

History Research in Mahārāshtra

1

BIRTH-DATE OF SHIVAJI

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FOREWORD.

For over thirty years the late Mr. V. K. Rājwāde and his co-workers have been collecting letters and documents, pictures and manuscripts which would throw fresh light on the medieval history of Mahārāshtra and their efforts have by now secured enough material to keep a group of research-workers busy with them for over a generation. Some of the documents collected by these gentlemen have also necessitated revision of the current notions about the history of the Marāthās and to one who has access to them, many events and personalities appear in a different perspective.

A very large portion of the collection is in the possession of the Bhrāt-Itihās-Samshodhak Mandal (an Association of Research Workers in the History of India), Poona. Much of this, however, is in the Marathi language and the late Mr. Rājwāde and his co-workers have published all their researches also in Marāthi. Those who do not know this language are thus prevented from using their conclusions excepting those few which are made available by Prof. Sarkār or Mr. Kincaid, in their books. We propose removing this deficiency to some extent by publishing a number of bulletins *re* some important questions in the history of the Marāthās. In these bulletins an attempt will always be made to present the evidence, and to draw conclusions therefrom, in an impartial manner and whatever be the personal views of the compilers of the bulletins, the evidence will be marshalled without any prejudice whatsoever.

For the first bulletin in this series we choose the controversy which has arisen at present in this Province over the date of the birth of Shivāji. We choose this not only because it presents a topic of wide interest but because it shows in a striking manner the openness of the mind of the workers in this field, the care with which they test each new piece of evidence, the peculiar opportunities one has for cross-examination and the possibilities of obtaining fresh evidence from the most unexpected quarters. On reading the pages hereafter it will be seen that the problem has been under in-

vestigation for over twenty-five years. The late Mr. V. K. Rājwāde stated it first in the introduction of the fourth volume of his "Materials for the History of the Marāthās" published early in the year 1900 and the late Mr. B. G. Tilak discussed it in his paper (Kesari) in the April of that very year. In 1916 Mr. Tilak raised the same question again when presenting to the Bhārat-Itihās-Samshodhak-Mandal a new document which had come into his possession. The date given in this document differed from the usually accepted date by about three years, and striking though the announcement was, it was but coldly received at the time. New evidence, since obtained, supported this document in a remarkable manner and this needed careful sifting of all the available evidence and that was done.

The bulletin, therefore, presents a problem which has been disturbing the Marāthā historians for over twenty five years and which has been under close scrutiny for ten years at least. Whether the conclusion becomes acceptable or not is another matter; but there is no doubt that a very strong case is made in favour of the year 1630 A. D.

It is needless to add that these bulletins are essentially non-technical compilations, their chief aim being the creation of interest in the subject, in the minds of laymen. They are not intended to serve as source-books for the history of Mahārāshtra, although even a serious student of Marāthā history may profit by the many references given.

N. B.-Readers not familiar with the Hindu Calender will do well to read the Appendix first.

Poona, 10th May, 1927.

D. V. APTE.
M. R. PARANJPE.

शेकी शिवाजी वीर हस्तुकी
 चरमवी निमरुकी सुख पुण्य
 नसरी चारुकी मरुती शिवाजी
 चरी सुखी पापु मरुती वीर
 कवी मरुती वीर मरुती
 यती ना पुत्र मरुती वीर
 उडी राधा वीर मरुती

शिवाजी वीर मरुती
 कादणी पापु मरुती वीर
 या सुखी मरुती वीर मरुती
 घातुकी मरुती वीर मरुती
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The page from Jodhe Chronicle, showing the entry of the date of the birth of Shivaji.

(Slightly reduced).

ल्लेपोलसद्भित्तिनिमित्तस्वस्तिकाद्भुते ॥ स्फुरद्वितानपर्यंतलुलन्मौक्तिक
कजाळके ॥ २२ ॥ प्रत्यग्रपल्लवोपते विकीर्णश्वेतसर्षपे ॥ सद्यःसलिल
संस्पर्णसुवर्णकलशाचिन्विते ॥ २३ ॥ द्वारदेशोमयप्रान्तल्लिखितोचितदे
वते ॥ परितःस्थापितानेकदीप्रमंगलदीपके ॥ २४ ॥ विहितोपधिक
द्रव्यसंग्रहेस्तृप्तिकाग्रहे ॥ दिव्यतेजोमयीदेवीदिव्यरूपाव्यराजता ॥ २५ ॥
भूत्वाणप्राणस्वंधाद्यैः संमितेराकिवाहने ॥ राकेसंवत्सरेऽमुक्ते प्रवृत्ते
चोत्तरायणे ॥ २६ ॥ शिविरतैर्विर्त्तमाने प्ररास्तेमासिफाल्गुने ॥ कृष्ण

राम

सेतुतीयायां निशित्कन्ने सुशोभने ॥२७॥ अनुकूलतरेस्कंगसंश्रयैः पं
 चमिग्रहैः ॥ व्यंजिताशेषजगती स्थिरसाम्राज्यवैभवं ॥२८॥ अपारलाव
 ण्यगयं स्वर्णवर्णमिनामयं ॥ कमनीयतमं श्रीवमुन्नतस्कंधमंडलं ॥२९॥
 अलिकांतमिष्टं त्कांतकुं कलाग्रविराजितं ॥ सरोजसुंदरद्वारं नवकिंशु
 कनासिकं ॥३०॥ सहजरमेरवदनं घनगंभीरनिखनं ॥ महोरस्कं म
 हाबाहुं सुषुवेसाद्भुतं सुतं ॥३१॥ तदामुदामानुषाणां सुराणां च सह
 स्रवाः ॥ समंदुं दुभयस्तस्य नादेन नदतीभवत् ॥३२॥ वादित्राण्यप्य

राम
 ३९

The pages from Shivabharat recording the date of Shivaji's birth.

(Slightly reduced).

१२२५ ॥ श्री ॥ ६७७		
१	२	५
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१	१०	८
॥ श्री ॥ १२२५ ॥ ६७७ ॥ बुध ३ घटी ११ ॥ ३० ॥ सिद्धि १२ ॥ १२ ॥ १२ ॥ जन्म ॥ १२ ॥ १२ ॥		
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॥ श्री ॥ १२२५ ॥ ६७७ ॥ बुध ३ घटी ११ ॥ ३० ॥ सिद्धि १२ ॥ १२ ॥ १२ ॥ जन्म ॥ १२ ॥ १२ ॥		

The page from the collection of horoscopes in the possession of Pandit Mithalal Vyas, Jodhpur, giving Shivaji's horoscope.

(Slightly bigger)

The Problem.

Early in the year 1900 A. D. the late Mr. V. K. Rājwāde published the fourth volume of his *Marāthyañchayā Itihāsāchi Sādhane* (Materials for the History of the Marathas), and in the introduction of that volume he has discussed several incidents in the first half of the seventeenth century. As the birth of Shivāji is by far the most important event in this period, Mr. Rājwāde's attention was naturally attracted to the fact that the dates of birth of Shivāji as recorded in the many bakharas (accounts), available to him, widely differed in details although many of them gave the year 1627, and the month of April*. In other details such as the week day, the time of the day and the name of year, almost every bakhar gave a different account.‡

"It is a pity," says the late Mr. B. G. Tilak in an article in his paper, (Kesarī) on the same subject, (14th April 1900), "that there should be so many contradictory statements about this important event, but it is no use denying that it is so. It is a problem sufficiently taxing the ingenuity of the research student". It would be better to state the problem here almost in the words of Mr. Tilak.

1. The poet Bhushan who was a contemporary of Shivāji and who was patronised by him does not mention any date of birth in his poem, *Sihv-bhushan*.

2. Sabhāsad wrote his account some fifteen years after the death of Shivāji (1695-96). Chitrāgupta's account is only an enlarged edition of this. Neither of these two give any date of birth. Only in one place is it stated that when Shivāji and his mother Jijābāi went to Bangalore to see Shahāji, the Prince was twelve years old.§

3. The Bakhar of Malhārāo Ramrāo Chitnis† mentions Shaka 1549, 2nd of the bright half of Vaishākh, Thursday and gives the name of the year as Prabhav. This, converted into English date, would mean 6th April 1627. Mathematical calculations, however, show that the week day is wrong; it ought to have been given as Saturday, not Thursday. If however the day is taken

* Shaka 1549, Vaishākh.

‡ See Sabhāsad, Page 3.

‡ See Rājwāde Vol. IV, Page 38.

† See Chitnis, Page 27.

as correctly mentioned, the date (Tithi) would be wrong. Chitnis wrote his bakhar about 130 years after the death of Shivāji i. e. about the year 1810 A. D.

4. The *Rāyari Bakhar* which has been published by Prof. Forest gives the year of birth in one place as Shake 1548 and in another place as Shake 1549. It notes that Shivāji died in Shake 1602 (1680 A. D.) and of the 53 years of his life, 36 years were spent in expeditions. It also states that at the time of the death of his tutor, Dādāji Kondadev, Shivāji was sixteen years old. We have thus only the year of birth; no date is given. But Mr. Rājwāde's copy of the *Rāyari Bakhar** states that Shivāji was born in Shake 1548, Kshaya Samvastar, Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaishākh. But again either the name of the day or the date is wrong. If the date is taken as correct the week day ought to be Thursday, not Monday.

5. Some chronological tables from Dhār, in the possession of the editor of *Kāvyetihās-sangraha* give Shake 1549, Prabhav, Vaishākh 5th of the bright half, Monday as the date of birth. This is right as far as it goes, but it conflicts with the statement in other places that the Nakshatra was Rohini, which Mr. Rājwade accepts.

6. *Shiva-Digvijaya*, (Triumph of Shivaji), printed and published in Baroda gives Shake 1549, Prabhav, Vaishākh 2nd of the bright half, Thursday, Nakshatta Rohini. As shown above (Chitnis account) these are self-contradictory statements.

7. *Shri-Shiva-Pratap*, also published in Baroda gives Shake 1549 Raktākshi. Raktākshi was the name of the year 1546 Shake not 1549.

8. A Sanskrit poem by poet Purushottam gives no date.

9. The journal *Kāvyetihās Sangraha* publishes *Marāthi Samsājyāchi Chhoti Bakhar* (A Short Account of the Marāthā Empire) which gives the date as Shake 1549, Kshaya, *Vaishākhā*, 5th of the bright half, Monday. The name of the year is wrong. It ought to be Prabhava.

10. The journal *Bhāratvarsha*, publishes another account of Shivāji known as *Ēkyānnakalāmi Bakhar* (the Ninety-one Paragraph Account). In its fifteenth paragraph, the date of birth

* Rājwāde Vol. IV. Page 39.

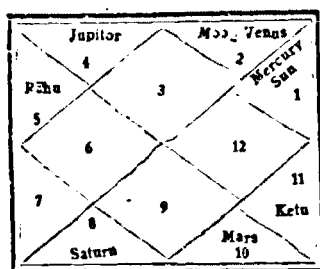
is given as Shake 1559, Kshaya, Vaishākh, 5th of the bright half, Monday. Supposing 1559 is a slip for 1549, the date is identical with that in (9) above and has to be rejected.

11. *Bhāratvarsha* also prints a geneological table of Shivāji's family which gives Shake 1549, Vaishākh, 5th of the bright half, but does not give the *Samvatsar*, and the name of the day; the details, therefore, cannot be verified.

12. The same journal gives another incomplete entry from the *Bakhar of Panditrāo*. It is Shake 1549, Prabhav.

13. *The Pant Pratinidhi Bakhar* also published in *Bhāratvarsha* gives 1549, 15th of the bright half of Vaishākh, Monday. Here 15th is probably a slip for 5th and then it is the same in (5).

14. *Kavyetiḥās-Sangraha* has published the *Bakhar of Sabhāsada*. In the appendix of the book, the Editor, Mr. K. N. Sāne, gives the following horoscope of Shivāji.



This is obviously a horoscope put down by somebody who did not understand even ordinary astronomical calculations. If we suppose Jupiter is rightly placed, Saturn and Rāhu are in impossible situations; if we suppose Saturn and Rāhu are correctly housed, Jupiter's place becomes impossible.

From the fourteen references given above it is clear that there is a general agreement on the year and the month being Shake 1549 Vaishākh, but the other details supplied are in most cases palpably wrong and cannot be defended, howsoever we try to do it.

"It is rather surprising" says Mr. Tilak in the article in *Kesari* from which the above is taken, "that there should be so much uncertainty about the date of birth of so great a person as Shivāji, who was born only about 275 years ago. It should be noted, however, that the dates of the birth of Emperor Napoleon or Duke of Wellington are not more definitely known. When Shivāji

was born nobody could possibly guess that he would be the founder of the Marāthā Empire and one need not wonder that the documents so far available make all sorts of confusing statements probably gathered from heresay, or based on rough calculations."

A Valuable Find.

The question thus remained unsettled for a long time. Mr. Rājwāde favoured Shake 1549, Vaishākha, 5th of bright half, while Mr. Tilak was inclined to accept Shake 1549, Vaishākha, 1st of bright half.* (We say 'inclined' because Mr. Tilak never gave his final verdict on this question, and hoped some day to secure further light from the new papers that were being collected by Mr. Rājwāde and his coworkers.) But the uncertainty was about the date (Tithi); no body, ever appeared† to doubt that the year and the month (Shake 1549, Vaishākha) may be wrong, although it will be seen by again going over the fourteen references in the last chapter, that the contemporary accounts gave neither the year nor the month.

It was, therefore, a revelation when one day in 1916 Mr. Tilak read his note on his new find 'The Jeddhe Shakāvali' and announced that it gave the date of birth of Shivāji as Shake 1551, Shukla Samvatsar, Phālgun, 3rd of the dark half, Friday, i.e. 19th February 1630 A. D.

This Jedhe Shakāvali is written on long, narrow strips of Portuguese paper and has twenty-two pages written on both sides, and the twenty-third page only half covered. It gives in more or less detail a chronological statement from Shake 1540 to 1619 i.e. from 1618 to 1697 A. D. It was given to Mr. Tilak by Mr. Dayāji-rāo Sarjerāo alias Dājisahab Jedhe, Deshmukh of Kāri, a village in Ehore State, about the year 1907; but these being troublous days†, the manuscript got misplaced and was nearly forgotten until the owner of the Chronicle (Shakāvali) claimed it back again in 1915. When presenting a copy of it to the Mandal Mr. Tilak stated his opinion that the manuscript in the possession of Mr. Jedhe was

* 6th April 1927.

† This was the time of the Bengal Partition agitation.

about 150 years old and was prepared by the writer for the use of the Jedhe family, from another manuscript* which was also the original of an incomplete Chronicle published by Mr. Rājwāde in his Materials for the History of the Marāthās, Vol. 18, No. 5.

The Jedhe Chronicle has been since scrutinised by many scholars and it is found that most of its entries are accurate. The major part of it is obviously written by one who lived in the days of Shivāji, (the last entry in the Chronicle is of 1697 A. D. i. e., seventeen years after the death of Shivāji) and the writers appear to have had access to authentic official documents. The following entries for instance, have been proved correct by independent evidence.

1. †Birth date of Aurangzeb:—Jedhe Chronicle gives Shake 1540, Kārtik, 1st of the dark half which is the same as Jilkād 15, 1027, Hijari. (Vide Jadunāth Sarkār's Life of Aurangzeb, P. 2.)

2. Fight with Nausher Khan:—Jedhe gives Shake 1579 Jeshta which is the same as June 1657. (Vide Jadunāth Sarkār's life of Shivāji, P. 57.)

3. Jedhe records the capture of Shringārpur by Shivāji on the 11th of the bright half of Vaishākh, Shake 1583 i. e. 1661 A. D. Historians, as a rule, have gone wrong in this respect, but Jedhe is accurate. A letter of Shivāji, recently available, gives a year identical with that recorded in the Jedhe Chronicle. (Vide Rājwāde's Materials for the History of the Marāthās, Vol. 21, P. 5).

Again an English prisoner at Sonwad writes in one of his letters in 1661 A. D., " Shivāji hath lately enlarged his country by overcoming the two Rājās of Dulvice (Dalve) and the Rājā of Singārpur by which he commands all the coast from Dandā Rajā-puri castle to Khārepātan." (J. Sarkar's Shivāji, P. 48).

4. Jedhe gives the date of the sack of Surat as Shake 1585 Pausha, 4th of the dark half, and this means 6th January of 1664 A. D. which agrees well with the date recorded in the proceedings of the meeting of the English merchants at Surat. (Vide Jadunāth Sarkār's life of Shivāji, P. 99).

5. Treaty with Jaysing in Jedhe appears on 10th of the bright half Ashādhā, Shake 1587. This is the same as 12th June

* This manuscript is probably the Baiyabhishek Shakavali. See Page 9.
† See Page 15.

1665 (J. Sarkar's Shivāji, P. 137.) We have now obtained letter of Jayasing from which the date can be correctly inferred.

Writing about the Jedhe Chronicle, Professor Jadunāth Sarkār says :—"Jedhe Chronicle is the most valuable and authentic contemporary record of Shivāji and his ancestors. Exact dates are given in every case. It was published in 1918 and hence the idea of deliberate modern fabrication cannot be suggested... .. There are some evident mistakes which we can detect with the help of English and Persian sources but they were due to copyists and not to any deliberate fabrications. It contains some correct dates which no forger could have known. The dates are given in the Hindu Luni-Solar era of the Deccan and defy conversion to the Julian calendar except approximately." (Jadunāth Sarkār's Shivāji P. 152).

It will not be out of place here to quote the opinion of Prof. Sarkār on the value of Bakhars for history research :—"These so called Bakhars are evidently the production of ignorant, credulous, dull-brained writers and not the work of any clever minister of state or scholarly author. They do not make the least pretence of being based upon contemporary written records or authentic state papers. They carry, on their faces, the suggestion that they were composed after the intellectual brilliancy caused by the Peshawā rule had passed away and before the rise of the school of sound and critical Marāthi historians under Khare and Sānc, Rājwāde and Sardesai. I hazard a guess that they were written between 1820-1840 or '50, though the kernel of some of them (almost equally legendary and inaccurate) may have been put down in writing about 1770 to 1790 A. D.* (Jadunāth Sarkār's Shivāji Pages 448-9).

Jedhe Chronicle was thus a valuable find, but it took some four years before it was properly appraised. As however people began to appreciate its value, a question naturally occurred in many minds, "Is it possible that Jedhe Chronicle is right also in its entry of the date of the birth of Shivāji? Can it be that it is 1630 and not 1627 as is given in the current history books?" Attention was soon directed to the fact that Jedhe's was not the solitary entry in favour of the year Shake 1551 or 1630 A. D. The stone record in the Brihadishwar temple at Tanjore also gives Shake 1551. This latter was so long disregarded because it has a later origin (1803

* Prof. Sarkār is here describing the Bakhars prepared in the days of later Peshawās or those in the early British period and not the earlier ones like those of Sabbāsad and Chitragupta.

A. D.), and the corresponding English year is wrongly given as 1628. At this juncture there was another valuable find in *Shivabhārat*, from Tanjore collection. This is a versified life of Shivāji, written in Sanskrit, by poet Paramānand who was patronised by Shivāji. This, to all appearances a contemporary record minus its poetical flourish, was found to be extremely trustworthy and it gave the same date as is given in Jedhe Chronicle.

The late Mr. Khare and Messrs Chāndorkar and Divekar in 1921 openly accepted 1630 A. D. as the correct date of birth. In 1924 Mr. J. S. Karandikar, Editor *Kesari*, supported it in an editorial, and advocated that thereafter the annual celebrations of the anniversary of the birth of Shivaji should be on the 3rd of the dark half of *Phālgun* and not on the 2nd of the bright half of *Vaishākh*: as had been the practice till then

1627 or 1630 ?

In 1900 when Mr. Tilak examined the available evidence on the question under discussion, he had before him in all fourteen references, all equally untrustworthy or, to make a more guarded statement, none more trustworthy than the others. Again he had no reason to doubt 1627 A. D. as the real year of birth and he examined only the discrepancies in details.

In twenty-seven years we have made considerable advance and the very nature of the problem has changed. We do not inquire now if the date was the 1st, 2nd, or 5th of the bright half of *Vaishākh*; we want to know if it was *Vaishākh* or *Phālgun*. We want to know if the year was Shake 1549 or 1551 i. e. 1627 A. D. or 1630 A. D. Let us, therefore, proceed once more to enumerate the different references to the date of the birth of Shivaji and try to weigh them against each other.

This is done in the tabulated statement on pages 12-13 which gives the name of the manuscript, the probable year when the manuscript was first written, the date of birth given in the manuscript, and remarks. The manuscripts that give the year 1627 or thereabout, all contradict themselves. This was ably shown by Mr. Tilak in his article referred to above. The two or three new additions to this list are not much better. On the other hand, those

that give the year 1630 or there about are more consistent and more reliable. A word or two about these latter will not be out of place here.

1. *Shivabhārat* is a life of Shivāji in Sanskrit verse by poet Paramānand of Nevāse in Ahmednagar District. It gives an account of Shivāji and his ancestors up to the year 1662 A. D. It was thus written about ten years before Shivāji's coronation, which fact is verified by the absence, in Shivabharat, of any reference to Shivāji's connection with the Udaipur family, which probably was emphasised at the time of his coronation. The poet says, in the very beginning, that the life was written at the express suggestion of Shivāji and uses the word *Bhrishabala* for Bhonsale, so common in the time of Shivāji and Sambhāji. Shivbhārat mentions the skirmish at Khaladelsar (1649), which is not mentioned in any of the Bakhars but, which is noticed in a contemporary paper recently published. (Shivacharitra-sāhitya P. 54). Poetic though it is in tone, the details of the incidents enumerated in this life agree remarkably well with the accounts of the same elsewhere. The book therefore, seems highly trustworthy. It gives the date of the birth of Shivāji the same as in *Jedhe Chronicle*, namely, Shake 1551 Phālgun, 3rd of the dark half. (Canto IV, Verses 26-31.)

2. *Rājyābhishek Shakāvali*—prepared on the occasion of the coronation of Shivāji. This was discovered among the letters in the possession of Dehapande of Shivāpur and is probably the earliest of the chronological jottings known as *Shakāvalis*. It also gives the date of birth as Shake, 1551 Shukla Samvatsar, Phālgun, 3rd of the dark half, Friday. (Shivacharitra Pradip, Pages 14-39.)

3. *Forbes' Collection*—This is mainly a collection of Gujarāti manuscripts in the possession of an association inaugurated by some Gujarāti gentlemen in memory of Mr. A. K. Forbes, the editor of *Rāsmāla*. In this collection is a Marāthi manuscript which on inspection is found to be a collection of various *Shakāvalis*. When using it, therefore, one has to fix the value of each *Shakāvali* separately. We are, however, concerned here only with that one which gives the date of the birth of Shivāji as Shake 1551, and it is the same as above.

4. *Jedhe Shakāvali*—This is already described in detail.

5. *Dās-Panchāyatana Shakāvali*—This Chronicle gives the year of Shivāji's birth as Shake 1551 (Shivacharitra Pradip, P. 70.)

6. *Ormes' Historical Fragments*—This was first published in 1783 A. D. On page 95, it says "He (Shivāji) expired in the fiftysecond year of his age, which means 1629 A. D. as the year of birth.

7. *Springel's, History*—Is a German book published in 1791 A. D. and contains the history of Mahārāshtra up to the year 1782 A. D. There are a number of Indian names mis-quoted in this book, but the writer had a training in the western methods of criticism. He gives the year of Shivāji's birth as 1629.

8. *The Stone Record of Tanjore*,—engraved in 1803 A. D., gives the year of the birth of Shivāji as Shake 1551 but it gives a wrong name of the Samvastar and the Christian year noted is also wrong. It is therefore not a good evidence by itself and was long ignored. (*Shivacharitra Pradip*, Page 250).

The table given on pages 12-13 shows distinctly that the manuscripts favouring the year 1627 A. D. are mostly written in the days of the later Peshawās or after their downfall. They exhibit gross ignorance of the incidents of Shivāji's life and not ten per cent of their entries are accurate. The details of the birth day recorded by them are, in most cases, mathematical absurdities. On the other hand those that favour the year 1630* are either written in the life-time of Shivāji, or soon after his death or by men who had access to fairly reliable sources of information. Thus they appear to be well posted about the many incidents in Shivāji's life and their entries have been in many cases independently verified. Where the date of the birth of Shivāji is given in detail, mathematical calculations have shown that the details are very accurate and from among their notices not more than four per cent are wrong.

The date in the *Jedhe Chronicle* was mathematically tested by the well known astronomer Mr. V. B. Ketkar. (*Shivacharitra Pradip*, Pages 80-81).

*The Indian documents all give *Shake 1551* as the year of birth. To convert this into the Christian era one has to add 79 or 78 according as the month is Phālgun or Chaitra. Manytimes, however, this detail is ignored and the Christian year is roughly calculated by adding 78. Hence probably we read in English writings the year 1629 instead of 1630 A. D.

REFERENCES TO THE BIRTH DATE OF SHIVĀJI.

When written.	Name of the book.	Birth date given.	Remarks.
A. D.			
1760 to 1770	Rīyari Bakhar.	Shake 1548, Kshaya, Vaishākha, bright half, 5th Monday..	Name of the year and the week day are wrong
" "	Ninety-one Paragraph Bakhar.	" 1559 " "	" "
1770 to 1780	Tarikh-i-Shivāji.	" 1549 " Vaishākha, bright half, 5th.	Name of the year wrong, week day not given and incomplete.
1798	Prabhānvali Shakāvali	" " Vibhava	" and incomplete.
1807	Dhadphale Yādi	" 1549 Prabhava	Incomplete entry.
1810	Chitnis Bakhar	" " Vaishāk, bright half 2nd, Thursday,	Week day and tithi do not agree.
1817	A Short Bakhar of the Marāthā Empire.	" 1549 Kshaya, Vaishākha, bright half 5th, Monday.	Name of the year and week day wrong
1818	Shiva-Digvijay.	" 1549 Prabhava, Vaishākha bright half, 2nd Thursday, Rohini.	Week day and tithi do not agree.
1822	Nāgpur Bhonsale Bakhar.	" " "	" "
1822	Chhatrapati Vamshāchi Yadi.	" " Vaishākha, bright half 5th.	Incomplete.
1829	Shivāji—Pratāp.	" " Raktākshi.	Name of the year wrong. Incomplete
1831	Rāmdāsi Shakāvali.	" " "	Incomplete.
1835	Vijayadurgāchi Hakikat.	" " Vaishākha '2nd dark half Saman Ashrin Aiaf.	The Mahomedan year wrong. Incomplete.
1844	Pant Pratinidhi Bakhar.	Shake 1549 Prabhava, Vaishākha, Full-Moon day, Monday.	Week day and tithi do not agree.
1848	Panditrāo Bakhar.	" " Prabhava	Incomplete.

1854	Shedagaonkar Bakhar.	Shake 1549 Prabhava, Vaishāka, bright half 3rd.	Details incompatible with each other
1866	History by Bhide.	" " " Vaishakha, bright half 3rd Sat.	Day and date do not agree.
1670	Shivabhushan,	Date not given	
1695—96	Sabhāsad Bakhar.	"	
1760	Chitragupta Bakhar.	"	
1820	Shivakāvya by Purushottam.	"	
1735	Dāspanchāyatan Shakāvali.	Shake 1551	In complete
1783	Orme's Historical Fragments.	1529 A. D.	Indirect mention
1791	Springel's History	1629 A. D.	In complete
1803	Tanjour Stone Record.	Shake 1551 (i. e. 1628 A. D.) Pramodut.	English year and name of year wrong.
1665 to 1670	Shivabhārat.	Shake 1551 Phalgun, 3rd of dark half,	Details accurate.
1674	Rajyābhishek Shakāvali.	" "	"
"	Forbe's Collection.	" "	"
1695—96	Jedhe Shakāvali	" "	"
about 1700	Jodhapur Horoscope.	Samvat 1646 (Shake 1551,) Phālgun, dark half 3rd, Friday.	Details accurate.

Corroboration from Jodhapur.

While the evidence was slowly accumulating in favour of the year Shake 1551 or 1630 A. D. luck appeared to favour the research workers and they came into the possession of what may be regarded as the most authentic evidence and almost the last word in the controversy. This was the horoscope of Shivāji, obtained from an astrologer in Jodhapur. Pandit Raghunāth Shāstri, editor of an astrological journal in Poona, who is always in search of horoscopes from all sorts of places, learnt of a collection of horoscopes in the possession of Pandit Mithālal Vyās of Jodhapur and on searching among them for horoscopes of some persons in the Deccan secured that of Shivāji.

The workers at the Bhārat-Itihās-Samshodhak Mandal were not likely to leave such a valuable paper remain unexamined. They wrote to the Jodhapur astrologer requesting him to send the collection in his possession, to Poona; but they were informed that it was taken away by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ozā Superintendent of Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. A request was, therefore, made to Mr. Ozā to scrutinise the document and give his opinion on it.

"The manuscript in question," writes Mr. Ozā in his letter of February 22, 1926, "contains 542 leaves (1084 pages) bound in old fashion, measuring 8"×2½" and about 20 leaves are missing, the traces of them are visible. The manuscript contains miscellaneous subjects such as historical notes on the Jodhapur State (in Marwari language), copies of several astrological books, complete or in portions, medical prescriptions, horoscopes, kathās (in Marwari), yantrās etc. Nearly ¾ part of the manuscript is devoted to the astrological books or tables relating to Grahashāstra, Dashās etc. It contains about 600 horoscopes dating from Samvat 1472¹ down to the 19th century of Vikram era. Some of these are later additions in different hand and ink. At the end of several astrological books, there are dates of writing them. I have been able to find out 12 such dates, the earliest of which is Samvat 1732, Chaitra Sudi³ 13th and the latest Samvat 1737⁴, Ashoji⁵ Badi⁶ 10th. Seven of these dates contain the name of the writer, Purohit Shivarām, and in one place it is stated that Shivarām

* Shivacharitra Sahitya, P.....

1. 1416 A.D. 2. 1676 A.D. 3. Bright half. 4. 1681 A.D. 5. Ashwin. 6. Dark half

copied it at Jodhapur. This shows that the old portion was written by Shivrān who seems to be a Jyotishi. Horoscopes are arranged in order of families, such as Mussalmans (Moghul Emperors, Princes and Nobles), Rāthods of Jodhapur, Bikaner and Kishan-garh, Kachhavāhas of Amba and Jaipur, Rānās of Chitore and Udaipur, Devras of Sirohi, Bhattis of Jaisalmer, Ghors, Hadās of Bundi and Kothas and Muhuotos, Muhtas, Singhwis, Pancholis, Brāhmans, etc. of Jodhapur State. Horoscope of Shivāji is included in those of the Rānās of Udaipur, which shows that the compiler considered Shivāji as belonging to the Rānā family of Udaipur (Mewar). Generally one leaf contains six horoscopes, three on each side. The page containing that of Shivāji includes three horoscopes. First of them is of Rana Jaisinha's wife, Bai Gangā, a daughter of Hādā Satrushāla of Bundi. The second is of Rānā Jaisinha's son, Amarsinha, and the third is that of Shivāji. The exact wording is as given below :—

॥ संवत् १६८६ फागुण वदि ३ शुक्रे उ. घटी ३०१९ राजा शिवाजी जन्मः ॥
 र. १०३३ ल. ४१२९



Note—फागुण=फाल्गुन । वदि=वद्य (रुण्यक्ष) ।

उ. घटी ३०१९=सूर्योदयादिष्ट घटी ३०१९ ।

र.=स्पष्ट सूर्य । ल.=स्पष्ट लग्न.

“All the horoscopes of the Princes etc. of Rajputana are in Northern (Purnimānta) reckoning but, that of Shivāji is in Southern (Amānta) reckoning. Samvat 1686 Phālgun Badi 3 corresponds to Friday, the 19th February 1630 A. D. Southern reckoning shows that the horoscope was copied from an original one prepared in Mahārāshtra. There was Friday on *Chaitra*, Badi (Badya) 3rd, Samvat 1686 in the almenac of the †CHANDU's family consulted by me. This Northern date corresponds to *Phālgun* Badi 3rd of Southern reckoning. I am quite satisfied that the correct

* Shivaji's birth on Friday 3rd of dark half of Phālgun, Samvat 1686, 12 hours and 4 min. after sunrise.

† A famous astrologer in Rajputana.

date of Shivāji's birth is according to the Southern reckoning *Phālgun*, *Badi* 3rd Friday; and he was born at 30 *Ghatis* 9 *Palas* after sunrise i. e., a little after evening." (See Appendix).

"The photographs sent herewith are a little larger in size than the original manuscript."

[In a P. S. to this letter Rai Bahadur Ozā gives the following information about Purohit Shivarām:—Purohit Shivarām belongs to the family of the famous Jyotishi Chandu. The horoscope of Shivarām shows that he was born in Samvat 1694, Bhādrapad. Badi 10th and all the horoscopes are arranged in order and written by Shivarām himself up to Samvat 1777. The later ones are not in Shivarām's hand-writing. At the end of the horoscope of each family there are a few blank kundalis; some of them are filled up in later time by different persons. I think Shivarām died about Samvat. 1777. I came to the conclusion that the manuscript originally belonged to the Chandu family and the fact was corroborated by Pandit Mitāhālal Vyās, the owner of the manuscript.]

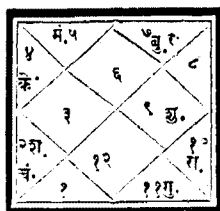
From this it is clear that Shivarām in whose hand-writing the horoscope of Shivāji is believed to be was born in 1638 A. D. and died in or soon after 1721 A. D. at the ripe age of 83. He was thus a contemporary of Shivāji.]

In answer to another letter asking a few categorical questions Rāi Bahādur Ozā writes on the 31st of March 1926:

1. The horoscope of Shivāji is in Shivarām's hand-writing.
2. The manuscript contains the horoscope of Aurangzeb which is copied below.

जन्मकुंडली.

संवत् १६७५ मार्गशिर वदि १ शनौ
उ. घटि ५५।२५ पा। उरंगसाह जन्मः।*
र. ६।२३।२५। ल. ५।२८। ३३ रोहिणी.
(पा=पातिशाह); मार्गशिर वदि १ is
according to Purnimanta
reckoning.



"The *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by T. W. Beal gives the date of the birth of Aurangzeb as 11th Zilkad A. H. 1028 (10th October 1619). This date is not reliable. J. N. Sarkar, in his life

* Aurangzeb's birth on Saturday 1st of the dark half of Mārgashirsha in Samvat 1675. 22 hours 10 min. after sunrise.

give the story. It
 is situated in 1027 A. D. --
 is night preceding
 e)", on the authority of
 This statement is quite correct because 15th
 corresponds to Kārtika, Bahula 1, Samvat 1675, according to
 Amānta calculation or Mārgashirsha, Vadya 1, Samvat 1675
 according to Purnimānta reckoning."

It is clear from all this that the horoscope found in the collection with Pandit Mithālal Vyās is a genuine document and as it agrees admirably well with the entry in the Jedhe Chronicle, we cannot escape the conclusion that Shivāji was born on the 3rd of the dark half of the month of Phālgun, Shukla Samvatsar, Shake 1551 which according to European calculation is 19th February 1630 A. D. and not on 6th April 1627 A. D. as recorded in all the school books on Indian history. This latter date, therefore, seems wrong.

Shahaji's pursuit by Lakhuji Jadhav.

A long, though baseless, tradition has a firm hold on the public mind and the tradition of Shivāji's birth in 1627 A. D. is very long indeed. This year has been accepted as the true year of the birth of Shivāji for about 150 years and naturally the conservative section of the public is still unwilling to accept the year 1630 A. D. although the case has been proved now almost beyond doubt. A tradition is killed by another tradition only and the year 1627 will be forgotten only after a generation or two.

A question is often asked "But how did this wrong date originate?" A very interesting problem no doubt but quite irrelevant to the question in hand. As remarked by Prof. D. V. Potdār, we have already found a genuine horoscope, we may one day find a note in Shahāji's own hand-writing and yet be ignorant as to who gave the wrong date first.

It is a pity that Mr. V. K. Rājwāde died without expressing his final views on the question. He delayed his decision not because he doubted the evidence accumulating in favour of 1630, but because he was troubled over a minor detail, for which he had not got a satisfactory explanation. Referring to the question of

Shivāji's birth is according to the Southern reckoning on 30 Ghatis 9 Palas of the 3rd Friday; and he writes "The writers say that he was born at Shivajī, a little after the month of Vaishākh when his father Shahaji was being pursued by a larger number of Lakhujī Jādhavrāo; while Jedhe Chronicle and the Tanjore inscription give the 3rd of the dark half of Phālgun, Shake 1551. It is possible to decide who is right and I am inclined to accept the year 1549 because there was none between Junnar and Māhuli in the first half of the year 1551 to attack Shahaji, while Lakhujī Jādhav was killed by Murtija Nizamshah on the Full-Moon day of Āshwin of that year."*

On the other hand, the other well-known historian of the Deccan, Vāsudeo-Shāstri Khare, in his book *Māloji and Shahāji* refers to the same question and decides in favour of the year 1551. "When Shahāji was pursued by the Mughul armies under Lakhujī Jādhav, he had to send his wife Jijāu to Shivaneri where she gave birth to a son who was named Shivāji. All Bakhars give this account but the years, Shake 1548 as given in the *Rāyari Bakhār* or Shake 1549 as given in other *Bakhars*, are wrong and I believe the year Shake 1551 as given in the *Jedhe Chronicle* to be more accurate. Vaishākh of Shake 1549 is April 1627 and Phālgun of Shake 1551 is February 1630. There is thus a difference of about 34 months between the two dates. Which of the two shall we accept? In 1627 the war was going on in Balāghat and had nothing to do with the Western ghauts. But in the year 1630 it had shifted to somewhere near Sahyādri-hills. In 1627 the Mughuls had no cause to pursue Shahāji; in 1630, they had to do it under orders from the Emperor (Shahajahan), to quell the rebellion of Lodi. Therefore, it seems more probable that the true year of birth is Shake 1551."

It is obvious that both Rājwāde and Khare make the story of the pursuit of Shahāji by Lakhujī Jādhav, the touch-stone for proving the true year of Shivāji's birth and yet, curiously enough, arrive at contradictory conclusions. This is natural, as long as we try to put together two uncertain statements. Before using Shahāji's pursuit as the touch-stone for proving the true year, one must ascertain whether the pursuit is itself a historical truth. There is reason to believe that it is not so. This account of the pursuit appears only in the later Bakhars. None of the earlier

* Lakhujī Jādhav was really killed two months earlier in Shrāvan not in Āshwin.

manuscripts mention it. Thus, *Shivabhārat*, *Sabhāsad*, *Chitragupta* or *Jedhe* do not give the story. It is admittedly a story for a poetical composition, but the account in Cantos VI and VII *Shivabhārat* is as follows :—

“ After the death of Malikambar, Nizamshah of Ahmednagar could not secure a worthy minister. At Bijāpur the wise Ibrāhīm Adilshah was dead and his son, insolent Mahomed, came to the throne. Shahajahan who had succeeded Jahangir in Delhi sent his armies to conquer the Deccan and loyal to his old master, Nizamshah, Shahāji left Bijapur and went over to Ahmednagar. So did Lakhujī Jādhavrāo.

“ Meanwhile Vishwāsrāy, a nobleman in the service of Nizamshah was staying at Shivaneri and he offered his daughter in marriage to Sambhāji, the eldest son of Shahāji. Shahāji accepted the proposal and the marriage was celebrated in great pomp at Shivaneri. Sometime after this event Shahāji left the place to meet the Mughal General Daryākhān, keeping his wife at Shivneri as she was in a condition of advanced pregnancy.

“ While Shahāji was engaged in fighting with proud Daryākhān, to protect the virtuous and to punish the wicked, Almighty himself appeared on this earth, in the family of Bhonsale on the 3rd of the dark half of Phālgun, Shake 1551. Because he was born at Shivaneri, the boy was named Shiv.

“ Although Jādhavrāo left the Mughals and came over to the side of Nizamshah, the latter was suspicious. He insulted Jādhavrāo one day and got him assassinated at the door of the Durbar hall.”

The story of this pursuit of Shahāji by his father-in-law Lakhujī Jādhavrāo as it appears in different bakhars contains a number of inaccurate statements. For instance, it is said that—

1. Shahāji used to sit on the throne with the boy-Nizamshah in his lap. Jādhavrāo could not tolerate it and decided to punish Shahāji with the help of the Mughals.

2. At the request of Jādhavrāo, Mīr Jumla came with an army from Delhi and besieged Māhuli where Shahāji was staying with his son and wife.

3. After six month's fight, finding that the Mughals were too powerful for him, Shahāji decided to seek shelter at Bijāpur.

4. Escaping one night from Māhuli, with his wife Jijābāi and son Sambhāji, he was pursued by Jādhavrāo; Jijābāi being in an advanced state of pregnancy could not bear the hardships of a horse-

ride and Shahāji had to run away alone, leaving Jijābāi to the care of her father.

5. Jadhāvrāo sent her to Shivaneri where she gave birth to a son and that was Shivāji the founder of the Marāthā Empire.

Now history tells us that in 1627 Nizamshah was not a minor. He was a grown up youngman, full of vice and a notoriously bad character. Elliot and Dawson Vol. VII, P. 433. The story of Shahāji's occupying the throne with boy-Nizamshah in his lap and the consequent jealousy of Jādhavrāo is a myth. This Burhan alias Murtija Nizamshah was killed in 1631 A. D. and was succeeded by a minor. Two years later this minor was taken prisoner by the Mughals, when Shahāji placed another minor on the throne. The minor's regime in Ahmednagar, therefore, was after 1631 and not in 1626-27. Again the incidents noted above under 2-3-4 depend on the siege of Māhuli, but this occurred in 1557 i. e. 1635 or 1636 A. D. The story of the pursuit, therefore, is a confusion of three or four incidents occurring over a decade, mixed up with lot of imaginary stuff.

Nor is it reasonable to say that Jādhavrāo sent Jijābāi to Shivaneri in 1626-27, when he was in the service of Jahangir and, therefore, not on good terms with Shaha-jahan, a rebel against his father, who was moving between Junnar* and Nāsik about the end of the year 1626.

This is also the right place to explain away an objection raised against the entry in the *Jedhe Chronicle* about Shivāji's birth, by Prof. J. N. Sarkar among others, because that entry is followed by another which is, according to Prof. Sarkar, palpably wrong. The latter entry runs thus—

“ In the month of *Chaitra* Ibrahim Adilshah was dead, Sultan Mahamud came to the throne, Khavāskhān became the minister, Murār Jagdev became the *Kārbhāri*. ”

Now this is wrong if we read it to mean that Ibrahim Adilshah died in Chaitra. But it is correct if we put a comma after Chaitra and read it to mean that Murār Jagdev became the Karbhari in the month of Chaitra, the three intervening sentences being inserted to give the reasons for the appointment. But supposing this is a wrong entry it is not clear why any objection should be taken to the entry about Shivāji's birth which is now independently supported and tested by mathematical calculations.

‡ Shivaneri is a hill fortress near Junnar.

Bibliography.

Of the many manuscripts noticed on pages 12-13, a large number originally appeared in different history journals and are now out of print. The only method of access to them is to get their copies from some libraries. But all are not equally important. For instance, those that bear the dates subsequent to 1830 A. D. have little value as evidence. It is reasonable to suppose that they drew, for their information, on the volumes of Grant Duff (1827) or the documents used by him. Again, *Rāyari Bakhar*, *Ninety-one Paragraph Bakhar*, *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, and *The Short Bakhar of the Marātha Empire* are nearly identical. *Chitraguptā's Bakhar* is an enlarged edition of that of *Sabhāsad* and *Jedhe Shakāvali* is probably an enlarged edition of *Rājyābhishek Shakāvali* which is again the same as in Forbes' collection. The Tanjor Stone Record appears to get its information from *Shivabhārat*.

Instead of a long list, therefore, just a few important books on the subject, are named below.

English.

- Rāyari Bakhar*, Forest Selection, Government Publication.
Life of Shivāji, by Prof. J. N. Sarkar, Calcutta.
Sabhāsad Bakhar, Calcutta University Publication.
 Forbe's Collection, Royal Asiatic Society.
Indian Calendar, by Dixit and Sewell
Shivaji Souvenir, by G. S. Sardesai. (Gives Jedhe Shakavali)

Marathi.

- Marāthyānchyā Itihāsāchi Sādhane*, by V. K. Rajwade
 Vols. 4, 18, 21.
Chitris Bakhar, edited by K. N. Sane, Poona.
Kāvyetihas Sangrah " "
Bhārat-Varsha edited by D. B. Parasnis, Satara. Vols. 1-2
 Reports of the Annual Conferences, } *Bhārat-Itihās-Sams-*
 Proceedings of Fortnightly Meetings, } *shodhak Mandal,*
 Shivacharitra-Pradip, by D. V. Apte, & S. M. D.vekar. } Poona.
 (gives the Jedhe and Rājyābhishek Shakāvalis).
Shivacharitra Sāhitya, by K. V. Purandare, Bharat-Itihās-
 Samshodhak Mandal, Poona.
Shivabhārat, by S. M. D.vekar, Poona
Rādhā Mādhav Champu, by V. K. Rajwade
Maloji and Shahaji, by Vasudeoshastri Khare, Miraj
Khare's Jantri (Chronological Tables, giving the corresponding Indian and European dates.)

APPENDIX.

The Hindu Calender.

Readers who are not familiar with the Hindu Calender may find it somewhat difficult to follow the details, although care is taken in every case to make them self-explanatory. The following, therefore, may prove useful.

The Hindu year consists of twelve Lunar months and is approximately of 355 days. In three years, it thus lags behind the Solar year by about 30 days and this lag is corrected by having every third year, a year of thirteen months. The correction is automatic and nearly accurate. Each month the sun crosses a zodiacal sign, but once in three years appears a Lunar month in which this crossing does not take place. It may take place, for instance, on the last day of the preceding month and the first day of the succeeding month. The month without a crossing is thus an extra month and bears the name of the succeeding month. Once (or twice) in a century it also happens that the sun crosses two zodiacal signs in the same Lunar month and then a month is passed over i. e. omitted. The year is then of eleven months only.

In the Deccan they follow what is known as the Shālivāhan era and the figures for a year are preceded by the word *Shake*. This era begins about 78 years after the Christian era and to obtain the Cristian from a Shaka year one must add to the latter 79 or 78 according as the month is approximately before or after March, for the new year's day in the Deccan is somewhere about vernal equinox. In the North they follow the Vikram era which is distinguished by the word *Samvat*. This begins about 56 years before Christ and to obtain the Christian year from a Samvat year one must subtract about 56 years from the latter. The new year's day in this case comes somewhere in November. Mathematical tables are now available and we can find the European dates corresponding to the Shaka or Samvat dates and vice versa from 1630 A. D. to 1900 A. D.

The Hindus also recognise a cycle of sixty years and each year of this cycle (Samvatser) bears a name. This fact has been extremely useful to a research student of Marāthā history. A number of entries are discarded or are treated as doubtful and wanting corroboration because a wrong name of the year is mentioned. For instance, Shake 1549 was Prabhav, but some documents give Shake 1549 Raktākshi. Now either 1549 is wrong or Raktākshi is wrong, or both are wrong. The entry therefore is not trustworthy.

A year has twelve Lunar months* and a month has four weeks and two fortnights. A week has seven days corresponding to the seven week days in the European calendar. The first fortnight is called the bright half and ends on the Full-Moon day; the second fortnight is called the dark half and ends on the New-Moon day. The whole month is a period between two New-Moon days and consists of about 29 to 30 days.

[In some places in northern India, a month is a period between two Full-Moon days. Their first half is the dark half and the second half is the bright half. The month in the Deccan is thus Amānt, ending on a New-Moon day; while that in Northern India is Purnimānta, ending on a Full-moon day. (See Page 15). Thus, the bright half of Phālgun would be the same everywhere in India, but the dark half of Phālgun in the Deccan would be the dark half of Chaitra in the North.]

Every day of a fortnight again has a name and the number of days in a fortnight is not arbitrary but is made to depend on the movements of the Moon through the heavens. The Hindu calendar is thus a complex affair and this complexity also has helped a research worker in Mahārāshtra in no small measure.

A day is the period from Sun-rise to Sun-rise and is divided into sixty equal parts called Ghatis. Each Ghati is further divided into sixty Palas, and each Pala has sixty Vipalas. A Ghati is thus equal to 40 minutes, and a Pala is equal to 40 Seconds.

* The names of the months are—Chaitra, Vaishākh, Jyeshtha, Ashādha, Shrāvan, Bhādranada, Āshvina, Kārtika, Mārgashirsha, Pausa, Māgha, Phālgun.

Thus when a Hindu astronomer records the birth of a child he gives :

1. The number of the year (Shake or Samvat)
2. The name of the year (Samvatsar)
3. The name of the month.
4. The nature of the fortnight (bright half or dark half
5. The day of the fortnight (Tithi)
6. The week day
7. The time of day, beginning from sunrise (Ghatis and Palas)
8. The position of the moon at birth (Nakshatra)

If a particular entry gives all these or most of these and mathematical calculations show them to be *all* correct we can without hesitation take it as genuine. For it is extremely difficult to forge an accurate entry. It can be done only by a clever mathematician armed with modern aids to calculation.

The dates in the Bakhars are all rejected for this reason ; their details are hopelessly incorrect.

The date in the Jedhe Chronicle which is the same as that in Shivbhārat or that in the Jodhapur horoscope is accepted as correct, because it is mathematically accurate.

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