh and Jagmal paid with their lives for thus daring to oust Surtan from his patrimony and the Mughal armies retreated in haste leaving Surtan in possession².

1. Nensi, I. 183, 184.

2. Akbar Nama, III. 413. Inscription on the gate of the Fort at Bikaner in J. A. S. B. Progress Report of Historic and Bardic Survey, 1918.

Jagmal had deserted Pratap and gone over to the enemy. Brother though he was, Pratap did not feel bound to go into mourning for his death at the hands of a confederate. Ordinarily the incident might have passed unnoticed but for a matrimonial complication. Pratap's grand daughter, Rao Amar Singh's daughter had to be betrothed about this time. Honouring a hero for his valour Pratap decided to give her in marriage to Surtan. Jagmal's younger brother Sagar, however resented the proposal. He was not, unlike Pratap, prepared to sink personal differences and give up the family feud simply because Jagmal had been a renegade. He had expected Pratap to wage a war on Surtan to avenge Jagmal's death even though he had died as an imperial grandee. But this proposal to unite the houses of Sarohi and Mewar in the face of such a calamity was too much for him to swallow. Pratap had, as we have seen, evolved a line of conduct which, to some of his conservative Rajput followers, was nothing short of heresy. He had vowed to keep the Sisodia flag flying and was prepared to sink all personal differences down. He had sacrificed his own comforts, what cared he for the delusion of a family feud if by overcoming it he could cement the friend-

ship between himself and valiant Surtan ? This marriage was one hero's homage to another. Pratap declined to stay the negotiations on Sagar's request with the result that Sagar left Mewar¹. He went to Delhi and was there offered the paltry office of a commander of 200 horse. He had sold his country for a mess of pottage.²

It was probably this defection of Sagar that resulted in a reversal of Akbar's policy. Since Man Singh had dealt tenderly with Mewar in 1576, no Rajput commander had led the expeditions to Mewar. On December 6, 1584, however, Raja Jagan Nath, son of Raja Bhar Mal of Jaipur was entrusted with the command of the imperial forces brought together against Pratap whose activities were again reported to be verging on the dangerous.³ Jagan Nath had served under Man Singh earlier in the battle of Haldi Ghat. His appointment to this command can be explained only on the supposition that Akbar had received some other token of the Rajputs' willingness to carry measures against Pratap to the extreme. This token, we should

1. Nensi, I p, 63.

2. Maasir-ul-Umra, II, 175.

3. Akbar Nama, III, 440.

guess, lay in Sagar's desertion.

Raja Jagan Nath was appointed the Subahdar of Ajmer as well. He had Ja'far Beg as his Paymaster-general. They soon reached Mewar. Here Pratap again left them to do their work in splendid isolation. They attacked Mandalgarh about 100 miles north-east of Udaipur which was soon reduced. Here Raju was left in occupation. Raja Jagan Nath then proceeded to Pratap's capital, probably Kumbhalgarh. On the approach of the Mughal armies, Pratap silently withdrew and passing through the mountain passes surprised the Mughals in the neighbouring districts. Raju was left in pursuit but before he could catch up with Pratap's armies, Pratap had taken a turn and marched on to Chitor. The Mughal commander had again to follow suit, but Pratap escaped this time as well. The armies of Raja Jagan Nath were, however, able to effect a junction with Raju's troops some times after and were successful in harassing the country side¹.

Jagan Nath's pursuit of the Rana continued, however. On October, 8, 1585, the Mughal forces very nearly captured Rana Pratap². They were

1. Akbar Nama, III, 440.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 468.

able to scour the country side and at last succeeded in surprising Pratap in his retreat. But a faithful Rajput gave the signal for danger. Pratap could barely escape with his life leaving his equipage to fall into the hands of the Mughals. The imperial armies now thought it useless to pursue Pratap any further by the tracks that he had followed. They heard that he had left for the Gujerat side and to intercept him in his attempts, they took the direct road to Gujerat. Pratap however had made himself scarce and the Mughal armies soon returned to Dongarpur. This was hastened by the rumours that Pratap was again effecting a junction with the Rai of Dongarpur thus raising troubles in that quarter. The Mughal armies were however beforehand with him and surprised the Rai before he could take up a position dangerous to them. The Rai had to submit and pay a large amount of money as tribute before the Mughals would depart from his country.¹ Jagan Nath remained here till about July 1587 when he was sent to accompany the expedition to Kashmir²

1. Akbar Nama, III, 468.

2. Akbar Nama, III, 523.

CHAPTER IX.

RAJPUT CONQUEST OF MEWAR.

Jagan Nath's departure marks an era in the history of Mewar. Akbar was sick of these expeditions now, so fruitless yet so costly. He had more important business to attend to as well on the North-Western Frontier and the Punjab. He left the Rana in peace now. The Akbar Nama mentions the appointment of Raja Gopal Jadun, a Commander of 2,000 horse to the province of Ajmer in 1589¹ of Sheroya Khan, in 1594², of Dewan Bharti Chand in 1595³, of Rustum Khan to the Fojdari of Chitor in 1595⁴, yet no mention is made of these commanders being entrusted with the task of putting down any rebellions therein. But neither is there any record of Pratap's having submitted as well. The irresistible conclusion confirms the Rajput tradition that Akbar left Pratap alone after 1587.

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1. Akbar Nama, III, 575.
 2. Akbar Nama, III, 655.
 3. Akbar Nama, III, 670.
 4. Akbar Nama, III, 696.

The respite was well utilized by Pratap. In the year 1589, he reorganized his forces, fell upon the Mughal garrisons in scattered places, and before the Mughals knew what had happened, he had overrun the whole country and made himself master thereof. In Chitor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh alone, the Mughal armies withstood the forces of the Rajput attack and they remained under Muslim occupation as is clear from the appointment of Imperial commanders to these charges from time to time. A Mughal mint was established at Chitor in 1590². The rest of the country passed into the hands of the Rajputs and the Maharana was able to rule here unmolested. To wipe off ancient scores, the Maharana led an expedition to Jaipur and there looted its rich city Malpura, 55 miles from Jaipur³.

Now Pratap had at last an easy time of it. So strenuous had been his opposition to, so consistent his fight against Akbar, that before this he had hardly time enough to lead a life of security. Two stories treasured by Rajput tradition illustrate the extremities to which he was sometimes reduced in those days. It so

1. Vir Vinod, II, 149 Amar Kavya, 89.

2. Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, II, Mint of Chitor.

3. Maharana Pratap by Devi Parshad, 44.

happened once that as the Maharana was sitting down to take his meals, the danger signal was given that the enemy was after him. He had to hasten from the spot and seek refuge elsewhere. Here again before his followers had time to settle down and allow him to enjoy the interrupted meal, the scouts brought the news that this mountainous retreat was being surrounded. Once again Pratap had to leave the place and hasten to a more secure spot. The Mughal pursuit did not slacken this time even and it was not before he had changed his headquarters seven times that he was able to enjoy his meal.¹ Another story speaks of the hardships his family had to endure as he passed from mountain to mountain and evaded Mughal pursuit. Kanwar Amar Singh's consort got a larger dose of discomfort than she could swallow and as they sat down in a rude hut, she asked womanwise if these troubles were ever going to end. Kanwar Amar Singh replied that as Maharana Pratap was opposing Akbar no one knew when their sorrowing days would terminate. The remark reached Pratap's ears and he exclaimed that Amar was born to sell his country's honour for royal comforts. Amar Singh stood rebuked for

1. Vir Vinod, II, 149.

his heedlessness and assured the Maharana that he would not be remiss in the discharge of his duties.¹ Such had been the days—happily now no more—which Pratap had cheerfully passed. There is a cave in Jawar which is alleged to have been used by Pratap in those insecure times and a house built at Rohera in the district of Sayra in Mewar is another remnant of the Maharana's steadfastness. The fort at Ahor in the district of Mogar is also associated with the history of these struggles as a place of refuge for Pratap.

The respite thus granted must have been well utilized by the Maharana. He knew it was not permanent and had therefore to keep his warriors in a state of perpetual preparedness. The ravages of time as also of Mughal armies had also to be repaired. The faithful chiefs who had stood by him had also to be rewarded. He gave Jagirs to two of his chiefs who became the founders of the houses of Amet and Bhindar. He discharged all his duties well.

Towards the beginning of the year 1597 he strained himself while shooting an arrow at a tiger. He was at Chavand which was

1. Vir Vinod, II, p. 149, 150.

2. Local tradition in Mewar.

now his capital. After a short illness he died here on January 19, 1597 not before he had made his successor and chieftains swear that they would uphold the flag he had kept flying and never submit to the new Imperial line at Delhi. He lies cremated at Chavand. He left behind him 15 sons¹ from eleven wives.² When the news reached Akbar he felt sorry. The famous Rajput bard Dursa was in attendance at the court and he at once expressed his feelings in the following verses³.

अस लैगो अनदाग पाघ लैगो अणनामी ।
 गौ आडा गवडाय, जिको वहतो धुर बार्मी ॥
 नव रोजै नह गयो, न गो आतसां नवल्ली ।
 न गौ भरोखां हेठ, जेठ दुनियाण दहल्ली ॥
 गहलोत राण-जीती गयो, दसन मूंद रसणा डसी ।
 नीसास मूक भरिया नयन, तो मृत शाह प्रतापसी ॥

“O Pratap you kept your horses unbranded, your head unbowed, your fame untarnished. You were strong enough to carry on your work against heavy odds. You never participated in the Nauroze festival, nor did you mount guard on the imperial presence down the *Jharoka Darshan* (the salutation balcony). You attained

1. Nensi, 1, 69.

2. Vir Vinod, 11, 150.

3. Maharana Yasha Prakash, 137, 138.

a very high place in this world. On hearing of your death, O Pratap, Akbar's eyes were dimmed and his tongue stuck in his throat, for you had really won after all."

The courtiers were thunderstruck on hearing this supreme tribute to Pratap's memory and awaited with baited breath some manifestation of Akbar's wrath on the impertinent bard's head. For once Akbar was generous; now that Pratap was no more, it was useless and unprofitable to quarrel with his memory. He praised the bard's composition and rewarded him suitably. Not so Abul Fazl, however, who ascribes Pratap's death to the poison administrated by his son and successor Amar Singh. As the statement sounds rather too thin, he enlightens his readers further by declaring the true cause of Pratap's death as well in the next sentence.¹

Thus this sun of Mewar's glory set at a comparatively early age of 57.

A contemporary bard thus mourned his death:—

सामो आवियो सुरसाथ सहेतो, ऊँच वहा ऊदाणा ।
अक्फवर साहू सरस अणामिलियां, राम कहू मिल राणा ॥
प्रम गुरु कहे पधारो पातल, प्राणा करणा प्रवाढा ।

1. Akbar Nama, 111, 717.

इवे सरस अमिलया हींदू मोसूं मिल मेवाहा ॥
 एकंकार जो रहियो अलगें, अकबर सरस अनैसा ॥
 विसन भण रुद्र ब्रह्म विचालै, वीजा सांगण वैसो ॥¹

"Rama along with attendant gods thus welcomed Udai Singh's son Pratap Singh bearing a proud mien. 'You did not feel elated in waiting upon Akbar, come therefore unto me. Come on, your Lord of Mewar, hero of a hundred fights, you did not submit to the Muslims. You were not a party to the confusion of the Hindu and the Muslim religions on the earth below. Come on then, O Pratap Singh, Rana Sanga's peer ! and take your seat between Brahma and Shiva. !'"²

1. Maharana Yasha Prakash, 136, 137.

2. Udaipur Chronicle (MS) mentions an attack of Pratap on Ahmadnagar (leaf 55.) Kaviraj Banki Dass also speaks of an attack of Pratap's on Gujrat and his success therein. (Note No. 279). When the Mughal and the Rajput armies met, the Maharana speared the Mughal Commander but so heavy was the thrust that he could not take out the spear. Rao Japa of Katharya came to the Maharana's help and took out the spear. The Rana was so much pleased that he gave a robe of honour to the chief whose successors were duly in receipt of this honour at the anniversary of the battle, the Dussehra, till the times of Banki Dass.

CHAPTER X. CHARACTER AND PLACE IN HISTORY.

Maharana Pratap occupies a very high place in the galaxy of the Hindu leaders who inaugurated a reaction against Muslim domination in India. For centuries the Hindus had submitted to their Muslim masters. Here and there isolated cases had occurred where a Kumbha or a Sanga had stood out from among his fellow-men and defied the powers that be. The Rajput submission to the imperial sway from Delhi had often been spasmodic. It has been customary to count Pratap as one of that band of hardy warriors who went on fighting against heavy odds rather than own a master. The foregoing pages, it is believed, would tend to correct that impression. Pratap rather belonged—we should rather say he was the precursor of—to the series that produced Shivaji in the Deccan and Ranjit Singh in the Punjab. He not only opposed Akbar's design in Mewar, he organised opposition thereto. Unlike the usual run of Rajput princes, he was always most happy, not in evading the Mughal invaders, but

in building coalitions to stem the tide of Mughal conquest in Rajputana. At one time or another, he united round his person, the fierce Deoras of Sarohi, the brave in battle, Rathors, the ruler of Idar, the princes of Dongarpur, the Hadas of Bundi, and the Chohans of Ranthambor. As soon as one coalition was dead, he would build up another and continue flinging defiance at the Mughals. And in bringing these, what had hitherto been, heterogeneous elements together, he would not sometimes spare himself. Rao Surtan Deora had expelled his nominee from Sarohi, but rather than stand on ceremony with him and vow an eternal enmity for this petty cause, he invited his co-operation and had him as an ally in his wars against the imperial powers! Rao Maldev of Jodhpur and Rana Udai Singh had been enemies in their days and nothing would have pleased an old orthodox Rajput better than to carry on the family feud and weaken his own power into the bargain. Yet when Rao Chander Sen, Rao Maldve's son and successor, appeared at Kumbhalgarh to congratulate Pratap on his succession, the Maharana forgot all early quarrels and the two remained close allies till the former's death in 1581. But more than anything else he must be

onoured for beginning that system of warfare for which credit has hitherto gone to Shivaji and the Mahrattas alone. The caste system in India threw the burden of defending the country on the Rajputs' shoulders and the Rajputs tried rather to fight and die on a battlefield than organize any large scale operations. Pratap followed the Rajput tradition to the extent of fighting a pitched battle where it could not be avoided. But he delighted most in leading the Mughals a dog's life, harassing them on all possible occasion yet in 'fighting and running away, so that he could fight another day.' It was this system of guerrilla warfare which was the backbone of Pratap's resistance to the Mughals. This degraded the Mughal invasions to, what they later came to be against the Mahrattas, the useless task of beating the waves, The waters parted as the stick came, but no sooner was it gone than did they unite again.

He did not only inaugurate this system of warfare but carried it through as well successfully. Invade it as they would, the imperial armies never succeeded in making themselves masters of Mewar. They could overrun the country but could never conquer it.

He imbued the Sisodias with his own indo-

mitable will and nothing that the Mughals could do would shaken the resolve of his own people to follow his lead. A Jagmal or a Sakat, even a Sagar might go and barter the proud Sisodia name for a place in the imperial court, but among his own followers counting between them, among others, one Raja, three Raos, and seven Ravats¹, we never hear of a desertion. Yet Mewar was invaded several times and opportunities for desertion would have been innumerable.

The success of his methods is apparent from the fact that he succeeded in winning back Mewar even against Akbar. Sanga was great but Pratap must be considered greater still who succeeded in keeping the name of the Sisodias unsullied, who taught the Rajputs that it was as heroic to fight and run away, if one could succeed ultimately thereby, as to fight and die on the battlefield, who organized coalition after coalition thus teaching the Rajputs the lesson of unity in which they so much lacked. When Man Singh and Bhagwan Das, Kalyan Mal and Rai Singh, Jagmal and Luda accepted service under Akbar, Pratap vowed eternal opposition and kept his word winning

1. Udaipur (MS.) p. 57.

respect from his opponents in the process.

It is to be regretted that the circumstances of his times did not allow him sufficient time to devote himself much to the task of civil organization. Organising of victory against Akbar's might was a Herculean task which must have exhausted him involving as it did some reorganization on the civil side as well.

But nevertheless Pratap was no fanatic. If he stood out against the Mughals, he hated them cordially as the violator of his country's liberties. But that was all. The personal honour of his enemies was as safe in his hands as in their own. When Amar Singh rejoiced in capturing Abdur Rahim's harem, he sharply reprimanded him and sent them back with all honour. When a night attack on Man Singh would have made short work of that Kachhwaha's ambitions, Pratap Singh would have none of it. We hear of no cruelties practised by his orders on any one who happened to have the misfortune of being born into a religion differing from his own. And so far was he from depending on an appeal to religion alone in his determination to keep safe the liberty of his motherland, that he was able to lead Muslim commanders and Muslim soldiers

even against Akbar's might.

He practised the Rajput art of hospitality to the full. Whosoever flocked to the Sisodia court, deserted by fortune and hard pressed by the Mughals, found a welcome home here. Many a prince, Ram Shah of Gwalior, the most prominent among them, found a welcome refuge with him.

A great general, a brave warrior, a successful organizer, a prince among men, a generous foe, Pratap's name is sure to be honoured wherever these virtues are respected.

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(a). *Sanskrit.*

1. Raja Prashasti ; A long inscription in 35 chapters on the Raj Samand Lake written in 1665 in the reign of Maharaja Raj Singh. Text to be found quoted in Vir Vinod though defective in readings. The author of the inscription was Ranchor Bhat.

This account of the brave deeds of the Sisodias was first brought to light in 1881. It is a unique item among the inscriptions of the world, such a long piece in poetry inscribed on stone in this fashion. Written about a century after, some mistakes have crept in its account of Pratap. Pratap's account covers verses 20 to 50 of canto 4.

2. Amar Kavya Vansavali : MS. No. /5 in the Sajjan Vanivilas Library, the Palace Udaipur.

This account in verse of the deeds of the Ranas of Mewar was probably composed in the reign of Maharaja Raj Singh after 1665. It refers to the Raj Prasasti composed in that year

It contains 1408 verses, covering 103 leaves with 9 lines to a page. Leaf 82 is missing. It begins the story of the Ranas of Mewar from their origin and comes down to the coronation of Raj Singh. Pratap's account covers 16 leaves from 77 to 90. The MS. is very much defective on account of the carelessness and errors of the scribe.

The account though composed within a century of Pratap's death errs in some places. It was from this MS. that Tod wrongly derived the information that Salim led the Mughal forces in the battle field of Haldi Ghat. This is due to the confusion between Shaikhaji, a son of Pratap, and Salim's pet name which was also Shaikhu. The confusion of અમબેર and અમર by the scribe is responsible for some more mistakes. It mentions Pratap's attack on Ahmedabad, probably a poetic way of expressing the fact that he attacked, as we know from Persian sources, outlying districts in Gujarat.

3. Sarvdesvratant Sangrah by Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesh Thakkar; MS. in the Library of India Office, London. I am thankful to Principal Woolner, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E., for obtaining for me the rotographed copy of this MS. at the cost of the Panjab University Library, Lahore.

The MSS. contains 227 leaves written on both sides with two loose leaves written on one side alone. The first leaf seems to be missing. The book begins abruptly with the story of Akbar's birth at Amarkot on a loose leaf. This is followed by leaf one which opens with a verse that is numbered four. Thus the opening leaf seems to be absent. Towards the end again, after blessings have been asked for this undertaking of the author, and the book formally brought to an end, comes a loose leaf containing a rambling dissertation.

(b). *Persian.*

4. Zabdut-Tawarikh by Nur-ul-Haq, Panjab Public Library, Lahore. This provides a check upon the fulsome laudation of the Emperor in Akbar Nama. For our purposes, its silence as to the alleged submission of Pratap to Akbar is significant. It was written towards the end of Akbar's reign.

5. Rowz-ut-Tahrin by Tahir, MS. in the Panjab Public Library, Lahore: written in the reign of Akbar, it provides another check upon Abul-Fazl's story of the submission of all and sundry to Akbar.

(c). *Hindi.*

6. Nensi's account of Jodhpur : MS. in pri-

vate possession at Jodhpur. Written in the reign of Aurangzeb by a Prime Minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, it supplies information of an almost contemporary authority about the activities of Rao Chander Sen of Jodhpur. It has been described in detail by the present writer in *Modern Review*, April, 1923 as one of the 'Three Chronicles of Marwar.'

7. Mundhyar Khayat and

8. Kaviraj's Khayat: MSS. in private possession at Jodhpur. They were also written in the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. They supply a good deal of information about men and things in the reign of the Rao Chander Sen. They form our only authority about the outcome of Akbar's visit to Nagor in 1570 resulting in the submission of Rao Udai Singh of Jodhpur and Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner. They throw a good deal of welcome light on the politics of Rajputana.

Described by the present writer in the article above mentioned.

9. Udaipur Ki Khayat, MS. 16 in the State Library, the Fort, Bikaner, described as about 100 years old in Dr. Tessitori Catalogue of Prose Chronicles of Bikaner. (A.S.B)

This is a curious MS. without a beginning

and without the usual ending. Thus neither the name of the scribe nor that of the author is given. Presumably the present copy of the MS. is 100 years old. As it contains many blank pages, it is arguable that it is a copy of some older Khayat. It gives in a bald outline the history of different reigns, upto that of Rana Raj Singh II who ascended the throne in 1753. Presumably it was written when Raj Singh was reigning. Pratap's reign occupies pages 42a, 42b, and 43a. However it does add to our knowledge of Pratap's story. It is our one authority of an exploit of Pratap previous to his becoming the Rana. Further it gives a list of the Rana's charities and also hands down the name of Pancholi Gura as Pratap's Prime Minister. It differs from the current versions of Man Singh—Pratap episode in describing Man Singh's leaving Kumbhal Garh unperturbed after Pratap's refusal to dine with him. What angered the Kachhwaha chief we are told here was the story of the ceremony of purification to which the place and the vessels were subjected. There is a copy in the Palace Library Udaipur as well which I have quoted in the footnotes. This is a better copy.

10. Phutakar Duha Sangrah ; A collection

of miscellaneous verses ; MS. 20 in the State Library, the Fort, Bikaner, described by Dr.Tessitori in his Catalogue of Ballads of Bikaner. There is one song on Pratap not to be found in Maharana Yash Prakash. It possesses however no historical value.

11. Khayat of Bikaner by Dyal Dass ; A recent work in MS. completed about 1851 A.D. I consulted it for the Prithvi Raj episode as also no 12. It is written in the old style of the chronicle writers. However it is a good summary of Bikaner tradition. It knows nothing about Prithvi Raj's letter of exhortation to Pratap.

MS. 1 in Dr. Tessitori's Catalogue, copy in the state Library, the Fort, Bikaner.

12. Khayat of Bikaner by an anonymous writer of Rai Singh's time, MS. 4 of Dr. Tessitori's Catalogue, the State Library, the Fort, Bikaner.

Like 11 it does not mention the Prithvi Raj episode.

II. Published Original Authorities.

(a). *Hindi.*

13. Nensi's Khayat, Volume I ; Nagri Pracharni Sabha's edition in Hindi. Besides volume I so far published, I have had access to the proof copies of the second volume as well which is being

edited by Pt. Gori Shankar Ojha. Like 6 referred to above it is the work of Mehta Nensi. It is a general history of Rajputana dealing with the different clans that ruled over different states. The first volume published deals with the ruling dynasties of Udaipur, Dongarpur, Banswara, Pratap Garh, Bundi, Sarohi, Jalor and many other minor dynasties. Pratap's account covers pages 68, 69, 62, 63, 64, 70. Besides, there are cross references in the accounts of Sarohi and Bundi and many minor dynasties. Nensi committed suicide in 1670. There is internal evidence to show that he began writing the book about 1650 about three-quarters of a century after Pratap's death. It is a very valuable history of Rajputana especially for the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. It throws a welcome flood of light on many men and things from the point of view of seventeenth century Rajputs. The paucity of material about Pratap is due to the fact that Nensi like other Rajputs of his times was bred in traditions of Mughal subordination.

14. Jetsi Ro Chhanda by Vithu Suji; (*Bibliotheca Indica*, volume 1430). This ballad of Kamran's unsuccessful attack on Bikaner in 1535 contains probably the earliest Rajput account of the encounter between Sanga and Babur.

(b). Sanskrit.

15. Carmcandvamsuktiranam by Jai Som written in 1650 A. v. (1597 A. D.) This is a very valuable history in verse throwing a good deal of light on Akbar's relations with the Jains. The only reference to our story, however, is to Rai Singh's conquest of Jalor.

MS. in possession of Pt. Gori Shankar Ojha who is editing it for the press. He very kindly lent me his advance copy which is complete except for the introduction. It is a biography and family history of Karm Chand Jain who is said to have been one of Akbar's ministers. He came originally from Bikaner where he had acted as Rai Singh's minister. Thus his story as well as that of his family carries along with it a narration of the history of Bikaner as well. The book is a most valuable document on the influence of Jainism on Akbar. As far as our subject is concerned, it only mentions once Rai Singh's conquest of Jalor when he was one of the officers sent against Maharana Pratap.

(c). Persian.

16. Akbar Nama, (A. S. B.'s edition of the Persian Text).

Official History of Akbar written by his courtier Abul Fazl. A comparative study of the

book with other reliable sources is revealing all the usual faults of an official history. It blurs over unpleasant truths, it conceals unpalatable defeats. Its one function is to glorify the emperor. Of course it supplies a good deal of Official information about Pratap. Strangely enough it devotes more pages to his activities than Nensi does. As noticed in the text it is not always reliable as far as Pratap's connection with Akbar is concerned.

17. *Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh* by Abdul Qadar Badayuni ; A.S.B.'s edition of the Persian Text.

It is especially useful on the battle of Haldi Ghat and what followed. Badayuni was himself serving with Man Singh's expeditionary force. He was sent to report Man Singh's success at Haldi Ghat. He later joined Akbar at Dipalpur when Akbar was busy in his imperial invasion of Mewar. Thus his account of all these occurrences is very valuable as that of an eye-witness. As an unofficial history it is more reliable except on religious questions wherein its author held the conservative views.

18. Memoirs of Jahangir in Roger's English translation.

They furnish our one reliable check on Abul Fazl's oft repeated statements about Pratap's submission to Akbar.

19 Ferishta's History of Hindustan, A. S B.'s edition of the Persian Text.

20. Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din. A. S. B.'s edition of the Persian Text, incomplete ; Translation in Elliot's History, Vol. V ; Lucknow edition, of the Persian Text. 19 and 20, by their silence and by their occassional comments correct and modify the statements made by Abul Fazl. Tabaqat is a contemporary source and as such is very valuable. It is our one authority that suggests that Pratap's accession to the throne was watched very carefully by Akbar who stationed a special force to watch his activities when he himself went to Gujrat.

21. Maasir-i-Rahimi ; A. S. B.'s edition of the Persian Text.

This provides an account of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan's activities in Mewar when he was deputed against Pratap. It is more an account of learned men and poets whom Abdur Rahim patronised than a regular detailed history of its subject

22. Mirat-i-Ahmadi by Mohammad Hussain written in the eighteenth century by a Diwan of Gujrat ; Baroda edition of the Text.

23. Tarikh-i-Gujrat by Mir Tarab Ali : These two books have supplied information

about Akbar's attack on Gujerat and have thus helped in dating Todar Mal's visit to Pratap's court. Of course their peculiar value lies in their incorporating a large number of official documents, but these become useful for a later portion of Mughal History.

24. Babur Nama; King's revised translation published by Oxford University Press.

25. Tarikh-i-Salatin Afghanan by Naamat Ullah, translated in Elliot's History, Volume IV and in Dorn's History of Hindustan.

26. Tarikh-i-Daudi
translated in Elliot's History, Volume IV, MS. in Victoria Memorial Library, Udaipur.

These three books throw a flood of light on Sanga's encounter with Babar.

27. Ain-i-Akbari, Jarret's English translation and Lucknow edition of the Persian Text.

The entries about Mewar must have reference to a period earlier than the actual compilation of the Ain, as about that time a large part of Mewar was in Rajput hands. I have taken them to describe the occupation of the country after the Fall of Chitor.

28. Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri by Mutamad Khan, Lucknow edition of the Text. Its first volume is of course a summary of the earlier

reigns based on current works. But in dealing with Pratap, it has assigned a reason for Man Singh's appointment against Pratap not hinted at elsewhere.

(d). *English.*

29. Early European Travellers in India, Oxford University Press.

30. Roe's Embassy to India, Oxford University Press. Roe was present when Rana Amar Singh submitted. In recording the coming of his son, Karn Singh to the court: Roe and Finch refer to the earlier relations of the Mughals with the Ranas of Mewar.

31. Laet's Topography of India written in 1631, translated by E. Lethbridge, 1871. It helps us in estimating the importance of Mewar as the land through which the route from Agra to Surat passed. It is based on original materials collected by the author.

III. Modern Collections of Original Materials.

32. Rahim Ratnawali by Yajnik; and

33. Rahim Sudha edited by Tripathi claim to be fairly exhaustive collections of the Hindi poetry from the pen of Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. No. 32 contains the famous couplet of Abdur Rahim about Rana Pratap.

34. Maharana Yash Parkash by Bhur Singh

is a valuable collection of verses, contemporary and otherwise about Rana Pratap. It reproduces all the known verses of the famous contemporary poet Dursa as well as the verses ascribed to Prithvi Raj of Bikaner.

V. Inscriptions.

. Raja Prasasti inscription has already been described as MS.I.

35. Inscription on black marble slabs in the entrance to the Jagdish Temple, Udaipur.

The whole inscription covers four slabs two on each side. The two slabs on the right containing $44 + 47$ verses are mainly dedicatory. The 139 verses on the two slabs on the left are historical and give an account of the house of Mewar till the times of the builder of the temple, Rana Jagat Singh. Verses 39 to 43 refer to Pratap. They claim as mentioned in the text that Pratap worsted Man Singh in the battle and also acclaim him as the protector of the cows in the traditional Hindu style. It has not yet been published nor described fully, a transcription of the inscription however is in the Lal Chand Library, E.A.V. College, Lahore.

36. Rai Singh inscription in the Fort of Bikaner in the J.A.S.B. (1918) refers to his participation in the battle of Dattani.

V. Paintings.

37. The Battle of Haldi Ghat from the beginning to the death of Chitak. A painting on cloth in the Palace, Udaipur, held to be contemporary by Kaviraj Shyamaldas. It depicts the different scenes in the battle beginning with the march forth of the two armies, exhibits Pratap's, marvelous feats of arms, his meeting with Man Singh, his flight from the battle field, the persuit, the appearance of Sakat and the death of Chitak.

This painting is a useful authority and bears out the traditional account of the battle which has been rejected by Pt. Gori Shankar Ojha on sentimental grounds alone.

38. Pratap reading a letter; an old painting in the Palace collection. The age and the date of the painting is not known and thus it is difficult to decide whether or no the painting was made at some later date to illustrate the traditional account *already current* of Prithvi Raj's sending a letter to Pratap. Or it is possible that the painting represents a contemporary or semi-contemporary attempt to portray this incident.

39. Pratap on horse back and Pratap standing are modern productions, the first by Panna Lal and the second by Ravi Verma utiliz-

ing such contemporary materials as were available at the time.

40. Kanvar Pratap on horse back.

A glass painting in the Bogor House Udaipur depicts a scene from Pratap's life before his accession to the throne. The date and the age of this again is not known though it is more than a century and a half old at any rate.

VI. Coins.

41. Catalogue of Coins in the Central Museum, Lahore, by Whitehead, Vol. II, Coins of Mughal Emperors. It tells us that during the period under study Chitor was a Royal Mint between 995 and 1009 A.H.

VII. Modern works utilising some of the now unavailable original sources.

42. Tod's Rajasthan ; London edition of 1914.

Tod's Annals form a valuable collection of material current and extant in his days. He had no time to evaluate his sources by a comparison with other authorities and hence his book suffers from many a defect. Yet it is he who has popularized the story of Pratap and created an interest in the study of history of Rajputana. A pioneer work, no references to authorities are

to be found in his pages. It is simply a record of tradition.

43. Vir Vinod by Shyamal Dass, printed but withheld from publication. I have used the transcript in the Lal Chand Library of the printed copy in the Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Benares's Library.

A general history of Mewar particularly but of Rajputana and Muslim India generally. Its author enjoyed access to much of the material that is not now available. Its value lies in reproducing a good deal of the original correspondence between the Mughal Emperors and Mewar State. But that comes later. As far as Pratap's is concerned, it fills in many a gap left by Nensi's account by drawing upon local tradition and the traditions of different families. It suffers from the fact that it cites hardly any authorities.

44. Vansh Bhaskar by Suraj Mal.

A general history of Bundi in verse, it refers to other states as well. It is another attempt to solidify current Rajput traditions. It is not very accurate, however. It escribes Man Singh's visit to the times of Rana Udai Singh.

45. Banki Dass ka Itahasik Baton ka Sangrah.

MS. now in possession of Pt. Gori Shankar Ojha lent by the late Munshi Devi Prashad. This is a miscellaneous collection of historical facts written by Kaviraj Banki Dass more than a century ago. There is no order preserved, chronological or geographical. Pt. Gori Shankar has prepared an index covering the Sisodia states. It records some ten incidents about Maharana Pratap. It contains an elaborate account of Pratap's expedition to Surat which is barely hinted at in 9.

46. Maasir-ul-Umara, A.S.B.'s edition of the Persian Text.

It is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal grandees of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Its biographies are based on Persian Chronicles available at that time. It throws a good deal of light on the activities of the Mughal Chiefs who served against Pratap. As such it sometimes furnishes valuable information not available elsewhere in the published works now. These notices have furnished connecting links between the otherwise disconnected risings which were so frequent in Rajputana after Pratap's accession.

VII. Modern Works.

47. Akbar by Vincent Smith.

It contains a fairly good account of Akbar's reign. Vincent Smith, however, had no access to Rajput sources.

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|-----|--|---------------|---------------------|
| 48. | Rana Udai Singh, Urdu, | } | |
| | Hindi | | |
| 49. | Maharana Pratap | by Munshi | |
| 50. | History of Sarohi | Devi Prashad. | |
| 51. | Khan-i-Khanan Nama :
Admirable little tracts. | } | |
| 52. | History of Sarohi | | by M.M. Gori |
| 53. | History of Rajputana, 3
volumes | | Shankar H.
Ojha. |

Ojha's History of Rajputana makes an attempt at repeating Tod's experiment of writing a comprehensive history of Rajputana. The author's knowledge of Rajput history as a whole is unsurpassed. He has however in this portion depended upon Munshi Devi Prashad's works and English Translations for reference to Persian Chronicles. This has occasionally led him into difficulties. The book also suffers from the author's attempt to make a god of Pratap.

54. Veli Krishna Rukmani, Rathora Raja Prithvi Raj Kahi ; Dr. Tessitori's learned introduction to the Text published by the A.S.B. discusses the question of the genuineness or

otherwise of Prithvi Raj's famous letter to Pratap when he is said to be about to submit to Akbar. Dr. Tessitori holds against Tod's story. His arguments dispose of the verses quoted originally by Tod. But they leave untouched the question about the one set of verses reproduced in the text.

55. Revenue resources of the Mughals by Thomas.
56. History of Medieval India by Vaidya, 3 volumes, useful for certain references to the early history of Mewar.
57. A Forgotten Hero of Marwar, J.A.S.B. XXI.
58. Three Chronicles of Marwar, Modern Review, April, 1923.
59. System of Administration in Marwar; 1532 to 1619, Calcutta Review, 1926. Articles by the present writer on certain aspects of Rajput History.

VIII. Works of Reference.

60. Imperial Atlas of India.
61. Rajputana Gazetteer.
62. An Indian Ephemeris by Pillai.
63. Mishra Bandhu Vinod, Vol. I.
64. Dr. Tessitori's Reports on the progress of Historic and Bardic Survey of Rajputana, published in the J.A.S.B. from time to time.

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