To the Memory of

Sayaji Rao Gaekwad
Sena-Kshashkel Samsher Bahadur,
Grand Commander of the Star of India.

Maharaja of Baroda
[1875-1939]

to whom I have given all my life's years of Service, and who had led my young steps into the pleasant path of History.

G. S. Sardesai
PREFACE

The great historian of the Rise of the Dutch Republic has truly remarked: "The spectacle of a brave nation, inspired by the soul of one great man and rising against an overwhelming despotism, will always speak to the heart from generation to generation." This hope has inspired me to write my book. And there is a special need in the present condition of India why we should know and ponder on such a history. Maratha history is no longer the cherished treasure of a single community or province; it should prove a source of inspiration, wisdom and warning to all India.

The character and achievements of Shivaji and the Peshwas have left a permanent mark on the history of India. They form the most recent example of our genius for nation-making of which we today may well be proud. Of all the diverse races inhabiting the Indian Continent, each gifted with a peculiar trait of its own, the Marathas alone can claim to have made a distinct contribution to the political fortunes of this land by daring to establish Indian self-rule throughout the country, although measured by the length of time their construction proved too short-lived. For over half a century the politics of India were directed from Satara or Poona. The Maratha Government, with all its faults, inspired the people under its rule with a living sense of unity and co-operation without which no self-rule is attainable. It thus provided free scope for the energies of all classes of the people, each according to its natural bent. This is a political lesson which India sorely needs today. If the true function of history is to impart wisdom of the past for the benefit of the present, to warn a nation in the days of prosperity against the hidden dangers of creeping deterioration, as also to stimulate its courage and call forth its recuperative energy in times of adversity.—then India cannot afford to ignore the lessons which Maratha history has left behind in its short but eventful career. The inspiring careers of Shivaji and Baji Rao I, the daring planning and earnest execution of Madhav Rao I and Mahadji Sindhia, contrasted with the vices and follies of Raghunath Rao Toda and Baji Rao II, convey a moral which modern India will be the wiser for laying to its heart.

Unfortunately, however, no worthy narrative of Maratha achieve-
ments and failures has yet been written by weaving together all the fascinating and colourful material which the patient industry and critical acumen of modern scholars have made available to us. The subject still waits for scientific investigation by a trained mind endowed also with the constructive vision of a true historian. By far the largest proportion of the original sources exists in Marathi only, and they cannot reach workers ignorant of that language. On the other hand indigenous writers in Maharashtra are often handicapped by their ignorance of Persian, French and sometimes English also, and their want of access to essential books and manuscript records in these foreign languages; for we should never forget that the history of India in the eighteenth century is made up of the varying strands of the European and Indian powers struggling for dominion in this vast land, and each of them has left records of its transactions written in its native tongue, which cannot be left out of account.

The historical ancestors of the Marathas such as the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Yadavas, the Parmars and others who had wielded the sceptre in this land at different times, have left very scanty records of their reigns. What remains to remind us of their times consists of a few cryptic inscriptions, fanciful eulogies (prashasti) of court poets, and a few old coins or stray notices of foreign travelers. No full and documented history can be built in such poverty of materials. But as the Maratha rule best known to us, happens to be a very modern phenomenon, there are available in the Marathi language the most valuable materials in the form of state-papers, news-reports, diplomatic despatches, legal decisions, diaries, chronologies, land-grants, official and private correspondence, military regulations, budgets and accounts. The enormous volume of these records can be judged from the fact that at a rough estimate they extend over a hundred thousand printed pages. This is a proud heritage of Maharashtra unshared by any other province of India.

The first history of the Marathas worthy of the name was published by Captain James Grant Duff in three volumes as far back as 1826. Since then a vast amount of original material unknown to him has come to light. Historical research in our country has made phenomenal progress during the present century, with the effect of profoundly altering the objective of historical treatment. Besides fresh points of view are being forced on us by deep social changes bringing on a new mental outlook and by the advancing tide of research and criticism in this field as in others. As Goethe observes:
"History must from time to time be re-written, not because many new facts have been discovered, but because new aspects come into view, because the participant in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be reviewed and judged in a novel manner."

My second justification for attempting this task can be best stated in the words of Professor Goldwin Smith: "Each nation in the main writes its own history best; it best knows its own land, its own institutions, the relative importance of its own events, the characters of its own great men. Each nation has also its peculiarities of view, its prejudices, its self-love, which require to be corrected by the impartial or even hostile view of others."

An extreme form of national pride had hitherto kept our modern Maratha historical workers back from using the English language, which is the only medium that can reach all parts of India and also make their researches available to the civilized world in general. The most glaring example of this mental attitude was the great explorer and life-long devotee of the muse of history in Maharashtra, the late Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade. Had he and other workers of his school published the results of their investigations in English, instead of exclusively in Marathi, they would have reached students of history all over India and enabled Maratha history to become a fruitful subject of higher study and criticism in our Indian Universities, and thus speeded up a healthy advance in our knowledge of this subject. Rajwade's scholarly dissertations on various historical topics, his illuminating discussions of problems of philology, grammar and religion as also the researches of the Poona Itihas Sanstodhak Mandal, have for this reason remained a sealed book to all other provinces of India and indeed to the rest of the non-Marathi world.

I started my study of Maratha history forty years ago, and embodied the result in a work completed in nine volumes written in the Marathi language and entitled The Marathi Riyasat. In it I tried to bring together the scattered, disarranged and uncataloged (even unlisted) mass of historical data and opinions found in that tongue and, after comparing them with available materials in other languages, to construct a compact critical study of the rise and fall of the modern Maratha State. My work too like Rajwade's, remained unknown to the world ignorant of my native language. The present New History of the Marathas, to be completed in three volumes (the whole now ready in manuscript), is the first attempt
to present a fresh and full treatment of Maratha history in English, embodying the results of the latest research. It is not a translation of my Marathi Riyasat; nor does it pretend to be a work of the ideal merits as described above. Indeed no one individual, unless he has the encyclopaedic mind of a Gibbon, can do full justice to the subject, which requires rather the co-operative effort of a syndicate of scholars. In the absence of the hope of any such ideal combination, this book is offered to the public in full consciousness of its imperfections. If it provokes further study and thought in any corner of the great republic of letters, I shall be happy. And I shall be happier still if after a look at my book, some better gifted scholar is tempted to advance this subject, handle the enormous mass of materials and produce the long sighed for masterly History of the Marathas.

One word more of apology is needed from me. The Marathas have long been misjudged by their rivals and adversaries and painted in blackest colours both during and after the period of their downfall, as if they had no single good point to their credit. This attitude became confirmed in popular mind owing to the first flush and glow of the foreign conquest. But more than a century has elapsed since the Maratha State was extinguished, a sufficiently long period for the dust of passion to settle down and enable us to form a sober and rational judgment and to justly appraise the virtues and defects of that race. It is still a difficult task for a Maratha writer to paint his people's history on a canvas with colours that truly represent facts and avoid prejudices. In the following narrative I aspire to produce a true apologia (Kaiifat) of the Maratha people and place it before the impartial public. It is mostly made up of the utterances of the great figures who dominated the historic stage during the two centuries of our rise and fall.

A studied attempt has been made to weave into the narrative ample citations from original authorities. This appeared to be the only way of making the reader acquainted with the pith and essence of the Marathi papers. So far as possible the sources have been indicated in the foot-notes, though, it must be admitted, the materials are so varied and extensive that it is not possible to quote chapter and verse evidence in every case. As a supplementary attempt the reader's attention may be invited to the author's "Main Currents of Maratha History" published a few years ago. In it have been dis-
cused some of the outstanding and debatable questions arising out of the past life of the Maratha people.

My grateful thanks are due to the numerous scholars and publishers of original materials on which this work is mainly based. I cannot adequately acknowledge the debt I owe to my valued friend Sir Jadunath Sarkar for his patient revision of my manuscript, to him a labour of love, the worth of which those only can estimate who are acquainted with his extraordinary erudition and his rare critical acumen. I am equally indebted to Dr. V. G. Dighe, my constant companion and collaborator in all historical work during the last seventeen years without whose unstinted help I could never have completed my onerous undertaking. I am inscribing this work to the sacred memory of my first great inspirer the late Sayaji Rao Gaikwad of Baroda, whose grandson the present Maharaja Pratapsinh Rao continues to take the same interest in my historical labours.

The publisher and I highly regret that the abnormal conditions of life prevailing in the country now for years have not only delayed the publication of this work, but prevented us from executing our cherished desire of putting in maps, illustrations and other essentials of study adequately. We can only hope to make up the deficiency in the succeeding volumes.

Kamshet
Dt. Poona, 31st Oct. 1946

G. S. SARDESAI
CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGES

I. EARLY BEGINNINGS [Upto 1600 A.C.] 9

10. The Present day Marathas. 11. The Maratha country in pulsation.

II. SHAHJI THE RISING SUN [1614-1636] 41

1. Survey of the situation. 2. The family of the Bhosles.

III. SHAHJI'S LATER CAREER [1636-1664] 67


IV. THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MOON [1644-1653] 85

1. Shivaji's birth and training. 2. His guardian Dadaji.
3. The first coup. 4. Dream put into action. 5. Independence achieved.

V. RAPID PROGRESS [1654-1660] 109

1. Short work with Morays. 2. Political situation of 1667.

VI. UPS AND DOWNS [1601-1665] 135

CONTENTS

VII. THE LION BEARDED IN HIS DEN [1666-1667] 163
1. Hesitation to visit Agra. 2. The audience hall. 3. The wonderful escape. 4. After effects, peace.

VIII. STILL GREATER TRIUMPHS [1668-1673] 185

IX. THE FULFILMENT [1674-1676] 205
1. The coronation, its true significance. 2. The ceremony. 3. A year of unrest all round.

1. Expansion southwards, necessity and opportunity. 2. Kopral seized. 3. Grand visit to Bhaganagar. 4. Bijapur Karnatak seized. 5. The two brothers on their heritage. 6. Agreed division of patrimony.

XI. THE MOON SETS (1678-1680) 245
1. Results of the Karnatak campaign. 2. Public remonstrance against Aurangzeb’s intolerance. 3. Sambhaji’s desertion. 4. Effort to reclaim Sambhaji fails. 5. The end. 6. Family and religious preceptors.

XII. SHIVAJI’S CHARACTER AND WORK 259

XIII. SAMBHAJI THE VIOLENT [1680-1689] 293
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

XIV. RAJARAM THE QUIESCENT [1689-1700] .... 319

1. Two stars of dazzling brilliancy. 2. Fall of Raigad.
3. Ranchandra Pant’s leadership. 4. Maratha trek to Jinji.
5. The Emperor’s movements. 6. Jinji besieged. 7. The
Maratha aims. 8. Besiegers besieged. 9. Heroic deeds of
Santaji. 10. Santaji’s tragic end. 11. Guerrilla warfare des­
cribed. 12. Rajaram escapes, Jinji falls. 12. Rajaram’s
death and character.

XV. RETRIBUTION [1700-1707] .... .... 347

1. Tarabai opposes the Emperor. 2. Shahu in captivity.
3. Contact with Balaji Vishwanath. 4. Raybhanji Kaka.
5. Piteous appeals of Yesubai. 6. Tragedy of Aurangzeb’s
life. 7. Aurangzeb’s death. 8. Tarabai triumphant.

CORRECTION

Page 27, line 3 bottom read जल्दी for लघु
Page 62, line 20 read operations for operation
Page 69, line 8, first para read gold for good
Page 79, line 4 of 4th Section read An for As
Page 149, Section 5, “Bijapur activities, Baji Ghorpade crushed”.
Page 180, last line read “20 November”
Page 210, line 2 of second para. read advisers for guru
Page 211, line 9 of Section 2 read “weighed” for “weighted”
Page 232, line 8 read three thousand for 30000
Page 257, line 5 read subjected for subjugated
Page 309, foot note 6 is given on next page.
# CHRONOLOGY

## CHAPTER I

*(Most of the dates are merely approximate.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>73 — A.D. 218</th>
<th>Satavahanas rule over Maharashtra: Bhaja, Karla and other caves excavated.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>608 — 642</td>
<td>Chalukya ruler Svyatshraya Pulakesi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>634</td>
<td>Chalukya ruler Svyatshraya Pulakesi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>750 — 975</td>
<td>Rashtrakuta rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>800 — 1000</td>
<td>Early Maratha writers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>884 — 999</td>
<td>Raghaveshwar, great poet in Maharashtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>975 — 1189</td>
<td>Later Chalukyas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1187 — 1294</td>
<td>The dynasty of the Yashavas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1183 — 1276</td>
<td>Chakradhar, founder of the Manabhav sect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1276</td>
<td>Chakradhar and Hemadri meet their death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>Saint Jnaneshwar wrote his great work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1310</td>
<td>Muslim subjugation of peninsular India completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1323</td>
<td>Pratiparantr of Warangal captured by Md. Tughlak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1325</td>
<td>Muhammad Tughlak makes Deogiri his capital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1326 April 18</td>
<td>Harihar crowned King of Vijayanagar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1347</td>
<td>Ala-ud-din Hasan Shah founded the Bahmani kingdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>Saint Namdev flourishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1565 Jan. 22</td>
<td>Battle of Takiot; Vijayanagar destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1548 — 1599</td>
<td>Saint Eknath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Rise of the Bhosles to prominence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1607 — 1650</td>
<td>Saint Tukaram.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

EARLY BEGINNINGS

(15) to 1600 A.D.

1. Origin of the Marathas.
2. The Marathi language.
3. Political Background of Maharashtra.
5. Manabhava literature.
6. Deaths of Chakradhar and Hemadri.
7. Successful revolt against Muslims.
8. Saints and writers of Maharashtra.
10. The present day Marathas.
11. The Maratha country pulsation.

1. Origin of the Marathas.—The latest census has computed two and a half crores of persons to be the Marathi-speaking population of India, and most of them inhabit that portion of the country which has been known by the ancient name Maharashtra, *the great nation of the Rathas, Rathikas or Rashtrikas*, famous from the days of yore for valour and energy. In the literature of the early Christian centuries the words *Maharashtra*, *Mahdrashtrika* and *Mahdrathri* (the last being the name of one of the Prakrit languages) occur in copious frequency. *Maharshi* (masculine) and *Maharatni* (feminine) are words in the Karla cave and other inscriptions of the Sattavahana period. Varahamihira, a famous astronomer of the sixth century, uses the word Maharashtras, which later came to be corrupted into Mahratta or Maratha. Rajashekhar, a Sanskrit author of the 9th century, uses the word Maharatti in the feminine gender. The word occurs in various forms in all subsequent literatures of India.¹

*Maharashtra*, as its plain meaning shows, is a great Rashtra or nation formed by a race of men who in ancient times were probably known as Rathas, some of whom came to be styled Maharathas or great Rathas. The land which they occupied also came to be called after them, that is, the

¹ Several hypotheses have been put forth by different scholars on the origin of the word Maratha.
NEWHISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

country of great men. Their language too was first known as Mahārashṭra, a Prakrit dialect whose range was originally much wider than that of the present Marathi, its later derivative. The large tract of western India known to this day as Mahārashṭra, extended from the Arabian sea on the west to the Satpura mountains in the north, and comprised the modern tracts of Konkan, Khandesh, Berar, part of the Central Provinces, the British Deccan and about a third of the Nizam's dominions, the whole being known as Maratha-vada.

The land south of the river Narmada was called by the Aryan settlers as Daksinapatha and included the Dandakaranya which was so named from the vast forest that stretched southwards from the Tapti to the Godavari. During the early centuries of the Christian era Mahārashṭra consisted of three distinct portions, viz. the first, Vīdarbha or Berar; the second, Asmaka or the Godavari basin (later known as Sena Desh); and the third Kuntala, that is the valley of the river Krishna. It also embraced the western coastal region known as Aparanta or Konkan, stretching from Daman in the north to Goa or even Karwar in the south. Thus, the lands between the Narmada and the upper Krishna practically formed the main Mahārashṭra country in which first the Prakrit Mahārashṭra and later its derivative Marathi, was spoken and which linguistically and geographically is one solid homogeneous block, although at present cut up into several disjointed political areas.

Thus Mahārashṭra proper where the Marathi language prevails, can be understood with almost exact accuracy as a right-angled triangle, of which one side is represented by the western coast line from Daman to Karwar and the other from...
EARLY BEGINNINGS

Daman straight east to Nagpur and Gondia, practically along the river Tapti. The hypotenuse of this triangle would be an irregular line joining Gondia to Karwar and touching in its course the towns of Belgaum, Sholapur and Bidar. The North Khandesh territory lying between the rivers Tapti and Narmanda is indeed a border land of essentially Maratha character. In the daily religious rites of the Maratha people this demarcation of Maharashtra is still being commonly repeated.

The people of this land were known in early ages as Ratthas, Maharatthas or Rashtrakutas, who had long since earned great distinction for wealth, valour and political power. An image of a Maharattha warrior is to be seen to this day in the Nane-Ghat caves near Jannar, which were carved by the Andhra rulers about the first century of the Christian era. The present Marathi tongue is the direct descendant of the literary Prakrit Mahārāṣṭrī, the language of Mahārāṣṭra.

These ancient Ratthas came to be divided into and known by the names of several sub-tribes or families, such as the Satavahanas, the Bhojas, the Mauryas, the Kadambas, the Silhārās, the Yādavas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, etc., some of whom established in this region powerful kingdoms of their own, patronized arts and literature and produced many great rulers of outstanding merit. Their cultural achievements are perpetuated to this day by the unique execution and grandeur of the caves of Bhaja and Karla, of Ellora, Ajanta and Elephanta, and the temples and sculptures in which this land of Maharashtra so fully abounds. These Ratthas or Maharatthas must have been a hardy race in whose character the best traits of the Aryan settlers from the north were blended with the best characteristics of the indigenous stock of western India.

2. The Marathi language.—The Aryan settlers when they first entered this vast Indian continent brought with them their ancient Vedic culture and their highly refined tongue Sanskrit, which in due course imparted its polish to the origi-
eral dialects which used to be spoken in the various wild recesses of the land. These local speeches came to be styled under the common denomination “Prakrit”, meaning the natural and unartificial dialects used by the common folk as distinguished from Sanskrit, which was the refined medium employed by learned priests, poets and authors in their works. These Prakrit speeches came to be classified, according to their regional character or religious importance, into five or six main divisions each with a literature and a grammar of its own, viz. Maharashtri, Pali or Magadhi, Ardha-Magadhi, Sauraseni and Paliachi, not to speak of Tamil and other primary Dravidian tongues which prevailed in the southern peninsula. Of all these medival languages, Maharashtri was the most highly cultivated and at one time it was most widely used in popular speech and literature, right from the borders of Malwa and Rajputana in the north to the banks of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in the south. Buddhist literature mostly exists in Pali and Jain literature in Ardha-Magadhi, while Sauraseni prevailed in the region round about Mathura, the land of the Saurasenas, and Paliachi had its hold in the north-west, i.e., in the western Punjab and beyond. All these Prakrit languages have been freely employed by classical writers like Kalidas and others in the dramas that they produced, Sanskrit being spoken by the higher characters and the Prakrits by the females, servants and lower classes. It is clear that by about 500 B.C. Sanskrit had gone out of use as a spoken language and the Prakrits had taken its place in popular parlance. The most important of these Prakrits was doubtless Maharashtri in which there exists a copious literature, consisting of several well-known works of high merit, such as Sapta-Shati, Sutrabandha, Gauda Vako and Karpura-Manjari, etc. The first of these, that is, Sapta-Shati, is a famous anthology of 700 verses selected from different writers by King Hala of the Satavahana dynasty, who flourished about the first century after Christ. This Sapta-Shati contains the names of mountains, rivers and towns of Maharashtra, many of which are still extant. Grammarians specifying rules for the various Prakrits mainly depend upon Maharashtri for their illustrations. The word Maharashtri came to be corrupted into Marhati or as it was latterly called, Marathi. Rajasheshwar, a learned Maharashtra
poet, who is known to have lived from 884 to 959 A.C., has written several Sanskrit and Prakrit works, Ramayana, Bala-Bharata, Vidyā-Sūtra-Bharati, Kṛṣṇa-Menājī, etc., and his Prakrit works in point of style mark the borderline between the outgoing Mahābharati and the incoming Marathi.

If one were to trace the linguistic development of India through ancient times, one might roughly put down Vedic Sanskrit to be the spoken speech of the early Aryans until about 500 B.C.; Mahābharati and the other Prakrits were in vogue for about a thousand years from 500 B.C. to 500 A.C., after which Marathi and other modern Indian languages gradually began to take shape; and Marathi became the language of the court and learned writers from about 800-1000 A.C. onwards. Bhāvardha-Dīpikā, a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā by the first great writer in Marathi, Jñāneshwar, is the earliest celebrated work in Marathi, having been completed in the year 1290 A.C. during the reign of King Rama-chandra Yadav of Devgiri, only four years before he was attacked and his kingdom destroyed by the Muslim conqueror Ala-ud-dīn Khiljī. Jñāneshwar concludes his work with these words, "I have thus decorated the Goddess of Gītā with this country ornament." Side by side with the use of the Prakrits and Marathi, the use of classical Sanskrit was never abandoned as the literary tongue par excellence. Learned scholars always preferred to write in Sanskrit.

One may be curious to know what are the oldest existing compositions in Marathi. Curiously enough, the oldest writing in Marathi comes from the Mysore State, being dated 983 A.C. A few inscriptions in old Marathi have been found in different places, such as Patadev (1157 A.C.), Ter (1164 A.C.), Pate (1180 A.C.), another at Patan in Khandesh (1206 A.C.) and one at Pandharpur (1273 A.C.). Some stray pages of Panchahalavata translated from Sanskrit into old Marathi and
This compliment paid by the great author to King Ramadeva need not be interpreted as an accurate historical statement. It was rather the formal expression of a poet's reverence towards the ruling sovereign.

About Marathi Jnaneshwar says —

an astronomical treatise by Shripati called Ratnamala are known to be the earliest extant compositions in Marathi. Mahakuta-Ji preceded Jnaneshwar by about a hundred years and wrote his work Vishnu-Siddh in Marathi, although the present manuscripts give a modernized form of it. The Mahabharat literature of the last quarter of the thirteenth century is also available for the study of old Marathi. While, therefore, we are sure that modern Marathi began to take a definite shape about 1200 A.C., the writing, the forms and structure now available to us, belong to a much later period.

It was Jnanadev's boast to have transplanted the best thoughts of the Sanskrit language into the popular Marathi. He bestows the highest eulogy on Marathi and declares it to be in no way inferior to the polished Sanskrit. What height the Marathi language and the Maratha people had then attained can well be imagined from the following eloquent words of Jnanadev. "There rules," says he, "Shri Ramachandra, the magnificent scion of the Yadav dynasty, the supporter of all arts, a monarch who rules justly."

Since the days of Jnanadev a regular succession of saints and poets began to appear rapidly and to enrich the Marathi language in increasing volume and grandeur, till the advent of the great Maratha hero Shivaji. A people is thus inseparably connected with its land and language.

3. Political background of Maharashtra — How was this land of the 'great nation' ruled in bygone ages? The earliest glimpse we obtain in this connection refers to Chandragupta Maurya.
EARLY BEGINNINGS

The early beginnings of the Indian kingdom can be traced back to the Gupta Maurya, an Indian warrior contemporary with Alexander the Great, who had established his sway over Mahárástra. Chandragupta's grandson Ashoka took the cue from his grandfather and extended his Empire to the east and the south. Throughout this Indian contingent his numerous edicts have been discovered, which prove that great research's zeal for the spiritual amelioration of his people and his enthusiasm for the spread of the teachings of Lord Buddha. Thereafter during the early centuries of the Christian era, Mahárástra was ruled for about 300 years (B.C. 73 to A.D. 218) by a dynasty of rulers known as Andh vah or Satavahana whose capital city was Pratisthan or Paithan, situated on the river Godavari, then a renowned seat of learning, culture and commercial activity. Some of the Puranas enthusiastically describe the conquests and achievements of these Satavahana rulers, after whom the present Shaka era has been named. The Satavahana's attained a high degree of civilization which is disclosed by the wonderful caves of Nasik, Karla, Bhaja, and Kausalesh, as well as by a number of coins and inscriptions which have been discovered, belonging to that dynasty.

The several clans of the ancient Ratthas, among whom may be included the Rashtrakutas, the Bana, etc., exercised influence at different places under the Satavahana, although they were then too weak to assert any organized political power. During the 4th and 5th centuries the Gupta Emperors of northern India now and then extended their influence over rulers of the Decan such as the Vakatakas, Kalduris and Kadambas, but it is doubtful if the Gupta's actually ruled over any portions of these Decan lands. At the beginning of the sixth century, however, a new dynasty of the Chalukyas appeared on the scene and gave this land a succession of wise and strong rulers for more than a century and a half. They ruled from Badami, now a town in the district of Bijapur. Satyashraya pulakeshi, the most famous ruler of this Chalukya dynasty, who reigned from 608—642 A.D., successfully repelled an attack of the Emperor Harsha and strongly guarded the northern boundary of Mahárástra at the river Narmada. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited Pulakeshi's court.

7. See note 2 on page 12.
and has left an illuminating account of that ruler's policy and achievements, and of the Maratha people as well. The Chalukyas worshipped the God Shiva and assumed grand titles significant of their power and fame.

The Chalukyas were succeeded by another powerful dynasty, the Rashtrakutas, who ruled Maharashtra for a period of 225 years from about 750 to 975 A.C., the longest on record for any southern Hindu dynasty to hold sway. It is a most important epoch in the history of the Deccan, when both the Karnatak and Maharashtra were welded into one political entity. Most of the rulers were able men; in a line of 14 kings only 3 were found to be inefficient. Jainism, Hinduism and Buddhism lived side by side in this land in perfect harmony under these Rashtrakuta rulers.

Krishna I of this dynasty was a great builder who caused to be excavated out of solid rock the celebrated Kailas temple of Ellora, a magnificent specimen of Hindu art and a veritable wonder of the world. The name Rashtrakuta was in local parlance changed into Rathod a clan-name later assumed by the proud rulers of the Jodhpur State. This dynasty had its main capital at Mihiyakhet (Malakhat) with minor capitals, such as Chandrapur (Chandwad), Lattaur (Latur), etc. at different times. However clever and valiant might have been these Rashtrakuta rulers, they altogether neglected the naval defence of their country, in which the Arabs of the west seemed to excel at this period.

It was the later Chalukyas again who gave a death-blow to the Rashtrakuta power and ruled Maharashtra for some two hundred years from 975 to 1189 A.C. from their capitals of Mihnyakhet and Kalyani near Bidar. They produced some ten brilliant rulers of outstanding merit. Tribhuvanmalla Vikramaditya VI was the greatest monarch of this dynasty, and he founded an era named after himself. His prime minister Vijnaneswar, the author of the Mitakshara, is still held in high esteem as an eminent jurist of Hindu Law.

After the later Chalukyas, Maharashtra came to be ruled by another powerful dynasty, the Yadavas, a clan from north India who had been striving in ages past to wield power and influence at different places. They wrested the sceptre from
the Chalukyas and ruled for over a hundred years from 1187 to 1289 from their famous capital Deogiri, which the Muslims later named Daulatabad. Four eminent Yadava rulers, Singhana, Krishnadeva, Mahadeva and Ramsadeva became celebrated in the history of the Deccan for having patronized art and literature, the signs of which are amply visible to this day. The great mathematician Bhaskaracharya, the Yadava minister Hemadri, a versatile writer and inventor of many practical arts, and Hemadri’s right-hand helper the scholarly Bopadeva, are all names among many others, still cherished in Maratha memory with peculiar reverence.

Hemadri holds an important place in the history of Maharashtra. He was in many respects far ahead of his times. He was not only a learned scholar, but also a minister (Sriharanadhipa) of the Yadava rulers possessing great powers of organization and a wide outlook directed to the many-sided improvement of the people inhabiting the Yadava dominion. With the help of a number of scholars he promulgated a huge compendium of religious observances, entitled Chaturanga-Chintamani. He also produced works on medicine, introduced a code of private and official etiquette and of forms of address in private and public correspondence. He changed the Devanagari script so as to suit a fast running hand by joining the letters, a mode which is known as Modi and which has long been current in Maharashtra. A special art of constructing houses and temples with hewn stones piled one upon another without the use of cement or mortar, was invented by Hemadri and came to be widely adopted throughout Maharashtra. The grain Bajri as a cheap food-stuff of plentiful yield, is said to have been first introduced by Hemadri. To his great work Chaturanga-Chintamani he has added an illuminating supplement entitled Yadava-Prastati in which he has immortalized the history of the Yadava rulers ending with Mahadeva Yadava.

4. Rise of the Manabhadra sect.—With the changes of dynasties, Maharashtra preserved its political freedom for some two hundred years more than its sister provinces in the

8. The oldest paper now available in this script dates about half a century after Hemadri.
north. Here foreign conquest was never dreamt of and no provision against it was considered necessary. About 1000 A.D. the Muslims began to knock at the gates of India, and by the end of the twelfth century Delhi passed into their hands, ushering in a new political experience for the warring indigenous princes of this vast country. It required a hundred years more for the shock to reach Mahārāṣṭrā from Delhi. During the last quarter of the thirteenth century between about 1270 and 1295 when Jñāneshwara was penning the eulogy of Rāma-chandra Yidava, a sudden collapse came, which required to be explained on the basis of recent historical research. A dim light in the midst of complete darkness is perhaps to be found in the rise of the Mānabhāv sect and the conflict it provoked in the religious sphere. Let us see what the Mānabhāv revolution effected in the spheres of religion, society and politics of the period.

The word Mānabhāv is a corruption of the Sanskrit original Mākānubhdva, meaning great respectability. The Mānabhāv sect, also known as Jayakrishna or Achyuta, is an important body of free-thinkers advocating a distinct departure from the traditional Vedānta system of religion formulated by Śāṅkaracharya. Indeed, from about the eleventh century onwards, as in earlier times, there has been a peculiar upheaval in Indian religion and society, giving rise to a number of divergent sects, such as the Vaishnavas, the Śāivas, the Lingayats, the Nath-pañthīs and Warkaris of the Pandharpur movement. During the thirteenth century a learned Nagar Brahman from the district of Broach in Gujarat named Haripaldev migrated to Nalīgapur near Aṃrāoti in Berar, and there under the inspiration of a learned saint named Govind Prabhu started preaching doctrines of a revolt against some of the absurdities of current orthodoxy.

This Haripaldev, newly named Chakradhara by his guru, toured through Mahārāṣṭrā and by his earnest oratory and forceful reasoning, collected round himself a large number of disciples, mostly learned Brahmans from different places. He possessed a wonderful mastery over the Marathi language and explained through its medium the best thoughts in the Upani-shads and other old philosophical works, exposing the incon-
grudities that existed between the real ideals and the actual practice of the Hindus of his time. Chakradhar soon came to be worshipped and respected by large masses of people as the very incarnation of God wherever he went. Thus a new sect came into existence, although Chakradhar himself never avowed that he was preaching a new religion. He is credited with an abnormally long life of more than a century, 1153 to 1276 A.D., which he spent in passionate preaching and enforcing rigid discipline upon his followers in every minute detail of conduct and worship. He did not confine his activities to Maharashtra only, but travelled over wide regions outside, extending roughly from the river Krishna in the south to the bank of the Indus in the north, a unique performance in the history of religious movements. Chakradhar’s successes extended even beyond the Indus to Peshawar and on to Kabul, where his followers read and recited the sacred texts in the language.

Chakradhar concentrated his teaching upon the worship of Krishna, emphasising dualism in contravention to the then existing Advait system as enunciated by Shankaracharya and adopted for centuries by the common masses and rulers of the Yadava dynasty. The main points on which this new teaching differed from the old can be thus summarized: (1) Chakradhar did not accept the sanctity of the Vedas as the ultimate authority, (2) he denounced the artificial divisions of caste and (3) the adoration of the numerous gods, their forms and incarnations. (4) He also rejected the pollution by touch in any shape or form, upholding all human beings as equal in sanctity. He also enforced a strict vegetarian diet and allowed no sensual excesses unlike the Shaktas and Tantrikas. The Manabhavs have two distinct orders, the householders and the recluse. The latter admit even women to the status of religious celibates; the former live much the same social life as the common masses of their brother Hindus, and can be hardly distinguished by any special conduct at this day.

5. Manabhav literature.—But it is more in the literary sphere than in the religious, that the Manabhavs have rendered their greatest service, which is not yet widely nor ade-
quately recognised. They rigidly prohibited the use of Sanskrit either in common prayer or in their literary works. They adopted pure Marathi as the only channel of expression holding it to be as sacred as Sanskrit and, like our popular Mahārāṣṭra saints, made available to the common folk the highest philosophical thought of the old Sanskrit works. They were the first to create Marathi proto-types of the various forms, constructions and styles of classical writers, their Samhitas, Sutras, Bhāshyas and even the metres of the Sanskrit verse, both of the Aṣṭāsāhasra and the Yathāśnāna systems. The Māṁabhāv scholars were the first to write elegant Marathi prose, unlike the Sanskrit writers who preferred the metrical form. This Māṁabhāv prose is of the blank verse type.

Chakradār himself never wrote any work of his own. He had a large number of gifted disciples all passionately devoted to him and whole-heartedly cooperating with him in his attack on orthodoxy. Every act and incident of his life, as also every utterance of his, were properly recorded and later arranged in two important works, the first containing his sermons and utterances is termed Siddhanta-Sutra-palakṣ and has become the sacred book of the sect which the followers read and recite. The other, recording his acts and incidents, is called Lilacharitam. In order to preserve the sanctity of the text of these works, they were purposely written in thirteen different code-scripts according to as many sub-divisions, which prevented their being tampered with by ignorant readers. These two form the sacred scriptures of the Māṁabhāv sect and are the compositions of Mahāinda Bhāttī Vyās, a learned scholar, who was helped in his task by half a dozen other scholars of equal calibre. One noticeable peculiarity of these works is that exact dates and places are mentioned in most cases for the occurrences that are narrated, and this fact materially helps the student of history. The use of the code scripts has preserved the original language from any manipulation or interpolation by subsequent scribes, so that in the Māṁabhāv works we find today the very words, phrases and forms of the day of their composition, without the modernisation which has
vitiated the contents and form of the writings of our other Maharashtra saints like Jnaneshwar and Eknath.

Other works of high literary merit came to be written in quick succession by Mambhav writers on the model of the old poetical compositions of the Sanskrit Kavyas: the following seven of these are held in great esteem—

1. Rukmini-Swayamvara by Narendra Borikar;
2 & 3. Shishupala Vaidha and Uddhava-gita by Bhaskarbhatt;
4. Vatsala-Harana by Dilmolar Pandit;
5 to 7. Riddhipur Varan, Jnana-bodh and Sakyadri Varan are three descriptive narrations.

The first of these Rukmini-Swayamvara is contemporary with the Jnaneshwari: the others belong to a little later period. All are in the common odi metre and can take a high rank for their literary merit. Not a few women have figured among their authors. These Mambhav compositions long remained unnoticed by the scholarly world probably on account of the strange antipathy that Hindu orthodoxy entertained towards that sect. How and why such antipathy arose is a riddle which deserves to be satisfactorily solved.

6. Deaths of Chakradhar and Hemadri.—The propagation of the Mambhav doctrines appears to have had an intimate relation with and was certainly a contributory cause of the sudden fall of the Yadavas of Deogiri, the very heart of the region, where Chakradhar first began his fanatical activities by openly preaching against orthodox beliefs and practices. He was doubtless a contemporary of the great Hemadri, the Shrikandadhipa of the powerful king Mahadeva Yadava (A.D. 1260-1271), so that Hemadri and Chakradhar are found acting on the stage of mediaeval history, both learned and possessing extraordinary capacity for organization and using their utmost powers, the one upholding the orthodox system and the other preaching a revolt. It would appear that Hemadri purposely promulgated his comprehensive code of religious observances (the Chaturvaranga-Chintamani) consisting of four large books or parts, (1) the Vratakhanda or vow, (2) the
Dâna-khanda or charities, (3) the Tirtha-khanda or pilgrimages, and (4) the Moksha-khanda or salvation, with several supplements (Parâshûra-khanda) emphasizing the worship of various deities, of the manes and ancestors, the daily and seasonal duties with penances for failure. Hemadri completed this work during the regime of Mahâdeva Yâdava, who was succeeded by his nephew Ramachandra in 1271. Ramachandra obtained the crown by cruelly putting to death Mahâdeva's son Aman, and confirmed Hemadri in his post. It is well-known that these Yâdava rulers traced their descent from Shrikrishna and were his ardent devotees, just as were Chakradhâr and his followers, who on that account were freely admitted into the palace and harem of Deogiri in a brotherhood of common worship, a result which the minister Hemadri highly resented and opposed with all the powers he possessed.

Recent research based on the evidence of the Manabhâv writings throws a lurid light on the manner in which both Chakradhâr and Hemadri met with their deaths. A certain manuscript of the Lîlâ-Charitra, written shortly after 1276 (and not yet published) mentions that Hemadri with the help of his own priests and those of the Yâdava rulers discovered the whereabouts of Chakradhâr, sent his troops after him and had him killed in 1276 at Khokargaon (near Fatihar, District Ahmadnagar). When this event came to be reported to Ramdev, he was filled with wrath against Hemadri and soon after put him to a cruel death in retaliation for Chakradhâr's death. This conclusion is indirectly corroborated by some verses in the Mahâkâvî bûhîr published by Rajawade. ¹²

This story may be true or false, but the reason of the sudden fall of king Ramachandra Yâdava may be looked for in the weak and vicious character of his rule (notwithstanding his eulogy by Jnaneshwar) aggravated by religious disputes distracting the king's attention from preparations for defence.

¹¹. A large amount of literature of inscriptions and prashastis is available on the life and work of Hemadri, but there is no mention how he came by his death. See K. A. Padhye's Life of Hemadri, wherein are reproduced all the inscriptions and Prashastis in full.

¹². Page 81, verses 54 and 55. See Prof. V. B. Kolte's paper in the Nagpur University Journâl, December, 1941.
against attacks from outside. Disorder and neglect certainly appear to have facilitated Ala-ud-din's sudden and successful attack upon Deogiri in 1294, probably incited thereto by other agents imparting secret information to the conqueror about the weakness of Yadava rule.

But here we must first turn to the strong Hindu reaction which the rapid Muslim conquest provoked in the southern lands of this continent.

7. Successful revolt against the Muslims.—Towards the end of the 10th century of the Christian era a new race of conquerors from beyond the Himalayas began to knock at the gates of India. The task was begun by that consummate Turkish general Mahmud of Ghazni and completed by an equally tenacious conqueror known to history as Muhammad of Ghor. Within two hundred years, the whole of northern India was reduced. A hundred more years passed and the Muslims undertook the subjugation of the Deccan by crossing the Narmada for the first time.

There were at the time, in the south, four or five important Hindu Kingdoms which the Muslims reduced within less than a quarter of a century. Ala-ud-din Khilji attacked Deogiri in 1294 and forced its ruler Ramdev Rao into submission. Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-din's Lieutenant, overran and destroyed the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal in 1309, and the Hoyala kingdom of Dwarasamudra in 1310. Immediately after these successes he overran the Chola and Pandya kingdoms of the extreme south and planted the green banner of Islam on the southernmost point of India. Thus Ala-ud-din Khilji before his death could boast of having subjugated the whole of the Indian Continent. His son Mubarak Khilji and thereafter the stern Tughlak Sultan Muhammad, extinguished the last vestiges of Hindu power in the south; and this Tughlak ruler in order to hold the lately conquered territory in perfect submission, in 1325 transferred his capital to Deogiri, which he named Daulatabad, and for some years after he took up his residence here in the south. Thus the Muslim conquest of

33. Old name Ekahilla-Nagari or Varanakula, hence the present name.
India appeared to be complete by the year 1356. In this way all the work of the great builders from Chandragupta Maurya to Rámdev Rao of Deogir and of Prataprudra of Warangal, covering a period of some sixteen and a half centuries, was undone within less than a quarter of a century, an extraordinary phenomenon, for which no parallel can be found in the history of the world.

There had been foreign conquerors in India before; and they had all been quickly absorbed and assimilated in the body of Hindu society. But these new Turkish fanatics were of an entirely different type. They were not content with the acquisition of mere political power. They descended upon the plains of Hindustan not as mere conquerors and plunderers, but as crusading warriors bent upon spreading their holy faith in the land of the infidels. When they overthrew the Hindu kingdoms of the north and established themselves in the land, they set about systematically to force their religion upon the people, to desecrate the Hindu temples and their magnificent edifices, to break down the idols, mutilate statues and works of art, disfigure stone inscriptions beyond recognition. Out of the material obtained by such wanton destruction, they erected prayer-houses for the use of the Faithful. In order to stamp out heathenism and gather the Indian people within the fold of Islam, these ruthless vandals prohibited the public exercise of the Hindu religion and subjected its devotees to disabilities and penal laws. The Hindus were not allowed to dress well, live well or appear prosperous. Vexatious taxes were imposed upon them and their seats of learning were destroyed.

North India is a huge plain with hardly any natural impediment or stronghold to withstand hardy and determined soldiers sweeping from Attock down to the Bay of Bengal. The Hindus of this vast region internally divided and disorganised as they were, offered little or no resistance to their Turkish oppressors. They meekly submitted to all the ill-treatment that was inflicted upon them, and betrayed a strange incapacity to offer a combined opposition in defence of their land and religion. But the Hindus of the south, particularly the stern Kapülika and Shaiva sects, the Manabhisavas and the Lingayats inhabiting the lands of Kampil, near Anagondi and...
Warangal were not slow to react and resist the Muslim aggression. How this revolt was successfully organised forms an instructive study.

Warangal was the capital of Telangana, the coastal region between the Godavari and the Krishna, and for centuries it was ruled by a dynasty of the Kakatiyas. It was first attacked in 1303 by Ala-ud-din’s general Malik Fakhruddin Juna, who later figured as the notorious Sultan Muhammad Tughlak of Delhi. He was routed with heavy loss by the valiant ruler Prataprudra Kakatiya, who then became an eyesore to the Muslim conquerors. Years passed. The Khiljis were succeeded by the Tughlaks, who sent a strong expedition against Warangal in 1321. For two years the struggle continued unabated. Prataprudra was overcome and captured alive. He was being taken to Delhi as a trophy of the war, when finding the insult too bitter to bear, he put an end to his life in 1323. This sad end of their valiant leader roused the people as nothing else would have done.

After a year’s time Muhammad Tughlak became the Sultan of Delhi and at once removed his capital to Deogiri (1325); and from his seat in that strong fort he started measures to put down the rising opposition of the Hindus. The fall of Warangal had spread the infection of revolt to the neighbouring region of Kampli on the Tungabhadra, where another brave Hindu warrior Kampildeva, inflicted crushing defeats upon the forces sent against him by the Sultan from Deogiri. Exasperated by this disgraceful reverse, the Sultan sent another and more powerful expedition for the conquest of Kampli in 1327. Kampildeva finding resistance hopeless, prepared a huge fire and along with all his women folk burnt...
himself alive in it in order to escape the disgrace of falling into the enemy's hands. A large number of prisoners was however, captured and carried in chains to the Sultan, whose joy at this success was unbounded. He returned to Delhi with his booty and prisoners. Among these latter were two brothers, Harhar and Bukka, who had formerly served as ministers at Kampli and helped Pratapraja of Warangal. The Sultan knew their worth, converted them to Islam and used them well with a view to employing them in the event of any Hindu revolt in the south. These spirited brothers had witnessed the changing fortunes of the Hindus ever since the fall of the Yadavas and secretly nursed in their hearts a feeling of revenge, and they waited for a suitable opportunity.

Sultan Muhammad Tughlak soon found himself involved in serious troubles as much in the north as in the south, but he was not a bit inclined to relent in his resolve to put down the Hindu Kafirs. During 1330 and 1331, one Kapayya Nayak of Warangal and another Sundervid of Kampli rose against the Sultan, put the Muslim governors to flight and asserted independence in their respective localities. The news reached the Sultan at Delhi. He held a council of war with his advisers and decided upon their suggestion to employ the services of the two brothers Harhar and Bukka, now Muslim converts and as such expected to do their best to uphold their adopted faith in the same manner as their predecessor Malik Kafur had done. The two brothers accepted the mission readily and fully provided with men and materials soon appeared before Kampli.

How widespread and bitter was the Hindu feeling of revolt at this time can be gathered from the conspicuous part which the Shankaracharya Madhav Vidyāranya, the learned and influential head of the Shrirangas Math, played by taking the lead in politics for putting down Muslim aggression. Madhavacharya and his two equally competent brothers, Sāyana and Bhājīraja held deliberations with the two heroes Harhar and Bukka, persuaded them to renounce their newly-accepted faith and after bringing them back to the Hindu fold by means of certain penances, made them lead the whole movement to a successful issue. Thus were politics and religion put to the highest test in the nation's cause. The example
proved highly rousing. The Sultan's plans were entirely foiled. The holy Guru Madhavacharya took up his residence at Anagondi where the two brothers Harihar Rai and Bukka Rai paid him due reverence. A fresh plan was conceived in mutual consultation for founding the seat of a new Hindu Empire at the bend of the river Tungabhadra, just opposite Anagondi. This was the origin of Vijayanagar which rapidly grew into a well-protected, wealthy and powerful city. In this new capital the two brothers were crowned kings on 18 April 1336. Muhammad Tughlak had the mortification to lose his southern provinces for good.

This newly created Empire of Vijayanagar gradually increased in power and extent and for more than two hundred years stemmed the tide of Muslim conquest in the south. Although thereafter Vijayanagar was itself destroyed by the combined power of the Muslim rulers in the famous battle of Talikot (January 22, 1565), the various local powers that survived, were never crushed altogether, but continued to drag on a submerged existence in different localities right up to the British conquest of India. Historically, however, the experiment of Vijayanagar served as a source of power and inspiration to the genius of Shivaji, since his father Shahji had his life's activities concentrated upon the region of Bangalore, Kampli and Kanakgiri, and, we may be sure, that Shivaji took his cue from the example of Harihar and Bukka, of personal valour joined to the spiritual power of the Shankarcharya. It is well known, that Shivaji closely followed this model and revered his gurus Tukaram and Ramdas. The causes of this Hindu rebellion against Muhammad Tughlak, as later of Shivaji's against Aurangzeb, were, it should be noted, more cultural than political; the Hindus always attached greater importance to the preservation of their religion than to political freedom. Herein lies the importance to Maratha history of the Hindu revolt which led to the foundation of Vijayanagar.

8. Saints and writers of Maharashtra.—As a reaction to Muslim aggression in India, the spirit of revolt rapidly spread throughout the land and paralysed all the energy of Muham-
Mad Tughlak. Maharashtras was not slow to follow in the footsteps of Vijayanagar, but here the revolt took a different shape. Husain Zafar Khan, a trusted commandant whom the Tughlak Sultan despatched to quell the rebellions in the south, himself assumed the lead of the rebels, and declared his own independence at Gulburga, assuming the royal title of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah and founded in 1347 what came to be known in history as the Bahamani Kingdom. This Muslim ruler was shrewd enough to realize that it was no use exasperating the Hindus by interfering with their religion. They readily accepted his new tolerant rule though alien in faith. During the next two hundred years this Bahamani Kingdom, like its sister of Vijayanagar, went on flourishing side by side, although between them a spirit of rivalry and mutual aggression continued all the time. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Bahamani Kingdom broke up into five separate branches, of which three, namely those of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda became fairly powerful after absorbing the other two of Bidar and Berar. These three have become known in history as the Adil Shahi, Nizam Shahi, and Qutb Shahi, from the names of their respective founders. We are not here concerned with the internal administration of the original Bahamani kingdom or of its later branches, except in so far as they contributed to the Maratha rise.

As the founder of the Maratha kingdom had his home near the western ghats, his fortunes came to be mainly connected with only the Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar and the Adilshah of Bijapur. Although the five combined Muslim rulers dealt a death blow to the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, they did not succeed in subjugating the more southerly territories of that Hindu power. The general policy of these Deccani rulers was of tolerance towards the Hindus, as they had become wiser by the fate which the intolerant Khiljis and Tughlaks had to suffer on account of their extreme hatred towards the main populace over whom they ruled. In all essentials the Bahamani rulers and the Sultans of the offshoot kingdoms, depended upon the Hindus for their own existence and studiously refrained from injuring Hindu sentiment. The hilly regions of the west remained practically un-
conquered. The Muslim character of the rulers was confined only to their personal religion and did not affect their subjects. Writes Ranade, “These nominal Muhammadan rulers were virtually controlled both in the civil and military departments by Maratha statesmen and Maratha warriors. The hill-forts near the Ghats and the country hereabout, were in the hands of Maratha captains, who were nominally dependent upon these Muhammadan sovereigns.” Indeed, if Muhammad Adil-Shah of Bijapur, who came to the throne in 1627 and who completely reversed the tolerant policy of his father Ibrahim Adil-Shah, a ruler of exceptional impartiality who had been revered as Jagat-Guru by the Hindus themselves, had not resumed the old practice of desecrating Hindu temples and plundering their wealth, it is probable that Shivaji would not have undertaken to found an independent Maratha Kingdom.

Under the advice of his minister Mustafa Khan, Muhammad Adil-Shah promulgated fresh regulations for putting down the Hindu religion and thus invited the extreme wrath of prominent Marathas of the day. The conversion of Bajaji Nimbalkar of Phaltan to the Muslim faith is an evidence of this changed policy of Bijapur which impelled Shivaji to make a fresh bold move.

The Hindus in general—the Maratha forming no exception—have during historic times cared more for their religion than for political power. When the Ghaznavides and the Ghoris, the Khiljis and the Tughlaks practised fearful persecution in religious matters, they provoked opposition and revolt. The great Emperor Akbar wisely changed this policy and thereby strengthened his empire. Akbar’s policy was reversed by Aurangzeb and this generated the Maratha movement for independence, a repetition of the same experiment that had led to the foundation of Vijayanagar. This vein of rebellious sentiment runs through the vast Marathi literature of the three or four centuries that followed the extinction of the Yadavas of Deogiri; from the time of Muliundraj and Jnaneshwar to that of Tulshiram and Ramsukh, the whole range of Marathi literature accurately reflects the workings of the

popular mind. Viewed in this light the teachings of these saints are clearly marked by three successive schools of thought, first that of Jnaneshwar and Namdev (13th and 14th centuries), the second Eknath and Tukaram (15th and 16th centuries), and the third of Ramdas (17th century), the last being contemporary of Shivaji himself. These saints and writers were mostly men of learning and experience, having widely travelled on pilgrimages throughout India on foot, and gained first-hand information of local occurrences which they often actually witnessed. They can be likened to our present day newspaper reporters. They delivered orations and held Harikirtans which were avidly listened to, and which supplied the spiritual background to the political aims of workers like Shivaji.

There are two particular services which these writers have rendered to society. The old precious store of learning and philosophy which till then had been confined only to Sanskrit and was consequently unintelligible to the masses, was rendered by them into various popular and attractive forms of Marathi verse, often set to musical tunes; and secondly, they made an ardent and piteous appeal to God Almighty through their favourite deity to intervene on behalf of the oppressed peoples and bring them relief from Muslim persecution. The well-known story of Dāndāji Pant, a revenue collector of the Bādar district, is a typical instance in which he miraculously escaped the wrath of his master for having distributed gratis govern­ment stores of com, through the actual intervention of the Vithoba of Pandharpur.16 A studied effort was made by some of the saints towards reconciling the two conflicting faiths in mutual recognition of the essential unity of Rama and Rahim, of Vithoba and Allah. The warring sects of the Hindus them­selves, the Shaivas and the Vaishnavas were reconciled in a symbolized installation of Vithoba at Pandharpur.17

16. The story refers to a devastating famine which occurred in Maharashtra for seven long years from 1396 A.C, which is still remembered as Durgadi.
17. “It cannot be doubted,” writes S. M. Edwardes, “that the remarkable movement which centres so largely about the God Vithoba and Pandharpur, embraced persons of various castes and elevated to sainthood...
represented the Pandharapur movement of passionate prayer of complete non-violence and patient resignation to the Divine Will. "The pulsation of a new national life began to stir throughout the land and was accompanied in the popular belief by the revolt of the Hindu pantheon against the tyrannous deity of the Muslim." The rapid change in the structure of the Marathi language itself bears unmistakable evidence to the political domination secured by the Muslim conquerors. While the great work of Jnaneshwar contains not a single Arabic or Persian word, Eknath's writings exhibit a very large percentage of those foreign words imposed on Marathi. When Shivaji came forth boldly to oppose Muslim aggression and renovate Hindu religion and culture, he promulgated his own Sanskrit code of official terms, replacing the Persian ones of the court language of the foreigners. The change back to Sanskrit became quickly effective during Maratha rule.

But there is another class of writings which tried to account for this new agitation in Maharashtrian life. They consist of early bahars and prashastis (introductions) attached to Sanskrit works. Most of the bahars of Shivaji, Hauzarte's introduction to the Rajyavasah Kosh, Gagabhatt's foreword to the Kvyawatia-Dharm-Dipa composed by him, and the Bhatta-Vasaka-Kavya, the elaborate exposition of Paramadand's Skirt-Bhadra (two long chapters), some of the Hindi works of poets Bhushan and Lat Kavi, an anonymous poem purporting to be Shivaji's letter to Jaya Sih, all these particularly treat the subject of the rise of Shivaji, but explain it in a different manner. They describe the Earth as personified, unable to bear the atrocities of the Mlechhas towards gods, brahmans and cows, and seeking relief from the god Brahma, who in his turn appeals to Shankar, Vishnu or the goddess Bhavani, and ultimately these gods heeded the solemn prayer of the Earth and agreed to undertake a fresh incarnation for redressing the prevailing wrongs, and thus is Shivaji described to have been born. This is the orthodox explanation of even the lowest castes in Maharashtra." (Intr. Grant Duff's History, p. 301).

18. Introduction to Marathi Ballads by Acworth.
of the rise of Shivaji recorded before the days of the present epoch of historical research.

9. Peculiarities of the Maratha race.—M. G. Ranade, the author of Rise of the Maratha Power, has propounded two important questions which a student of Maratha history has to solve. They are: (1) Why was the first successful attempt to throw off the Muhammadan yoke made in western India, and (2) what are the circumstances in the nature of the country, and the habits and institutions of the people inhabiting it, which favoured such an attempt and rewarded it with success? The veteran administrator and erudite scholar Sir Richard Temple has supplied an answer to these questions. He says:—"The Marathas have always formed a separate nation and still regard themselves as such. They possess plain features, short stature, a small but wiry frame. Their eyes are bright and piercing and under excitement will gleam with passion. Though not powerful physically as compared with the northern races of the Punjab and Oudh, they have much activity and an unsurpassed endurance. Born and bred in and near the western Ghaut mountains and their numerous tributary ranges, they have all the qualities of mountaineers. Among their native hills they have at all times evinced desperate courage. Away from the hills they do not display remarkable valour except under the discipline supplied by able leaders of other races. They never of themselves show an
aptitude for organization, but when so organized, they are reckoned among best soldiers. After the fall of the Maratha Empire, they have betaken themselves mainly to cultivation and to the carrying business connected with agriculture.

"The Maratha peasantry possess manly fortitude under suffering and misfortune. Though patient and good-tempered in the main, they have a latent warmth of temper and if oppressed beyond a certain endurable limit, they will fiercely turn and rend their tormentors. Cruelty is also an element in their character. Traditions of plunder have been handed down to them from early times and many of them retain the predatory instincts of their forefathers. The neighbourhood of dense forests, steep hill-sides and fastnesses hard of access, offers extraordinary facilities for the display of valour and the preservation of liberty. They work hard in the fields and possess a fund of domestic virtue. The Marathas are born equestrians and sportsmen. As a rule they are not moderate in living and are not infrequently addicted to intemperance. They often feel proud of their low origin even after attaining greatness. The Sindhias boasted of having been the slipper-bearers of the Peshvas."

writes Yuan Chwang in the middle of the 7th century—

"The manners of the Marathas are simple and honest. They are proud and reserved. If any one is kind to them he may be sure of their gratitude, but if any one injures them, they will take their revenge and risk their life to wipe out dishonour. If any one in distress appeals to them, they will leave aside all thoughts of self in their anxiety to help. Even if they have an insult to avenge, they never fail to warn their enemy. In battle if they pursue the fugitives, they always spare all who surrender. These men love study and there are many heretics among them." These traits of the Maratha character are found even to-day.

10. The present day Marathas.—Thus from the Mauryas to the Yashavas there stretched a period of fifteen centuries, during which many great races and families came, settled and ruled in Maharashtra, only a few of whom have been prominently mentioned here. But there were certainly a large
number of others, who, like the Kadambas of Banavasi, or the Silaharas of Kohapur, Karhad and Thana, or the Vakatakas of Berar, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Ballals of Sagar, cannot all be here minutely enumerated, though they undoubtedly entered into the composition of the present-day Maratha nation at one time or another of our past history. Conquest and rule formed the sole occupation of these races and families. The conquerors often took for their wives maidens from the defeated races, thus giving rise to a free mixture of blood. The present day Maratha race boasts of including at least 96 separate families of whom several were long considered to be of very noble blood such as the Mauryas, the Sendrukas, the Rathods, the Silaharas, the Yadavas, etc., each with its high traditions of past valour and glory. The physical and mental powers of the present-day Marathas are a proof of the laws of heredity.

The rise of the Marathas under Shivaji is a problem which has been thoroughly analysed and reviewed by different writers in recent times. The Marathas as a people doubtless possessed in their vein high blood and noble tradition derived through ages from their royal ancestors such as the Mauryas, the Rashtrakutas, the Chalukyas and the Yadavas, not to mention the more recent additions to the original stock by the arrivals from time to time of north Indian Rajput tribes such as the Paramars (the present day Pawars), the Solankis, the Bhosles, the Ghorpades, the Mohites, the Mahadiks, the Gujars, the Shirkes, the Sawants, the Chatges, the Meines, the Dafies, the various Deshmukhs of the Mawals, several of whom adopted new surnames, in some cases from the places they occupied in the Deccan and from other sources. The Nimbalkars of Phaltan, for instance, are indeed the Paramars of Dhar who, after being expelled by Muslim conquerors from their habitation in Malwa, at first took their residence at Nimbalk in the Deccan and received their present name from that village. The Bhosles similarly are believed to have migrated from Rajputana and settled near Verul in the vicinity of Daulatabad. Shivaji's mother came from the Jadhao family, doubtless descendants of the ruling Yadavas of Deogiri, who continued to drag on a subdued existence in the region once ruled by their royal
ancestors. The Ghorpades are indeed a branch of the Bhosles who acquired that surname from one of their ancestors captur­ing a fort by climbing up a rampart on a rope tied to an iguana (i.e. Ghorpad). The several Deshmukhs of the Maval valleys such as the Jedhes, the Bandals, the Khepdes, the Pasalkars, the Silimkars and so on, acquired their present surnames when they came into and colonized those regions west of Poona, and figured prominently as early associates of Shivaji.

11. The Maratha country in pulsation. To quote Temple, "The Maratha country is strategically important as well as highly picturesque. Much of it lies in the bosom or near the skirts of the Ghat mountains. The vapours from the Arabian Sea are propelled by the south-west monsoon against the mountain tops of the Sahyadri range and produce an abundance of regular rainfall giving rise to luxuriant vegetation and the spectacle of numerous cascades tumbling down the perpendicular flanks of the mountains.

"The mountains stand in the midst of a fertile and populous country. On both sides of them are rich valleys, cultivated plains, numerous villages and large towns. Thus insurgents or warriors had here a complete military base with sources whence supplies could be drawn and with strongholds for organizing power or for securing refuge. This hill country has been regarded by strategists as one of the strongest in India in a military sense. It extends over nearly 500 miles from north to south and has numerous fortresses which are virtually im­pregnable when resolutely defended. Several of these are surrounded with historic tradition. In former times there was no road worthy of the name across these mountains. No means of passage existed for wheeled traffic save steep rugged pathways for footmen and pack animals. It is this range of the Western Ghats which enabled the Marathas to rise against their Muhammadan conquerors, to reassert their nationality against the whole power of the Mughals and to establish in its place an Empire of their own. It should be remembered that the principal power, the widest sovereignty which the

British overthrew in India was that of the Marathas. It was against them that the British had their stiffest and sanguinary actions.

"The political importance of these western mountains is indeed striking. Firstly, they nourish a resolute, enduring, daring almost audacious spirit among their inhabitants. Secondly, they offer strongholds and fastnesses to which these inhabitants can retire whenever they are pressed by an enemy. In fact they long and successfully defied the attempts of the Muslim rulers of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar to subdue them; and thirdly, they lie between fertile countries, consequently, the men of the hills can make rapid raids for plundering or marauding purposes, just as the eagle swoops from its eyrie upon the quarry. After these sudden descents they can rapidly carry off plunder, treasure and the like to the hills, and once they are there, it is difficult to approach them." Innumerable instances have occurred in Maratha history in which the agents of Government removed their valuables and womenfolk to these mountain fastnesses and thus prevented them from falling into the enemy's hands. Indeed, the possession of these strongholds has often proved a subject of bitter strife between various Maratha clans. It is thus that these regions became the cradle of greatness, power and Empire for the Marathas.

It will be clear from the foregoing analysis of the condition of Maharashtra and its people that it was never completely subjugated by the Muslim conquerors. The prevalent system of village autonomy ensured the people's freedom in point of justice and police. The various landlords enjoyed practical independence for ages. The physical character of the country and the mental cast of the people, were entirely different from those of the other parts of India. The people of Maharashtra always possessed a spirit of revolt and independence and only needed some capable leader to organise them. It has often been a moot question in historical Disquisition, whether it is the sudden advent of a qualified leader that moulds the character of a people and exacts national service from them; or whether it is the circumstances and the situation of a people which bring forth the sort of leader they need. We cannot categorically maintain either the one view or the
These anecdotes refer to the colonization and government of the western regions by the Hindu and Muslim rulers of Vijayanagar, Bedar, and the Silahar Kings of Karhad and Kolhapur. The details of these transactions are scattered over many sources among which may be mentioned Shiva-Charitra-Sakitya, Vol. I, No. 2; the Sardesai Bakhar in the history of that farruk, vol. 1, pages 49-53; Raj. vol. 8, letters 1 and 2; Rajwade InUoduction, p. 418; Rise of the Maratha Power, p. 30, etc.

Other. Very often there is partial truth in both. Carlyle says, "a hero is both the creature and the creator of the times he lives in." Revolutions do not invariably become successful because there are bound to be a large number of favourable and adverse factors in any situation.

The rise of the Bhosles to power will be the theme of the next chapter. In addition to the several causes which facilitated and hastened that rise, one can doubtless notice in the ancestry of Shivaji the two traditions of royalty and independence, one handed down to him through his mother, who entertained a vivid memory of the glory of the royal rule of her Yadav ancestors; and the other reaching him through his father Shahji, who had taken his cue for his life's exploits from the theatre of the old Vijayanagar Empire, the traditions of which could not have yet become totally lost to memory.

The Bahamani kingdom although Muslim in character, was not able to destroy or obliterate these old lingering traditions; the actual sway of the Vijayanagar Empire over Mahārājaṇa, over, for instance, Karhad, Sargameshwar, Frabbaıvali and other places is still preserved in the anecdotes of Dado Narasinh and the colonization effected by the black and the white Khojas. Shivaji's father performed his life's work in the old Vijayanagar territories as the sequel will show.
### CHRONOLOGY

#### CHAPTER III

1552  
Maloji Bhosle born.

1559  
Shah Jahan born.

1594 March 15  
Shahji Bhosle born.

1594  
Death of Burhan Nizam Shah: Mughals invade the Deccan.

1597  
Death of Babaji Bhosle.

1599  
Akbar marches into the Deccan.

1599–1601  
Murtaza Nizam S. rules from Deogiri.

1600  
Defence of Ahmadnagar by Chand Bibi.

1600 Aug. 19  
Ahmadnagar falls: King Bahadur Shah taken prisoner.

1605  
Death of Akbar: accession of Jahangir.

1606 Nov. 5  
Shahji married to Jija Bai.

1608  
Jahangir begins conquest of Deccan.

1609  
Malik Ambar’s son Fath Khan married at Bijapur.

1616 Feb. 4  
Battle of Roshangaon, Ambar routed.

1616 Oct. 15  
Khurram moves from Ajmere against Malik Ambar.

1617 Oct. 12  
Jahangir takes up residence at Mandu.

1616 Nov. 10  
Khurram returns victorious to his father at Mandu.

1619  
Sambhaji born to Shahji and Jija Bai.

1620  
Death of Maloji Bhosle.

1621 April 4  
Shah Jahan reaches Burhanpur to punish M. Ambar.

1622 March 24  
Shah Jahan returns north after receiving Malik Ambar’s submission.

1624 November  
Battle of Bhatavdi, Ambar inflicts defeat upon the Mughals.

1625  
Shahji quits Ambar: joins Bijapur.

1626 May 14  
Malik Ambar dies: Fath Khan becomes minister.

1626 October  
Shahzada Parwiz dies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1627 April 6</td>
<td>Birth of Shivaji.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1627 Sept. 12</td>
<td>Ibrahim Adil Shah dies; Muhammad Shah succeeds.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1627 Oct. 29</td>
<td>Death of Emperor Jahangir.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>Fath Khan imprisoned by Nizam Shah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>Shahji returns to Nizamshahi service.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1628 Feb. 4</td>
<td>Shah Jahan becomes Emperor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629 July 25</td>
<td>Lukji Jadhavrao with sons and grandson murdered by Nizam Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629 Dec. 3</td>
<td>Shah Jahan leaves Agra for the south.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630 — 1631</td>
<td>Dreadful famine in the Deccan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630 Nov. — March 1632</td>
<td>Shahji accepts Mughal service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Adilshahi general Murar Jagdeo burns Poona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1631 Jan. 18</td>
<td>Fath Khan released and reinstated by Nizam Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1631 March</td>
<td>Fath Khan murders Nizam Shah and submits to the Mughals.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1631 June 7</td>
<td>Death of Mumtaz Mahal, consort of Shah Jahan, at Burhanpur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1631 June 10</td>
<td>Khan Jahan Lodi dies fighting.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1632 March</td>
<td>Shah Jahan leaves for Agra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1632 June 7</td>
<td>Mahabat Khan captures Daulatabad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1633 Sept. 23</td>
<td>Shahji and Murar Jagdeo unite against the Mughals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1634 Oct. 26</td>
<td>Mahabat Khan dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1635 Sept. 29</td>
<td>Shah Jahan leaves Agra for Deccan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636 Jan.</td>
<td>Shah Jahan reaches Daulatabad and proclaims extinction of the Nizam- Shahi Sultanate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636 May 6</td>
<td>Shah Jahan concludes treaty with Bijapur and sets out for Agra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636 Aug. 17</td>
<td>Shahji besieged in fort Malsari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636 Oct.</td>
<td>Shahji capitulates to the Mughals and departs for Bijapur.</td>
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CHAPTER II

SHAHJI THE RISING SUN

(From Rashangaon to Mahuli—1614-1636)

1. Survey of the situation.
2. The family of the Bhosles.
3. Battle of Rashangaon.
4. Shahji's marriage, Shivaji beorn.
5. Battle of Bhatavadi.
8. Shahji's bold stand.
9. Moral of the two figures.

1. Survey of the situation, 1605.—The political situation of Maharashtra towards the end of the sixteenth century must be borne in mind if we are to understand the rise of the Bhosles to royal power. The great Emperor Akbar after consolidating his Empire in North India decided to subjugate the regions south of the Narmada, but found that task not quite so easy as his earlier conquests. Three Emperors in succession had to expend their might before they could make a small headway in the Deccan.

The death of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar in 1594 gave rise to murders and intrigues in rapid succession and the confusion that ensued in the fortunes of that state was taken advantage of by Akbar, who at once sent an army for its conquest. At this critical hour the famous Chand Bibi stood forth boldly, organised a strong opposition, and heroidically defended Ahmadnagar for some years. Eventually about the middle of 1599 Akbar himself marched southwards at the invitation of his trusted general Abul Fazl and occupied Burhanpur without opposition. His son Daniyal and the Khan Khanan were charged with the duty of taking Ahmadnagar at a time when internal dissensions precluded the effective defence of the place, and Chand Bibi the only capable leader was either murdered or constrained to take poison by her own servants. The town was stormed without much difficulty in August 1600 and formally surrendered on the 19th of that month. The young King Bahadur Shah and his family paid
the penalty for their crime of independence by life-long imprison­ment in the fortress of Gwalior. At this moment of success Akbar received the news of his son Salim being in open rebellion and was compelled to return hastily to the north. Thereafter his fortunes rapidly declined and he died in 1605 without leaving a worthy successor.

The history of the Marathas would possibly have taken a different turn if Akbar had been succeeded by a more competent ruler than the slothful, easy-going, pleasure-seeking Jahangir. This trait of his character paved the way for the Maratha ambitions, which came to be fostered, although for his own ends, by the astute Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian Muslim in origin, who when young had been made a slave and brought to India by a merchant of Baghdad and sold to Chengiz Khan a minister of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar. The latter detected Ambar's capacity and trained him for the service of the Nizamshahi State. In a short time he became a power in the Deccan and set at defiance all Emperor Jahangir's efforts for over fifteen years. He practically re-made the history of the Deccan for that period with the help of many Maratha captains. The Abyssinian emigrants here gained opportunities unequalled elsewhere for displaying their rare capacity for sea-faring, land warfare, management of men and civil administration. They were no longer household slaves and palace eunuchs as in the north, but regents of kingdoms, generals of armies, admirals of fleets, viceroys of provinces.

Undaunted by the loss of Ahmadnagar, Malik Ambar selected Paranda, Junnar and Daulatabad in succession as temporary seats of safety for the new Sultan Murtaza Nizam Shah (1599-1631) and himself conducted the administration with consummate skill both in war and diplomacy, attending at the same time to the welfare of the subjects. He at last kept the Shah secure in the difficult fort of Daulatabad and established a separate city for administrative purposes at Khadki in the vicinity of that fort. This city was afterwards named Aurangabad when Aurangzeb became his father's viceroy in the Deccan in 1636.

The various Maratha clans of the Deccan were dragging on their obscure existence in the service of one or other of the three Muslim potentates of the Deccan with hardly any idea at the time of asserting their independence. Among them the Jadhavs with their seat at Sindkhed in the vicinity of Daulatabaad were then powerful in the service of the Nizam Shah. The Bhosles were at first comparatively insignificant. Maloji Bhosle the grandfather of ShivaJI had to content himself by serving as a petty horseman in the employ of the Jadhavs. The cousins of the Bhosles, viz. the Ghorpades, served the Adil Shah of Bijapur, enjoying a small jagir at Mudhol. The clan of the Morés enjoyed almost royal power and influence in the hilly regions west of Satara, while rendering nominal service to Bijapur.

Jahangir resumed his father’s policy of subjugating the Deccan in 1608 and the war thus started continued practically till 1636 when Shah Jahan ultimately succeeded in putting an end to the existence of the Nizamshahi Kingdom. It was during the course of this long war that Maloji and Shahji Bhosle rose to prominence as helpmates of Malik Ambar. The period bristles with the names of captains on the two sides and with stirring incidents of a varying character. Fortunately two independent sources, Fuzuni Astarabadi’s Persian account of Malik Ambar and the Sanskrit narrative of Parmanand named the Shiva Bhdrat, help us to determine the main story of this struggle with tolerable accuracy.

How Malik Ambar with his scanty resources resisted for fifteen years the power of the Mughal Emperor backed by his wealth and enormous resources and directed by the best generals and competent Shahzadas like Parwiz and Khurram, has become a problem in the history of the art of war. Ambar boldly opposed the Mughals by adapting his tactics to the geographical conditions of the southern regions and by developing a particular method of fighting the enemy, which is known as guerrilla warfare and which Shivaji later used with such effect against his opponents.

2. The family of the Bhosles.—The family of Shivaji claimed descent from the Sisodia Ranas of Udepur, but its
name Bhosle has not been satisfactorily accounted for. There is no doubt that the ancestors of several present day Maratha families, as has been shown in the first chapter, migrated from the north and settled in Mahārāṣṭra, representing to this day the Rajput or Kshatriya blood. One tradition says that after the capture of the fort of Chitod by Ala-ud-din Khilji early in the fourteenth century (1303), a member of the ruling family of the Ranas, named Sajjan Sinh or Sujan Sinh escaped from the miseries of foreign conquest and wandered into the southern regions in search of employment during the troubled reign of Muhammad Tughlak. Sajjan Sinh died about 1350 and his fifth descendant Ugrasen had two sons Kama Sinh and Shubha Krishna. Kama Sinh's son Bhimsinh received from the Bahmani Sultan the title of "Raj Ghorpade Bahadur," with a jagir of 84 villages at Mudhol where the family still rules. Bhim Sinh's descendants thus came to be known as Ghorpades who have now extensive branches at different places in Mahārāṣṭra. Shubha Krishna's descendants are known as Bhosles and form a younger branch of the original family.1

A grandson of this Shubha Krishna was one Babaji Bhosle who died in 1597. Babaji had two sons, Maloji (born in 1552) and Vithoji. Maloji, his son Shahji and Shahji's son Shivaji are the three persons most intimately concerned with the events which form the subject of our present study. These Bhosles purchased the headship or patilki of Verul near Daulatabad and some other villages in the region of the rivers Godavari and Bhima and maintained themselves by managing their landed property and by military service under the Nizam.

2. The descent of the Bhosle family from the Ranas of Udeager has not been archaeologically proved. It is suggested by copies (not originals) of some Persian firmans in the possession of the Raja of Mudhol. But some scholars consider them spurious. The question of the origin of the Bhosles came for investigation at the time of Shivaji's coronation when the rites due to a Kshatriya were denied to him. In this connection the student can study with advantage Shivaji's circular letter dated 28th January 1677, printed by Kulkarni in No. 3 of his "Old Historical Documents", p. 41. Some consider the name Bhosle as a corruption of the word Hoyola, a family which ruled at Deora Samastra. But these Hoyolais are known to have been a branch of the Yadavas. As Jija Bai came from the Yadava family, she could not have contracted marital connection with another Yadava family.

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shahi rulers. On the whole the members of the Bhosle family appear enterprising, resourceful and self-reliant, men of strong will and pride, never submitting to an insult. Their family was numerous and always mutually helpful.

Malkoji and Vithoji possessed huge and strong bodies, too heavy, it is said, for the Deccani pony to carry. They were the patils of Verul (Ellora), a village near Daulatabad, and enlisted as guards in the service of Lakhaji Jadhavrao the baron of Sindkhed, in the vicinity of Daulatabad which became the capital of the Nizamshahi State after Ahmadnagar had been lost. Lakhaji, a descendant of the deposed royal family of Deogiri, was at this time a noble of the first rank in the service of the Nizam Shah, wielding influence in the politics of the Deccan. The Bhosle brothers found employment as troopers under Lakhaji Jadhav and at the same time managed their old landed property at Verul and other villages.

The river Narmada has formed the main boundary between the northern and southern halves of this Indian continent. The first important post which the conquering armies from the north after crossing this river must secure in order to confirm their footing in the south, is Burhanpur, on the river Tapti and its covering fort Ashirgad. The next advance is to the region of Daulatabad, Ellora and Aurangabad, about a hundred miles south of Burhanpur. Some 75 miles further south stands Ahmadnagar the main key for any northern conqueror to possess for holding the south. Burhanpur, Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar thus form the principal chain of posts and the region of bitter contest round which converges the present story of the Mogul advance and the Maratha resistance.

5. Battle of Roxangam.—Malik Ambar possessed a keen perception and a rare capacity for organization. He made friends with the ruler of Bijapur, the wise Ibrahim Adil

2. In contemporary writings their names are mentioned not singly, but with the honourable word "Raje" added after them, as Malkoji Raje, Kheloji Raje, Vithoji Raje, etc. But this word Raje does not necessarily signify kingship. It was a common practice with most Maratha clans to add the word Raje after their individual names. The practice is still kept up.
Shah, who celebrated in his capital, under his own personal direction and at his own expense, the marriage ceremony of Malik Ambar's son Path Khan in 1609, that is, just about the time that Jahangir's forces marched from Agra against Ahmadnagar. Malik Ambar improved the Nizam-Shahi state in various ways. His genius perhaps appears pre-eminent in so administering the Nizamshahi territories as to make the peasantry his best support. Ambar's land revenue assessment scheme earned for him a unique reputation and became a model for succeeding rulers to copy. Agriculture and industry were so fostered by him in the state that the country became prosperous and brought in a regular income. Although he was a Muslim, his rule came to be much appreciated and respected by the Hindus; it was so entirely free from any religious persecution, that the Hindus became his best friends.

It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the various expeditions sent by Jahangir to the Deccan and the measures adopted by Malik Ambar to thwart them. In 1608 Jahangir appointed to the government of the Deccan Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan, a great and valiant noble of his Court, son of the famous Bairam Khan of Akbar's days. When this general who had long served in the Deccan before, arrived on the spot with large forces, Malik Ambar assumed a most submissive attitude and by agreeing to the terms imposed, avoided open war and gained time for preparation. The Emperor, however, became impatient and sent large reinforcements under his son Parwiz along with several veteran generals. He later recalled Khan-Khanan, and appointed in his place his son Shah-Nawaz Khan. These two—Parwiz and Shah-Nawaz—brought the vigour of their youth into action and started all-round operations which continued for three or four years before a decision was reached.

On behalf of the Nizam Shah, Malik Ambar organized his armies to oppose the Mughals in the vicinity of Jalna. Along with his Muslim commanders he had under him "Jadu Rao, Babaji Kante, Bhosle, Udaram Braliman of Mahur and other nobles of the Maratha race". Profuse seduction was practised on both sides. Prince Parwiz and Shah-Nawaz Khan offered inducements to some of Nizamshahi commanders
so that "Adam Khan Habshi, Yaqut Khan, Jadu Rao, Bibidi Kante and Udaram Brahman deserted their master and accepted the Mughal service." At last the battle was joined on 4th February 1616 at Roshangaon in a bend of the river Dudhna about 10 miles west of Jalna, when a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the troops led by Ambar. Malik Ambar fled for life and saved himself by taking shelter in the impregnable fort of Daulatabad. Shah-Nawaz razed to the ground Malik Ambar's new capital Khadki and carried away enormous plunder to Burhanpur.

Shahzada Parwiz had already been recalled and even the success achieved by Shah-Nawaz Khan did not avail the Mughals much. For, as soon as the Mughal troops retired, Malik Ambar resumed his former game and soon recaptured all the territory that had been recently wrested from him. When the intelligence of this fresh advance on the part of Malik Ambar reached Jahangir, he reappointed Khan-Khanan as Governor of the Deccan and himself marched at once from Agra to Ajmere and thence despatched his third son Khurram with a large force against Malik Ambar. Khurram left Ajmere on 16 October 1616, and was joined at the ford of the Narmada by Khan-Khanan, Mahabat Khan, Khan Jahan and other renowned Mughal generals who were already working in the Deccan. In order to support this grand effort, the Emperor himself left Ajmere on 10th November 1616 and took up his residence at Mandu to be nearer the field of activities.

Khurram at once started vigorous action. He sent his envoys to Bijapur demanding help and co-operation from the Adil Shah. Malik Ambar and the Adil Shah had not now the heart to offer any opposition to this formidable advance of the Mughals. They both sent costly presents to the Prince and agreed without the least demur to deliver over Burhanpur, Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar. Malik Ambar per-

4. See Sir Jadunath's Malik Ambar, Ind. Hist. Quar., 1933-4. It is clear that Lakhji Jadhavrao deserted to the Mughals for the first time before the battle of Roshangaon; although he came back to his allegiance now and again, he continued his vacillating conduct to the last and thus came to be murdered in 1629. The Bhosle who fought for Malik Ambar at Roshangaon must have been Maloji.
sonally waited upon the Shahzada and delivered the keys of
the various forts and the territory of Balaghat, i.e. the region
of Berar. Khurram felt highly gratified with this easy victory
for which he had not been required to fire a single shot or
unsheath a single sword. Convinced that his task had been
fully accomplished, he consigned the protection of the newly
conquered territories to his two trusted generals Khan-Khanan
and his son Shah-Nawaz Khan and returned in triumph to
his father's presence at Mandu. (12 October 1617). Jahangir
was so highly pleased with Khurram's quick performance and
with the numerous costly presents he had brought with him,
that he bestowed on him special honours and the grand title
Shah Jahan, by which he came to be known thereafter. Khan
Jahan Lodi, Udaram, and possibly Lakshmi Jadhav and other
officials from the Deccan came and paid their homage to the
Emperor at Mandu. Convinced that the Deccan had been
finally subdued, the Emperor proceeded to Ahmedabad.

But all this apparent victory was a hollow show adroitly
got up by Malik Ambar. He immediately started his former
aggression, this time with greater vigour than ever before. He
first enlisted the support of both the Adil Shah and the Kutb
Shah, explaining to them how it was essential in their own
interest to form a confederacy against the common danger.
They made vast preparations for a concerted plan to drive
the Mughal forces back beyond the Narmada. In a short time
they harassed the Mughal Governor Khan-Khanan at Burhan­
pur so severely that he sent piteous appeals to the Emperor
for further provisions and help. Malik Ambar's advanced
parties even crossed the Narmada and entered Malwa. An
interval of nearly three years since Shah Jahan's achievement
had wrought important changes in Jahangir's fortunes. Excess­
es had shattered his health. Serious plots were started at his
court for seizing the imperial power. There was open jealousy
on this account between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan. The

5. The British Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe arrived at Agra in
January 1616 and traveled with the Emperor to Ajmere, Mandu and
Ahmedabad. He left for England in August 1618. He has recorded
some graphic details of the Mughal Court pertaining to this period and
the Emperor's efforts to conquer the Deccan.
Emperor lost all his former vigour and nerve and became unfit to control his affairs. His only answer to Khan-Khanan’s pitiful appeals was to once more request Shah Jahan to go to the Deccan and put down Malik Ambar’s rebellion.

Shah Jahan reached Burhanpur on 4th April 1621, at once pursued Malik Ambar with vigour and expedition and drove him back beyond the Godavari. The campaign was fought throughout the year. Malik Ambar finding himself unable to cope with the situation, once more made submission to the Prince and agreed to give up the territory that he had seized. This time Shah Jahan’s attention was riveted more upon the political developments at his father’s court than upon the conquest of the Deccan. He gave easy terms to Malik Ambar, retraced his steps in haste to Burhanpur, encompassed the end of his rival and brother Khusru, and left that place for the north on 24th March 1622. The next five years of Jahangir’s life were full of convulsion, intrigue, and plots for power in which Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan were mainly involved. It is necessary for a student fully to grasp the intricacies of the situation of the Mughal Empire during these five years, at the end of which Jahangir died and Shah Jahan succeeded him. It is these intricacies that gave the Marathas their coveted chance.

4. Shahji’s marriage, Shivaji born—This period of five years (1622-27) is full of stirring incidents and extreme unrest throughout India in which two great figures, Shah Jahan in the north and Shahji in the south, gradually emerge on the stage of history. Shah Jahan was born in 1592 and Shahji two years later on 15th March 1594. Their deaths similarly took place within a short interval of each other, in 1666 and 1664 respectively; the former lived for 74 years and the latter 70. They opposed each other in the Deccan for some eight years (1638-1646), when Shah Jahan came down in pursuit of Khan Jahan Lodi and with the intention of finishing the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, which Shahji did his best to save with all his skill. Shah Jahan’s career is well-known to history.

6. The student should note the intrigues at the Imperial court at this time and Shah Jahan’s fears about his brother Khusru.
but as Shahji's is obscure, it is necessary to give first a few facts of his ancestry and domestic history, which are also connected with the life of Shivaji. It has already been mentioned that Lukhji JadHAVrao, a descendant of the Yadav kings of Deogiri, was a powerful noble, holding lands and high military commands under the Nizamshahi rulers. The Bhosles were also a large family, comparatively poorer, possessing only a few villages in Patilship between Daulatabad and Poona. Tradition says that Maloji Bhosle took service under Lukhji JadHAVav and used to stand guard at the gate of his palace. Once during the spring festival (JAnU) JadHAVrao invited Maloji and other subordinates for the usual ceremony of playing with red powder and dye. Maloji took with him his little son Shahji to the assembly. Lukhji JadHAVav had a daughter named Jija Bai, of nearly the same age as Shahji and seated her by his side. When during the ceremony the guests began to work the dye-syringes, the two children also amused themselves in the pastime. The comic sight impelled JadHAVrao to utter a casual remark, "How now, would not these two form a handsome pair?" Maloji heard the words, and at once in a loud voice called upon the assembly to bear witness that JadHAVrao had publicly betrothed his daughter to Shahji. JadHAVrao vehemently repudiated the construction put upon the words uttered in jest, and considered Maloji's position too far below his own to warrant a family connection between master and servant. Thus a quarrel began between these two families, and Maloji quitted JadHAVrao's service to seek his fortune elsewhere, so as to rise to a position in which he could demand JadHAVrao's daughter in marriage for his son. He soon managed to amass some wealth and enhance his reputation, so as to figure prominently in higher circles.  He repaired the old dilapidated temple of Ghrishneshwar at Verul and built a large tank at the shrine of Shambhu Mahadev near Satara and thus removed the scarcity of water at the place from which the large crowds of pilgrims had so severely suffered. Maloji was doubtless a man of resourceful and independent spirit. He succeeded in

7. Highly eulogistic accounts appear to have been recorded in Sanskrit about the exploits of Maloji and Shahji, after Shivaji's reputation
winning over the Nizam Shah probably through Malik Ambar. to sanction the match which Jadhavrao had spumed at. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar recognized the worth of Maloji’s services in the struggle against the Mughal Emperor and bestowed on him a small jagir consisting of the districts of Poona and Supa, so that he became more of a peer to Jadhavrao. He then openly demanded the latter’s daughter in marriage for his son and the ceremony took place at Sindkhed on 5th November 1605 (Margashirsha 5 of the bright half). Of this marriage was born Shivaji many years later.

The time of Shahji’s marriage with Jija Bai coincided with the death of Akbar and the accession of Jahangir to the Mughal throne. The subsequent events connected with Jahangir’s efforts to subjugate the Deccan have already been narrated. When Lukhji Jadhavrao deserted his master Nizam Shah and joined the Emperor’s side, the loss was more than made up by Maloji’s loyalty and attachment to Malik Ambar, whose methods of war and diplomacy proved for the Bhosles a veritable school of which the rising Shahji did not fail to take full advantage. Maloji died in 1620 and his mantle fell upon his son now 26 years old and worthy in every way. He soon became the right hand man of Malik Ambar.

Shahji’s marriage with Jija Bai, however, did not prove a source of conjugal felicity. The desertion of Jija Bai’s father to the Mughals only served to widen the gulf between the two families. Shahji later took a second wife from the Mohite family of Supa and Jija Bai came to be practically neglected by her husband. Parmanaund, the author of Shiva-Bharat, says that Jija Bai bore six sons to Shahji of which only two Sambhaji and Shivaji grew up to manhood, the others dying in infancy. Sambhaji is said to have been born in 1619 when Shahji was 25 years old.

had been fully established. Vide Sanads and Letters, pp. 211—215, and the unique Sanskrit composition known as Sambhaji’s Sanadhya. Parmanaund follows in the same strain in his Shiva-Bharat.

8. सांभाजी की मृत्यु: यह प्रतिकृति !
   सांभजी के संस्कृतकी हरिभक्तवर्णनी।
   श्रीमान 8-39.1,
When Maloji Bhosle died, his son Shahji inherited both his father's position and jagir. He had a younger brother, Sharifji, who was deeply attached to his person and cause. Together the two brothers pulled through weal and woe for many a long year. Maloji's brother Vithoji had eight sons, all strong and capable, who mostly followed Shahji's fortunes. Thus the large Bhosle family of young and energetic enthusiasts, possessing a spirit of valour and adventure and bent upon improving their fortune, proved a great national asset in the endeavours of Shahji to defend the Nizamshahi cause against Mughal aggression, particularly after the death of Malik Ambar.

5. Battle of Bhatavadi.—Shah Jahan, as has been already mentioned, left Burhanpur for the north in March 1622 and soon came to be involved in the war of succession which raged throughout India during the next five years and which threw into utter confusion the affairs of the Empire, thus supplying the welcome opportunity for Malik Ambar and Shahji to strengthen their position in the south. Shah Jahan turned a rebel and was vigorously pursued by Parwiz and Mahabat Khan. Lest Shah Jahan should join Malik Ambar and offer a formidable opposition, Jahangir directed Shahzada Parwiz to put down the combination. Malik Ambar accepted the challenge and resorting to his tactics of guerrilla warfare managed to inflict a crushing defeat upon the combined force of the imperialists and the Adil Shah at the famous field of Bhatavadi, about ten miles east of Ahmadnagar. Graphic descriptions of this battle (date November 1624) are given by Paramanand and the Persian writers. The success was mainly due to Malik Ambar's superior tactics of long and patient maneuvering for contriving an inescapable trap in which the Mughal and Bijapuri forces were caught. Thus this battle of Bhatavadi forms a landmark in the history of the Maratha rise, as Shahji's genius shone brilliantly on the occasion in support of Malik Ambar. He received the best lesson of his life in the art of overcoming a superior enemy through tactical methods.

6. Their enmity towards the Jadhavs grew bitterer every day and resulted in many untoward scuffles of the type which Shakespeare has represented as occurring between the Montagues and the Capulets.
detailed description of this battle of Bhatavadi given by the author of the Shiva-Bharat deserves a careful study. Shahji was therein heartily supported by his brother Sharifji and by Vithoji's sons.\textsuperscript{10}

This phenomenal success of Malik Ambar gave Shahji an importance and worth of which Malik Ambar soon became jealous. Relations between them became intolerable and Shahji to save his reputation quitted the service of the Nizam Shah and sought his fortune under the Adil Shah. This transfer appears to have taken place soon after the battle of Bhatavadi, some time in 1625. Shahji, however, retained his hold on his jagir of Poona, which was situated on the border-lands of the two kingdoms and proved a fruitful source of contention between them. Soon after Shahji's going into the service of Bijapur his second wife, Tukabai in 1630 gave birth to a son, named Ekoji, or Vyankoji in the popular language, who later founded the Maratha kingdom of Tanjore.

While Shahji was away at Bijapur, Malik Ambar died on 14th May 1626, with the result that the fortunes of Ahmadnagar began thereafter rapidly to decline. Its end was hastened by two other events of political importance, the death of the Emperor Jahangir on 29th October 1627 and the accession to power of his eldest son Shah Jahan on 4th February 1628. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur who had patronized Shahji at his court also died on 12th September 1627. Another event of equal importance to Maratha history was the birth of a son to Jija Bai and Shahji on 6th April 1627,\textsuperscript{11} who was named Shivaji and who later founded the Maratha independence. The year 1627 is thus a turning point in the history of the Deccan. During that year Prince Shah Jahan, then a rebel against his father, lay in concealment in the vicinity of Junnar while his family was kept in hiding in the fort of Asheri near the port of Mahim on the west coast. It was only when he heard

\textsuperscript{10} About 20 names of Muslim generals and of more than a dozen Maratha captains are given by Parmar and most of the former are also mentioned by Fazwi Astarabadi. These two independent Persian and Sanskrit authorities confirming each other, enhance the value of the Shiva-Bharat as a work based on authentic sources.

\textsuperscript{11} Jedhe gives Shivaji's birth-date as 19th February 1620.
of his father's death in the Punjab that Shah Jahan left Junnar for the north, and secured the Mughal throne for himself, blinding his rival Shahryar.

6. The rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi.— This Mughal grandee of first-rate eminence and power, became the immediate cause of a sudden turn in the politics of the Deccan. Khan Jahan was an able Afghan general and diplomat to whom Jahangir had entrusted the government of the Deccan. During Shah Jahan's rebellion, Lodi's position became delicate between the two powerful factions at the court. As governor of the Deccan he received conflicting orders and executed what he considered best. He was commanded to hunt out Shah Jahan from the Deccan; but he was not sure of getting from the Emperor the timely support he needed for that purpose. He thus came to incur the bitterest displeasure of Shah Jahan and prepared for the evil day by appeasing the authorities of the Nizamshahi government. Hence much of Shah Jahan's achievement in the conquest of the Deccan now came to be nullified by Khan Jahan. Shah Jahan did not forgive Khan Jahan for having failed to support his cause, and made it his first concern after securing the throne to punish him severely for his sins of commission and omission.

At the beginning of his reign Shah Jahan was full of vigour and activity, and not the luxury-loving pacific monarch he developed into in his later years. During his father's regime he had repeatedly distinguished himself in his expeditions to the Deccan, the circumstances and situation of which he had thoroughly grasped. He well knew the policy of Malik Ambar and the power and influence of Shahji and the other Bhosles. He was personally acquainted with the geographical formation of the districts of Nasik, Junnar and north Konkan and the declining condition of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The first subject that attracted his attention after his coronation, was the subjugation of the Deccan, particularly the Nizamshahi state which had so long dragged on a precarious existence and which had successfully defied the might of both Akbar and Jahangir for a quarter of a century. Shah Jahan rightly judged that the troubles of the Deccan were the crea-
section of Khan Jahan Lodi's mischievous policy and set himself to right them. It is this Mughal expansion in the south which first Shahji and later his son Shivaji undertook to resist. Shah Jahan, however, took nine years to accomplish the conquest of Ahmadnagar, contrary to his expectation of a short campaign.

When Shahzada Parviz who held the viceroyalty of Mughal Deccan, died in October 1626, Khan Jahan Lodi was appointed to that office, and he had under him an intrepid Afghan comrade, named Darya Khan. Khan Jahan had for some time felt it difficult to hold his position in the Deccan, as he was not supported from the headquarters during the last days of Jahangir, and found it expedient to appease the Nizamshahi authorities by ceding some of the conquered territories in order to avoid an open conflict for which he was not prepared. He restored the portion of Berar known as Balaghat to the Nizam Shah, receiving a cash payment of three lacs in return. This was the territory which Shah Jahan had himself conquered some years before from Malik Ambar.

When Shah Jahan came to the throne he confirmed Khan Jahan Lodi in his post and commanded him to take back the territory of Balaghat. This the Khan did not do his best to effect, and Shah Jahan called him to his presence to explain his conduct. During the visit the Khan conducted himself rather insolently, and fearing some severe punishment fled away to save his life. He was hotly pursued and having lost two sons and a son-in-law in an action on the river Chambal, he broke out in open revolt and sought protection with Murtaza Nizam Shah in the Deccan. The latter welcomed this powerful Mughal noble as a providential contrivance to save himself from the Mughal conqueror, gave him all the help he could afford and assigned him the district of Bid for his expenses. About this time the Nizam Shah kept his minister Fathkhan in confinement, called back Shahji from Bijapur to his service, and prepared for a stiff contest with the Emperor. He did not realize that the time of confusion and vacillation in the imperial council had ended with the last days of Jahangir, and that a new, strong and inflexible opponent was now on the throne of Delhi.
7. Shah Jahan's march against Nizam Shah.—Shah Jahan immediately realized the danger and personally undertook a strong offensive against the ruler of Ahmadnagar. He left Agra on 3rd December 1629 and after crossing the Narmanda on the 12th February following, arranged his forces in separate divisions under able commanders and started a vigorous offensive with the double purpose of putting down Khan Jahan Lodi and subjugating the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He similarly threatened Adil Shah and obtained powerful armed aid from his state to co-operate with him. These Bijapur contingents were commanded by Barasudda Khan and Kanhoji Jedhe, Maratha Deshmukh of Karli. Against these formidable opponents on all sides, Khan Jahan Lodi and Shahji Bhosle could not hold out long. We are not here concerned with the fate of Khan Jahan. In the closing months of 1630 defeats were inflicted upon him. His stronghold of Bid was captured and the rebel with his helpmate Darya Khan became fugitive. They turned again to the north. An action took place near Sironj on 11th January 1631 in which Darya Khan was killed. Five months later, on 10th June, Khan Jahan too was killed near Kalinjar after fighting valiantly to save himself.

The history of the Jadhavs and the Bhosles is interrelated with the pleasures which Shah Jahan took in this southern invasion, which for various reasons did not promise him easy or early success. During the two years 1630-31 a terrible famine ravaged the southern lands. The monsoon failed for two successive years and no crop could be reared. The descriptions of this famine form a heart-rending story. No road was safe and masses of hungry beggars fell upon the stocks of food-provisions meant for the Mughal army. So Shah Jahan found his task most difficult to accomplish. He, however, did his best to prosecute the war. He particularly started underhand intrigues in the councils of the Nizam Shah. Lukhji Jadhav had long ago deserted to the Mughals with all his family and troops. He was a powerful and trained

captain, and now backed by the support of the Emperor, he proved to the Nizam Shah a perpetual thorn in his side acting from his seat at Sindkhed. Under the pretext of negotiating some important political move, the Nizam Shah called the whole brood of the Jadhav Captains for an interview in the fort of Daulatabad on 25th July 1629, and murdered most of them in cold blood. Shahji's father-in-law Lukhji, his sons Achloji and Raghuji and grandson Yashwantrao lost their lives in this unexpected treachery. Lukhji's brother Jagdevrao and son Bahadurji alone escaped to Sindkhed. These wanton murders created a feeling of revulsion and disgust against the Nizam Shah, particularly among his Maratha followers; and even Shahji found his life unsafe. He had already received tempting calls from the Emperor to desert the Nizam Shah and go over to the Mughals. He thought it prudent, therefore, under the pressure of circumstances, to give up the rapidly declining fortunes of the Nizam Shah, and accepted a Mansab under Shah Jahan. For about a year and a half, from November 1630 to March 1632, Shahji served the Mughal cause. For this desertion the Bijapuri general Murar Jagdev burnt his residence at Poona.

In the meantime the murder of the Jadhavs proved disastrous to the Nizam Shah's cause. He restored to power his former minister Fath Khan; but the latter finding no escape out of the hopeless situation and hard-pressed by the imperialists, determined to seek his own self-shame by sacrificing his master. He first put Murtaza Shah under confinement, placed his infant son Husain Shah on the throne, and conducted negotiations for his own submission to the Emperor. Soon after in March 1631, Murtaza Nizam Shah, who had so long suffered the agonies of varying fortune, came to be murdered. Fath Khan unable to hold out against the Emperor any longer, made his submission to him.

At this time Shah Jahan from his headquarters at Burhanpur while directing the various operations for prosecuting the war, had to suffer a domestic bereavement. His favourite queen Mumtaz Mahal who was with him, died at Burhanpur during childbirth on 7 June 1631 and her dead body was taken to Agra a few months later to be finally deposited in the famous
Taj Mahal. This personal loss and the prevailing famine caused to the Emperor a severe depression of spirits, and leaving the conduct of the campaign to his able general Mahabat Khan he returned to Agra in November 1632.

8. Shahji's bold stand.—As soon as Shah Jahan left for the north, Shahji found his position with the Mughals untenable. He deserted the Mughal cause and returned to the side of the Nizam Shah, determined to make one more heroic effort to resuscitate the failing fortune of that state under which he and his family had so long thrived. Mahabat Khan, however, won over Fath Khan and captured the fort of Daulatabad on 7 June 1633. Fath Khan and his master Hasan Nizam Shah were secured and despatched to a Mughal prison.

But the fall of Daulatabad did not prove the end of the Nizamshahi State. At this critical moment Shahji stepped in boldly to maintain its existence. For him indeed it was a dangerous enterprise, to reconstruct an all but extinguished state and carry on a war unaided against the Emperor's might. Within only three months of the fall of Daulatabad Shahji selected Pemgiri or Bhimgad, a strong inaccessible fort of Ahmadnagar as the capital of the Nizamshahi State, placed there a young Nizamshahi prince on the throne (September 1633) and in his name carried on the administration as before. In this adventure Shahji managed to enlist the sympathies of the Adil Shah and his minister Murar Jagdev, who personally came to his help with fresh and well equipped armies. That a small Jagirdar like Shahji should dare to throw down an open challenge to Shah Jahan and invite his wrath upon his head, shows how self-confident and resourceful Shahji must have been. He quickly collected men and money and made preparations for a stubborn fight. Murar Jagdev joined him from Bijapur as is evidenced by the incident of Shahji contriving to weigh an elephant for a propitiatory rite which Murar Jagdev performed at the junction of the Bhima and the Indrayani on the occasion of a solar eclipse on 23 September 1633, when this Brahmin Vazir of Bijapur distributed in charity articles equal in weight to that of the elephant. In memory of this occurrence the village Nagargaon was renamed Tulapur (the town of weighing), a name which it still bears.
In the hazardous step which Shahji had now taken, the training he had received under Malik Ambar in guerrilla warfare, proved of immense advantage. Mahabat Khan was extremely disturbed by this fresh move of Shahji. He had fondly believed that his task was over and that the credit of subjugating the Deccan was finally his. Shahji's bold stand embarrassed him so severely that he sent repeated requests to the Emperor for fresh troops and funds, and at the same time sent agents to Bijapur calling upon the Adil Shah to withdraw his help from Shahji. But Mahabat Khan did not succeed and was so cruelly rebuked by the Emperor that the veteran general, unable to bear the situation put an end to his life on 26 October 1634. Says Ranade:—

"The conditions of Ala-u-Din’s invasion of 1316 were repeating themselves after three hundred years with a momentum which made resistance hopeless. The Hindus had then yielded to the avalanche which swept over the land. They had, however, learned wisdom under the hard discipline of subjection to foreign masters. They had been able to turn the edge of foreign conquest and even succeeded in taming the violence of the foreigners."

But the task of Shahji was by no means easy. He soon found himself very hard-pressed in all directions. Some time before this, the Mughals, according to one tradition, succeeded in capturing Shahji’s wife Jija Bai, but she cleverly managed to save the young Shivaji from capture by concealing him in an out of the way place when she received a secret warning that Mahaldar Khan the Mughal guardian of fort Trimbak, was on her track. This Khan was formerly an intimate friend of Shahji and his family, but now a servant of the Mughals. Jija Bai is said to have fallen into Mahaldar Khan’s hands and remained confined for a time at the fort of Kondhana (Sinhgad) and was later released on payment of a ransom by her uncle. The details of this incident are nowhere fully recorded, but have been referred to by Grant Duff on the authority of an authentic paper which he had secured but which is now missing. This must have taken place before 1635.

It has also been recorded that Shahji, when hard-pressed, applied to the Portuguese Governor of Chaul (Revdanda) seeking shelter for his womenfolk and children there, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Mughals. The Portuguese, however, had been recently so severely handled by Shah Jahan that they pleaded their inability to comply with Shahji's request, but suggested they could obtain for his family a safe retreat under the jurisdiction of the Siddis of Janjira. Any way these stray notices disclose how Shahji was situated in his life and death struggle.

Shah Jahan was fully roused to this new danger, and once more exhibited phenomenal activity by himself marching rapidly to the Deccan in 1635. He left Agra on 29th September, crossed the Narmada on 4th January 1636 and quickly reached Daulatabad. At this time he had with him his son Aurangzeb, now seventeen years old, Mirza Raja Jayasinh, Shaista Khan and other young and active generals, who later on figured so prominently during Shivaaji's days. Immediately on his arrival Shah Jahan devised a consummate plan of operation for closing upon Shahji simultaneously from all directions, for which he assigned definite tasks to his various commanders. Aurangzeb at the centre was personally entrusted with the general execution of the measures determined upon. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda were forced into co-operation with the Mughals under a threat of complete extinction.

Shahji had collected under him about 12,000 troops, mostly men disbanded after the fall of Daulatabad, and he now started raiding the Mughal territory as far south as Bedar and concentrated his main activity in the difficult regions of the north Konkan, himself moving between Junnar and Sangamner, with fort Mahuli as the headquarters of the puppet Nizam Shah. Shaista Khan captured fort Trimbali from Shahji and hunted him through Junnar and Sangamner as well. In his extremity Shahji placed the Nizam Shah in fort Mahuli, a few miles north of Kalyan, and began his last effort. The Bijapuris finding further resistance hopeless, accepted the terms that were offered to them by the Mughals and deserted Shahji. The Kutb Shahi court of Golconda also was similarly coerced.
into submission, so that within a few months Shahji alone had to bear the whole brunt of this relentless war. Shah Jahan had won the greatest triumph of his life. After forty years of strife, the affairs of the Deccan came at last to be settled. The position of the Emperor was asserted throughout the land beyond challenge. On 6 May 1636 Shah Jahan sent to Adil Shah a solemn letter impressed with the vermillion impression of his palm, promising observance of the terms agreed upon, with an appeal to God and to the Prophet to be witnesses. An abstract of the treaty was engraved on a gold plate and delivered to Adil Shah.

This treaty sealed Shahji's fate. He came to be severely excluded, cut off from the outer world and hemmed in at fort Mahuli. He could not now hold out against the full might of the Emperor. Muhammad Adil Shah well knew the worth of Shahji and tried his best to save him from utter ruin. He sent a gentle hint to the Emperor that the latter's presence was no longer necessary in the Deccan, that the peaceful avocations of the people suffered from the constant movements of large armies: that Shahji alone was no longer of sufficient consequence to detain the Emperor for the supervision of further operations and that Adil Shah undertook the responsibility of taking away from Shahji the five forts which he still held. Shah Jahan in his wisdom accepted this sound advice and after entrusting the remaining campaign to his general Khan Zaman, his son Aurangzeb and the Adil Shah, himself left Daulatabad on 11 July 1636 for Agra, after finishing the conquest of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. There now remained the two vassal kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda which dragged on their precarious existence for some fifty years more.

Within three months of the departure of Shah Jahan Shahji came to his last gasp. Ausa and Udgir which he had held were soon reduced. Khan Zaman joined by the Bijapuri troops under Ramadulla Khan and his lieutenant Kanhoji Jedhe, marched upon Junnar and a detachment arrived before Poona to seize Shahji's home. Shahji fled to the mountains of Kondhana and Torna, which the Mughals found it impossible to approach owing to the heavy rains that had started. As soon as the rains ceased, he was hunted out and
finally resorted to fort Mahuli, which was difficult of access from outside. The Mughals soon arrived and sat down before the gates of that fort in August 1636, stopping all ingress and egress. Says the Jedhe Karina, "The fort of Pemgiri was too small, so Shahji removed the Sultan to Mahuli which was quickly invested by Khan Zaman and Ranadulla Khan. At this time Kanhoji Jedhe Ranadulla Khan's adviser kept secret communication with Shahji. When the provisions on the fort were exhausted, Shahji's men began to starve and he was compelled to seek terms. In October he offered through Ranadulla Khan to hand over the fort and the puppet Nizam Shahi prince on a promise that Shahji should agree to serve Bijapur and that in the Nizam-Shahi territory south of the river Godavari, which had fallen to the sphere of Bijapur, a jagir should be given to Shahji in payment of his services. This was reported to Bijapur and a written promise to that effect was received. The terms having been agreed to on both sides, Shahji handed over the fort of Mahuli to the Mughals and was honourably received by Ranadulla Khan in a personal meeting. Thereupon Shahji had a long cordial talk with Kanhoji Jedhe and his principal agent Dadaji Krishna Lohkare. Shahji said to Kanhoji,-" You are a powerful Deshmukh of Maval; and I have secured this territory as my jagir. So you must help me in establishing my control thereon." Kanhoji replied, "I will serve you with all my heart if you obtain Ranadulla Khan's permission to this transfer of service." This was agreed to and Shahji left for Bijapur and entered the service of that state. Kanhoji Jedhe thereafter remained Shahji's helpmate. Shahji himself writes, "When I quitted Mahuli and hurried to Bijapur within the space of 20 days along with Ranadulla Khan, the Shah of Bijapur conferred on me a jagir of four lacs and commissioned me for the conquest of the Karnatak.""^^

It thus becomes clear how Shahji made the best of a bad bargain. By boldly standing forth to oppose the Mughal Emperor, he served the cause of the Deccan sultanates and earned their respect and goodwill as a champion of their liberties. Ranadulla Khan, the Adil Shah's favourite general exerted

ing great influence in his counsels, became Shahji's supporter and intimate friend. Kanhoji Jedhe, the Deshmukh of Kari, who was indispensable to Bijapur in keeping order in the western lands, did his utmost through Ramadhula Khan to shield Shahji from the Mughal wrath. The Adil Shah undertook the responsibility of seeing that Shahji created no mischief again in the Maval regions, from which Shah Jahan had finally expelled him. This clearly proves in what high estimation both Shah Jahan and the Adil Shah held Shahji. Thus the war that had devastated the land for nearly nine years came to a close in October 1636. Shah Jahan had no personal grudge against Shahji and wisely accepted the Adil Shah's guarantee for his good conduct. Shahji, however, cleverly managed to retain possession of his Jagir of Poona and left his wife Jija Bai and her guardian Dadaji Konddev to manage it on his behalf, himself being debarred from residing in it. The child Shivaji thus became a personal witness of these momentous events.

9. Moral of the two figures.—The courage and foresight with which Shahji defied the Mughal power for at least three years, dodging and deluding renowned Mughal generals, became a living example to his son Shivaji, teaching him how the weak could wear out the strong. Day in and day out during that long period, we can imagine, how the stirring incidents must have been narrated from mouth to mouth, how anxiously and breathlessly Jija Bai and the whole household with their numerous devoted followers must have awaited momentary news of every passing occurrence and how deeply they must have thought of their fate. Shahji's Court poet Jayaram Pandit has rightly hit upon the inner meaning of this great war by comparing Shahji and Shah Jahan together in the following Hindi lines:

15. जयाराज पंडित गुप्त है भगवे बिस्मिल्लह रे सलाम पराक्षित है।
बखरे वराह विदयि विसर्जियि शरीफ जादु के रहि है।
सब तो ही एतरी सिंह से कुछ नापों रो सिंहमुख मया।
अपं वरण रघु रघु वो उन मात्र है उन सागरिहाँ।
श + म + र + बहुँ-कह + ॥
The God Vishnu asks the Creator,—

“ I am glad you have executed my commands and created the universe; but I should like to know what provision you have made for its protection:”

The God Brahma replies:—

“Yes, I have taken measures for this purpose also, by appointing the Sun and the Moon to look after the concerns of the East and the West. Don’t be anxious, pray, but go to sleep at ease in the milk-ocean.”

Vishnu—“Yes, but what about the South and the North?”

Brahma—“That too has been provided for. Raja Shahji is looking after the South and the Emperor Shah Jahan the North.”

Just as Shivaji and Aurangzeb complement each other’s history, so exactly do their fathers too, who were close contemporaries and who in their own way served their respective national interests. If history is no accident and has a sound basis in cause and effect, the twenty years period from Roshan-gon to Mahuli, 1616-1636, establishes an unforgettable contact of these two personages, the one an Emperor and the other a King-maker, a contact which the difference in their worldly fortunes cannot affect.
### CHRONOLOGY

#### CHAPTER III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1635</td>
<td>Shahji obtains a military commission from Adil Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1635 — 1642</td>
<td>Venkatapati II rules at Penukonda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642 — 1673</td>
<td>Shriranga Rai III, the last of the Vijayanagar Emperors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636 Oct</td>
<td>Shahji joins Bijapur service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637 Dec 3</td>
<td>Randaula Khan and Shahji destroy Ikkeri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638 — 1640</td>
<td>Shira and the Western Karnatak reduced. Shahji establishes himself at Bangalore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Shivaji married to Sai Bai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640 — 1642</td>
<td>Shivaji's visit to his father at Bangalore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643</td>
<td>Death of Randaula Khan. Shahji and Shivaji visit Bijapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644 Aug 1</td>
<td>Shahji in disgrace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1645</td>
<td>Mustafa Khan captures Vellore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646 June 5</td>
<td>Mustafa Khan marches against Shrirang Rai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648 July 25</td>
<td>Shahji arrested at Jinji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648 Nov 9</td>
<td>Mustafa Khan dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648 Dec 28</td>
<td>Jinji captured by Bijapur forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1649</td>
<td>Shahji confined at Bijapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1649 May 16</td>
<td>Shahji obtains release.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1651</td>
<td>Shahji at Kanakgiri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1654</td>
<td>Shahji's son Sambhaji killed at Kanakgiri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656 Nov 4</td>
<td>Muhammad Adil Shah dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1658 May 26</td>
<td>Shahji absolved from collusion with his son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>Shahji visits Mahurashtra, advises Shivaji to build Raigad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1663 Apr</td>
<td>Adil Shah Marches to Bankapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1664 Jan 23</td>
<td>Death of Shahji near Basavesapattan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III

SHAHJI'S LATER CAREER.

(1636-1664.)

4. Shahji under disfavour. 5. Shahji's death.

1. Shahji's work in the Karnatak.—About the entry of Shahji into the Bijapur service, the six-articled chronology remarks, "During Shah 1557 (1635), Shahji Raje obtained from the Adil Shah a command of twelve thousand horse with the provision of land for his expenses. This land included the Poona country, the management of which was entrusted by him to Dadaji Kondadev of Malthan. He made Poona the seat of his rule and started operations by drawing a good plough through the land, (in order to remove the evil effects of the plough drawn by asses a few years before under the orders of Murar Jagdev). Dadaji brought in cultivators to settle on the land and made it rent-free for the first five years. Shahji Raje left for Bijapur." Shahji's later career is thus concerned with the affairs of the Karnatak.

The increasing Mughal pressure from the north awakened the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda to the dangers into which they were likely to be thrown in the future and induced them to compensate themselves for their territorial losses by carrying out fresh expansions in the south. With this object the two States entered into a mutual compact for the conquest of the Karnatak in co-operation, the western portions going to Bijapur and the eastern ones to Golkonda. These southern regions formerly belonged to the great Empire of Vijayanagar which had been grievously humbled by the Muslim Powers

1. Shiv Ch. Pradip p. 70.
on the famous battle-field of Talikot or Rakshas Tagdi. After that decisive battle the victors plundered and burnt the great Hindu capital and within a couple of years thereafter it came to be practically deserted. The conquerors, however, made no headway beyond, nor did they actually bring under their control the vast peninsular lands from the west to the east coast. They returned to their capitals after plundering and devastating the Hindu capital. Hence those territories continued to be ruled by the various provincial branches of the old Vijaynagar government, mostly relatives of the royal and ministerial families, who established their independent rule at different places and carried out unceasing warfare at the expense of each other. It is not necessary for our purpose to detail the narrative of these political transactions.

The power and culture of the vast Vijaynagar dominions thus came to be preserved after Talikot by these various provincial members, who established their principalities at Penukonda, Vellore, Chandragiri, Shira, Ikkeri, Jinji, and other places. Their wealth and prosperity as well as their internal animosities excited the greed of the Muslim Courts of Bijapur and Golkonda. Muhammad Adil Shah, unlike his predecessor Ibrahim, was a fanatic in religious matters and being desirous of pulling down the Hindu temples and plundering their wealth for the glory of Islam, he despatched a strong expedition for the conquest of the Karnatak under his commander-in-chief Sandana Khan with Shahji under him. Muhammad Shah was guided in this policy by an equally fanatical minister Mustafa Khan, at whose instigation the famous Murar Jagdev had been murdered shortly before.

The survivors of the ruling family of Vijaynagar after the fall of their capital removed to Penukonda, where ruled in succession:

1. Tirumal, the First, 1565—1583;
2. Srirang Rai, the Second, 1585—1595;
3. Venkatapati, the First, 1595—1614;
4. Ram Rai, 1614—1635;
5. Venkatapati, the Second, 1635—1642;
6. Srirang Rai, the Third, 1642—1673.
This last Venkatapati and his son Srirang Rai (the Third), happened to be the rulers when Shahji and Randaula Khan started on their expedition of conquest. Venkatapati and his son in vain tried to organize and unite the various provincial governors, now styled Nayaks, in order to make a bold stand against the Muslim forces. But none saw the wisdom of such a course. Some of them actually sought Muslim aid from Bijapur to adjust their internal disputes. At the time of Shahji’s invasion Virabhadra Nayak ruled at Ikkeri, a decayed town now known as Sagar (Mysore State, Shimoga District); Keng Nayak ruled over Konqi near Coimbatore. Jagdev Rai at Kaveripattan, Kauthi Rav Naras Wodiyar at Shrirangapattan, Vigay Raghav at Tanjore, Tirumal Nayak at Madura, and Venkata Nayak at Jimp. These were the main chiefs who came in for a share in the misfortunes to which this Muslim expedition exposed the Karnatak. The time was quite opportune for a bold valiant Hindu leader appearing on the scene and organizing a united opposition; but such a course was reserved for Mahanishtra, not for the Karnatak, where the Muslims dealt separately with each chief and effected their purpose.

Shahji under Randaula Khan’s command took part in three successive expeditions into the western Karnatak between 1637 and 1640. They usually started from Bijapur after the rains and returned there before the next monsoon. Their avowed aim was to enhance the glory of Islam by putting down the Hindus, desecrating their temples, and bringing their hoarded wealth to Bijapur. In the first expedition they started in 1637 via Dharwar and Lakshmshwar and came straight upon Ikkeri, then a wealthy capital city ruled by Virabhadra Nayak, son of Bhadrappa Nayak. Before the huge armed forces of Bijapur the stone ramparts of Ikkeri could not long hold out. After less than two months of siege Virabhadra was humbled and compelled to seek terms for submission. Ikkeri was captured and razed to the ground on December 3rd, 1637. Virappa surrendered half his territory and paid a fine of 18 lacs of Rupees and removed himself to Nagar, now called Bednur. The poor peaceful citizens of a once prosperous kingdom either lost their lives or their homes. In order to preserve their honour Hindu women killed themselves by jumping into wells.
with their children. The whole territory was similarly ravaged and subjugated. It was the first experience which the peaceful populace of the south had of the havoc firearms could inflict.

The second expedition, that of 1638, penetrated still further east and south. This time Randaula Khan had under him another stern commander Afzul Khan, in addition to Shahji. The former was deputed against Shira whose master Kasturirang Nayak after a short resistance made his submission upon receiving a solemn promise on sacred oaths that his life would be spared. When, however, the Nayak came for a personal conference, Afzul Khan put him to death in cold blood and took possession of the city and all its wealth, thus establishing a reputation for treachery and violation of solemn oaths, a sample which remained impressed upon Shivaji's memory when he refused to believe the Khan's plighted word and paid him back for his treachery at their celebrated interview below Pratapgad in 1659.

While Afzul Khan was occupied with Shira, Shahji proceeded against Bangalore and captured that fort from its keeper Kejnp Gauda. He found this place convenient for holding the southern territories, and was permanently posted there by Randaula Khan with the sanction of the Adil Shah. Hereafter Shahji made Bangalore his principal station, with a governor's court and insignia almost approaching that of independent royalty. He soon reduced Kanthi Rav Naras Wodiyar of Shrirangapattan to obedience.

A similar success crowned Randaula Khan's third expedition (1639-40) when Basawapattan was captured after putting down its ruler Keng Nayak. Tumkur, Balapur, Vellore, and several other places were quickly reduced and Randaula Khan returned in great glory to Bijapur. The Sultan was so highly gratified with the Khan's success that he himself went out of the capital a long way to welcome him at the river Krishna and held grand celebrations at Bijapur to commemorate the unprecedented triumph of three years' continuous effort in which all the Hindu potentates of the south had been overcome, large cities conquered, and enormous wealth amounting to more than 4 crores of Hons or 16 crores of rupees brought into Bijapur. With this pile of money several grand edifices were
2. Shahji's possession of Bangalore.—In those days of difficult communication between the centre and the outlying provinces, it is no wonder that the local governors assumed almost royal splendour and independence of action. Shahji thus established his position at Bangalore with the airs of a great chief, for which he had already proved his worth. He spent most of his time henceforth at Bangalore and occasionally held his court at Kolar and Balapur also. For the military and administrative work which he had to execute in a foreign land, he transplanted many Brahman and Maratha families from Maharashtra and trained them as hereditary officials loyal to his cause. He introduced Marathi as the Court language into the Karnataka regions, and along with it the Maharashtra system of revenue and accounts. He held an open Court, wherein he entertained musicians, poets, writers, and saints. Thus in a short time a miniature Maharashtra arose in the midst of the Kannad and Tamil lands, the effects of which have survived to this day through three centuries of change. Although the actual conquest of Tanjore was left to be accomplished by Shahji's worthy son Ekoji in 1675, the necessary preparations were all completed during the twenty-five years of the former's regime. Shahji, however, always remained loyal to Bijapur. He remitted regular contributions of money to the Adil Shah and was so careful and guarded in his official dealings that he gave no cause for suspicion or complaint. The people of these southern lands looked upon Shahji's rule as almost a providential continuation of the old Vijayanagar tradition carried on in its essential spirit by a Hindu leader. His loyalty, however, came to be suspected for a while owing to extraneous causes as will be explained later.

In the meantime two of Shahji's sons were growing up with him and breathing the prevalent atmosphere. The elder Sambhaji now about twenty years of age was directly working...
under his father. His second wife’s son Ekoji was now about ten and fast coming into his own. The third son Shivaji lived with his mother in Maharashttra and was slowly building up his character in the independent surroundings of the western hills, untrammeled by any regulations of service or of any superior commands, although nominally he too was answerable both to his father and to the Sultan of Bijapur. He received the best training then available under the care of a loving mother and a wise guardian, and grew up manly and self-reliant. In 1640 his mother got him married to a girl from the Nimbalkar family of Phaltan, named Saibai. In the art of government, however, his direct contact with the neighbouring people of the turbulent Mawals on the one hand and his intimate pupilage under the consummate Dadaji Kondadev on the other, gave him some very unique experience of a revolutionary character. He thus started his own organization, military, civil and revenue, which could not long be concealed from the public gaze. His precocious and wild enterprises reached Shahji’s ears through the latter’s agents at Bijapur. Shahji thought it necessary to restrain him and keep him on the traditional path of service and strict obedience to their Muslim sovereign. So Shahji, acting either on his own initiative or under gentle hints from Bijapur, called Shivaji to his presence along with Jija Bai, Dadaji and their personal staff. That he had to see his newly wedded daughter-in-law was given out as the plausible excuse. Though the actual date of the visit is nowhere recorded, it may be presumed that for about two years between 1640 and 1643, the party was away from Poona, mostly at Bangalore and a short while at Bijapur on the way back. What happened during this long visit, how their mutual relations were adjusted, what particular points of policy were evolved, we can surmise only by reading between the lines of stray and scrappy notices occurring in the bakhars and in the writings of poets like Jayaram and Parmanand, which have to be coordinated with the Persian accounts of the Muslim writers as well. As conjecture and imagination can alone become one’s guide in solving these hazy but important questions, there is bound to be ample room for difference of opinion.

3. A statement in a Peshwa’s bakhar deserves to be noted and run
Shahji's Later Career

75

thus:—"Shahji actively executed the wicked policy undertaken by the Muslims to uproot the Hindu religion and make the whole country full of Muslims. This move of Shahji was highly resented by the Gods and a new defender was created." Raj, Vol. 4.

So, some time during 1643, Shahji with his whole family went to Bijapur, and during his absence from Bangalore a strong revulsion against Muslim rule started in the Karnatak. In 1642, Venkatapati the 2nd, died and his son Srirang Rai, the last unfortunate relic of the decadent Vijaynagar glory, came to the throne, organized his resources at Vellore and tried to recall the slipping power into his hands. Shivappa Nayak of Bednur and the other local Nayaks rose simultaneously to undo the effects of the Muslim conquest. Muhammad Shah was thus faced with a difficult situation and to save the fruits of past labour organized a fresh expedition to go to the Karnatak and put down the rebel elements. He entrusted the command of this fresh expedition to the fanatic Mustafa Khan who had long suspected Shahji to be disloyal at heart, and who was bent upon teaching him a lesson. In order to support the expedition with all his might the Shah himself followed and took up his residence at Bankapur. In this way fresh troubles came about in the Karnatak and soon involved Shahji in them. The Pkharnam of 1st August 1644 says that Shahji had been disgraced.*

Shivappa Nayak offered a bold opposition to the Muslims at Ikkeri and Sagar, but in a bloody action which ensued he was completely overcome. Mustafa returned victorious to Bijapur after reducing western Karnatak to obedience. But the young Srirang Rai was fast making headway and unless he

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*Thus:—"Shahji actively executed the wicked policy undertaken by the Muslims to uproot the Hindu religion and make the whole country full of Muslims. This move of Shahji was highly resented by the Gods and a new defender was created." Raj, Vol. 4.

was crushed the Muslim possession of the Karnatak was not free from danger. In order to put him down, therefore, another expedition was fitted out jointly by the Shales of Bijapur and Golkonda under Mustafa Khan, who proceeded straight against Srirang Rai, captured his seat of Vellore, and returned in glory in 1646. Shahji, it seems, was not present in this expedition but remained at Bangalore watching the course of events.

3. Shahji under disfavour.—Srirang Rai organized his resources and soon recaptured Vellore. The news reached Bijapur and made the Shah furious. Shahji's enemies did not omit to add fuel to the fire. The negotiations that were being carried on between Srirang Rai and Shahji were an open secret. Insinuations reached the Shah's ears accusing Shahji of disloyalty by supporting Srirang Rai. This was just the moment when Shivaji in the west had captured Sinhgad and practically asserted his independence in the district of Poona. This could not be, so the Shah concluded, without his father's complicity. But to bring a powerful chief like Shahji to obedience or even to express distrust towards him was not an easy task. The Shah, therefore, organized an expedition in 1646 against Srirang Rai, gave the command to Mustafa Khan with secret instructions to arrest Shahji if he was found remiss in his duty or intriguing with the enemy. Mustafa was accompanied by Araf Khan, Rustum-i-Zaman, son of Randaula Khan, and other nobles. The expedition left Bijapur on 5th June 1646 and travelling via Gadag and Lakshmeshvar reached Basawapattan in October, when Shahji and Asad Khan joined the main army with their contingents along with some of the local Palegars. Like a deluge the swollen forces rolled upon Vellore, when Srirang Rai and the Nayaks of the south sent offers of submission pleading for life and safety. Mustafa Khan kept a close watch on Srirang Rai's movements. The latter implored Shahji to mediate. Shahji broached the subject of peace to the Khan and proposed terms. But Mustafa Khan was not in a mood to show regard to Shahji's mediation, and pretending an appearance of outward friendship, allowed Shahji a long rope. Matters, however, rapidly came to a head. Srirang Rai decided on an open fight. A sanguinary action ensued in which he was worsted and he fled away to save his
SHAHJI'S LATER CAREER

life. Vellore fell again into Mustafa Khan's hands. Shahji too was for the time being saved from an open rupture with the Commander-in-Chief. Mustafa Khan returned to Bijapur once more in triumph. Srinag Rai dragged on a humbled existence for a good long time thereafter.

A general report was made to the Adil Shah that Shahji was not loyal at heart but secretly supported the Hindu faction to the best of his ability. The Shah was convinced that the various Hindu Palegars looked up to Shahji for a lead and that if he was not checked in time, it would be impossible for the Muslims to hold their sway in those southern regions.

A similar position was already developing in Maharashtra also, so that both Sinhagad and Bangalore became danger signals for the ruler of Bijapur.

After long and anxious deliberation, another expedition left Bijapur early in 1648 commanded by Mustafa Khan, and this time it came straight from Vellore upon Jinni, then the storm-centre of Hindu revolt. Mustafa Khan was joined by the famous Mir Jumla on behalf of the Kutb Shah. How this nobleman's ambition created fresh complications is a point a careful student of contemporary history must take note of. Shahji tried to work his way through the factional maze towards increasing his own importance and in an unguarded moment offered to quit the Bijapur service and accept one under the Kutb-Shah. Mustafa Khan this time was bent upon sternly weeding out the treasonable elements that he knew to be infesting his own camp, and thereby made himself odious even to some of those who were working under him, such as Asad Khan, Shahji and Rustum-i-Zaman. Mustafa Khan concluded that Shahji was the sole origin of the trouble and with great wariness tried to create proof of his guilt. The Bijapur armies were then occupied in the siege of Jinni, for which the duties were severally assigned. In this connection Mustafa Khan had a fracas with Shahji upon some point of honour. Shahji threatened to withdraw altogether with his troops, unless he was at once paid in cash for the expenses. Mustafa Khan resented this insubordination, but pretending cordiality, formed

5. See Shiva Bharat 9:28-44.
a secret plot to have him arrested. Baji Ghorpode of Mudhol, a vassal of Bijapur and notoriously antagonistic to Shahji, was instigated by Mustafa Khan to make a sudden dash upon Shahji's residence in the dark hours of early morning when Shahji, after nightlong revelries, was sound asleep. The raid succeeded and Shahji was arrested in his bed at Jinji on 25th July 1648 along with his trusted helpmate Kanhoji Jedhe. Mustafa reported the affair to the Shah at Bijapur and asked for further orders.

Muhammad Adil Shah was at this time bed-ridden, having been weakened by an attack of paralysis, and well realizing the consequences of alienating a powerful Maratha captain of Shahji's status, ordered Mustafa Khan to send Shahji at once to the Court and despatched his own sober and trusted minister Muhammad Khan to take charge of the situation before Jinji in preference to the irascible Mustafa. The Shah also deputed Afzul Khan to take charge of Shahji and bring him to Court. But before the Vazir arrived on the scene, Mustafa Khan had died on 9th November 1648. Muhammad Khan continued the siege and captured Jinji on 28th December following, from its defender Rupa Nayak. Jinji's immense wealth hoarded through seven centuries of continuous rule by Rupa Nayak's ancestors, was loaded on 89 strong elephants and the caravan wended its way slowly to Bijapur under Afzul Khan's vigilant eye, along with the captive Shahji. The party arrived at their destination during the following summer months. Next year the Bijapur forces raided and plundered Tanjore, Madura and other important places; and the Vazir Muhammad Khan returned to the capital after having completed the conquest of the whole of the Karnata except Bangalore. Srinang Bai, however, was not finally crushed. The general impression at the Shah's Court was that this conquest would not have taken so long had Shahji not interfered by shielding the Hindu princes.

Two danger spots, however, remained for the Adil Shah to overcome, before he could feel his conquests safe. Bangalore in the south and Sinhgad in Maharashtra were strongly held by the two sons of Shahji and Jija Bai. How to reduce these two places became the paramount question of the moment for
the Adil Shah. This question involved the fate of Shahji now a captive, who had just reached Bijapur. How was he to be dealt with?

As soon as Shahji’s person was secured, one army was despatched from Jinji to take possession of Bangalore, and another from Bijapur to retake Sinhgad and the sister fort of Purandar, both strongly held by Shivaji. At both these places long and sanguinary actions took place in which the two sons of Shahji gave such an account of their valour and capacity, that the Sultan was no longer in doubt as to what he was to look for, if rigorous measures were to be adopted against Shahji. The father, a self-made and capable chief had proved his mettle against the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan; and now he was further strengthened by his two sons of equal or greater worth. It was no easy task to reduce such a powerful chieftain.

4. Shahji’s two sons in action—When Shivaji at Poona learnt that his father was in trouble at Bijapur, he at once applied to Shahzada Murad Bakhsh, then the Emperor’s representative in the Deccan. As exchange of envoys and discussions on the question of Shahji’s release followed. Murad Bakhsh wrote to say that he was returning to Delhi and would send the Emperor’s orders as soon as he reached that place. At Bijapur the question of Shahji’s release was for two months under agitation. He was entrusted to the care of Khan Ahmad, the Sar-Lashkar, a man inclined to effect an amicable settlement and not to adopt extreme measures. On behalf of the Shah Khan Ahmad proposed to Shahji that he should surrender Sinhgad and Bangalore and continue to serve the State as before. Shahji agreed to the compromise adding that neither he nor his sons were hostile towards the Shah; they needed fields for honourable work in life and sufficient support from the Bijapur Court. If they secured these, they would always render loyal service. This basis for a final reconciliation was agreed upon. Shahji gave his own autograph letters to his two sons calling upon them to give up Sinhgad and Bangalore respec-

6. An eloquent and detailed description of the two actions may be read in the pages of Parmanand’s Shiv-Bharat, Chapters 13 and 14.
tively to the Adil-Shahi officers, and thus save his life. These orders were forwarded to the two sons, and Shahji was honourably set at liberty on 16 May 1649 after a detention of nearly ten months. Along with Shahji, his comrade in arms Kanhoji Jedhe was also released. Shahji was reinstated in his former position and honours, and was employed at Bijapur for a few years. Thereafter he was again asked to proceed to the Karnataka to complete the conquest of Tanjore and other districts. As soon as he was set at liberty, he asked Kanhoji Jedhe to go and help Shivaji in his efforts to settle the Poona regions. The parting message of Shahji to Kanhoji runs thus:—

"You have on my account suffered hardships of imprisonment and dishonour. I have now agreed to undertake the completion of the Karnataka business, provided I am given the Bangalore province and its revenues of 5 lacs Hons. You own hereditary lands in the Mawals and wield influence in those parts. You should hereafter go to your home, serve Shivaji and reduce to obedience those Deshmukhs who are still holding out. If either the Mughals or the Adilshahi authorities send armed forces to chastise Shivaji, you should fight them out and remain faithful to Shivaji's interests."

Shahji returned to the Karnataka again and spent several years in the Raichur Doab making Kanakgiri his headquarters, and promoting the endeavours of his two sons for bettering their fortunes. Ekoji remained at Bangalore and Sambhaji joined his father at Kanakgiri. Bijapur and Golkonda came to open war in 1651 over the division of the recent conquests of Jijji and this indirectly helped Shahji and his sons. Shahji on behalf of Bijapur fought against Mir Jumla of Golkonda. The latter was worsted and had to pay 9 lacs of Hons to Shahji as the cost of war. From 1653 onward Shahji alone became the principal support of the Adil-Shahi State in the southern regions.

Kanakgiri in the region of the dilapidated Vijayanagar was then a place of historical importance full of old traditions of the fallen Hindu Empire. Here resided Sambhaji with his

7. This explains Shivaji's stand against Morays. Jedhe Shakeeval. This precious chronology came from the family of Kanhoji Jedhe of Kari.
father and shared his labours. Here they realized the contrast of the former glory and the present misfortunes of the Hindus under Muslim rule. Sambhaji too like his younger brother Shivaji possessed an ample spirit of resistance. He had for his support several members of the learned and valiant Hanumante family, headed by Naropant the father of two capable sons Janardan and Rughurath. These are known to have played an important part in Shivaji’s history. Appa Khan the Pallegar of Kamalahar raised the standard of revolt, with which Shahji and Sambhaji found themselves unable to cope. So in 1654 the Adil Shah sent Afzul Khan to their support. During the encounter that ensued, Sambhaji was killed, as was supposed, through the deliberate neglect of Afzul Khan to reinforce Sambhaji at a critical moment. The mother Jija Bai at any rate felt severe grudge against this arrogant Bijapuri general and later urged Shivaji to pay him back fully in his own coin in the struggle of 1659.

Shahji, while fully sympathising with the plans and movements of his son Shivaji in carving out an independent principality for himself, was shrewd enough not to involve himself in his son’s affairs and remained a loyal servant of Bijapur to the last. This attitude was facilitated by the death of Muhammad Adil Shah on 4 November 1656 and the murder of his faithful minister Khan Muhammad a year later. The intrigues that ensued for power at Bijapur after the Shah’s death and the aggression started against that State by Shahzada Aurangzeb, visibly weakened the Adil-Shahi power and considerably facilitated Shivaji’s moves. At this time Shahji seems to have felt extreme irritation against the Bijapuri authorities and conveyed to them a threat of resignation and retirement from their service.

Matters, however, seem to have been amicably composed and Shahji continued to the last a loyal servant of Bijapur, notwithstanding frequent reports of the father and the son colluding against the State. On 26 May 1658 Maharaj Farzand Shahji Bhosle was informed by Ali Adil Shah that the offences of his son Shivaji would not be laid upon him:

that he should keep his mind composed regarding all matters and that the grace and the favours which he had enjoyed till then would be continued in the same measure and even more. No change or deprivation in his ranks and fiefs would be made."

After 1658 Shahji and his son Ekoji tried hard to conquer Tanjore from its ruling chief, but a powerful combination was formed by the local Nayaks which kept Shahji out. After the murder of Afzul Khan in 1659, Shivaji's power rapidly increased, and the Court of Bijapur in their danger employed Shahji in bringing about a reconciliation with Shivaji. In this connection Shahji once more returned to Malharbhoga, spent some time in his son Shivaji's company, personally inspected his territories and suggested measures for their consolidation. Jija Bai too had then the happiness to be restored to the affections of her husband.

Thus Shahji about the year 1662 was purposely employed by Ali Adil Shah to mediate a peace with Shivaji. The father urged Shivaji not to molest Bijapur any more, as after all the Adil Shah had been all along their bread-giver, upon whose "salt they had thrived. Shivaji agreed to commit no wanton aggression thereafter against Bijapur but to form a confederacy of the Deccan Powers against their common enemy the Mughal Emperor. Shivaji agreed to the suggestion and promised not to make any deliberate move against Bijapur, provided no wanton provocation was given to him. Later for strategic reasons Shivaji had to capture the important fort of Panhala from Adilshahi possession in March 1673.

This visit of Shahji to his old jagir, the seat of his early career, is memorable in several ways. The father and the son had been separated for more than twelve years in which Shivaji had earned a great name for himself. Like a devout son and religious enthusiast he showed his father the utmost veneration in the old prescribed style, meeting him in advance in a temple outside and walking bare-footed alongside his father's palanquin. They freely talked and deliberated upon the present situation and future prospects. Shahji certainly

had unique personal experience of Deccan warfare for forty years and was responsible for a vast amount of useful instruction which Shivaji received from him in the arts of war, diplomacy and government.

As regards the Mughals, Shahji could not advise Shivaji in a dogmatic manner, but as Poona and Kalyan were then (1663) in Mughal hands, the urgent question that faced both the father and the son was where to make a permanent seat of his kingdom, where safety could be fully assured and of which Shivaji could not be easily dispossessed, as had happened in the case of Poona. They together executed a long tour of inspection practically between forts Trimbak and Rainga or roughly between Nasik and Belgaum and after a careful examination of the various possible sites, they together selected the extensive plateau of Rairi near Mahad, for the capital of the future Maratha Kingdom. The hill thus approved, fortifications and the necessary buildings were soon completed during the next few years, and Raigad figured as the Maratha capital. The choice has been more than justified by subsequent history.

5. Shahji's death.—After a full and frank association for several months together, the father and the son parted early in 1663, after which Shivaji executed his blow against Shaesta Khan at Poona followed by the daring raid upon Sural, which supplied funds for the embellishment of Raigad. As Shivaji and Jija Bai took up their first residence on the Rairi plateau after the former's return from Surat, their joy was suddenly marred by Shahji's death near Basavapattan from an accident in riding. During April 1663 Ali Adil Shah marched against Bankapur and urgently called to his presence his two commanders Bahlolkhan and Shahji. They arrived and were both kept under arrest. Shahji was, however, released within two days and sent against the Nayak of Bednar who had rebelled. After accomplishing his commission within a few months, he started for Bangalore. While halting at Bennavapattan on the way he heard of some game in the vicinity and rode out for a hunt of which he was very fond. While following an antelope his
horse's foot got entangled in a hole, bringing down both the horse and the rider, the latter dying instantly. This happened on Saturday 23 January 1664 and the news reached Shivaji at Raigad. The pious Jija Bai was stunned by the blow and wanted to become a sati. We have only to imagine Shivaji's feelings at such a prospect. He made piteous appeals to her and the mother yielded, keeping him company for ten more years on earth.

Besides Sambhaji and Shivaji, the sons of Jija Bai, and Ekoji, the son of Tukabai, Shahji had four illegitimate sons, Bhivji, Pratapji, Santaji and Raibhanji. Sambhaji who was killed at Kanakgiri left two sons, Surat-Singh and Umaji, descendants of both of whom survived long afterwards.

Shahji is rightly considered as the creator of Maratha culture and influence in the south. He transplanted many Maharashtrian families, of the Brahman, Maratha, and artisan classes whose descendants are still found in those parts. It was Shahji who fully demonstrated the possibility of weak peoples standing boldly against strong oppressors if they but unite and organize themselves. Clive and Dupleix are said to have discovered the secret of Indian conquest by a few organized regiments on the western model; but a similar weapon of guerilla warfare was first developed a hundred years before them by Shahji himself. He became a king-maker in fact, and can in a full measure be called the real inspirer of Shivaji in creating the Maratha Swarajya. Shahji certainly imbued the tradition and culture of Vijayanagar and transmitted them through his many-sided activities to the worthy representatives of his nation. After the extinction of Vijayanagar, Shahji was the first Hindu leader who could with rapid movements and local knowledge prove a match for the forces of Delhi or Bijapur.
1627 April 6 Birth of Shivaji (on 19 Feb. 1630).
1633 Appointment of Diddaji Kondadeo to administer the Poona region.
1636 — 1647 Shivaji's residence at Poona; 1647-1667 at Raigad; thereafter at Raigad.
1637 — 1647 Diddaji as Bijapuri Governor of fort Kondana.
1640 — 1642 Shivaji's visit to Bangalore.
1644 organization of the 12 Mawal valleys.
1645 Aug. Kondana (Sinhagad) captured.
1646 — 1656 Muhammad Adil Shah lies ill.
1647 March 7 Diddaji Kondadeo dies; Torna captured.
1648 Chakan and Fort Parandhar captured
1649 Sambhaji Mhote surprised; battles of Shirval and Parandhar; Musa Khan killed; Fateh Khan routed.
1653 Swarajya completed; started construction of the coastal fort of Vijayadurg.
CHAPTER IV
THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MOON
(1644—1653)

1. Shivaji's birth and training.
2. His guardian Dadaji.
3. The first coup.
4. Dreams put into action.
5. Independence achieved.

1. Shivaji's birth and training.—Shivaji was born on 6th April 1627 in the fort of Shivner near Junnar, or as some recent sources assert, about 341 months later on 19th February 1630. Unfortunately sufficient evidence is not available to establish either of these two dates as absolutely correct. Jija Bai, Shivaji's mother, was in great distress during the early years of his life. The Emperor Shah Jahan invaded the Deccan and after a strenuous effort of eight years subjugated the whole of the old Nizamshahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar which Shivaji's father Shahji had tried his best to save. For the first few years of his life Shivaji was a wanderer with no settled home. From Shivner where he was born he moved with his mother and occasionally with his father too from place to place as safety and convenience required. Where and how long he had to remain in such separation in his childhood cannot be ascertained. This only explains how he became inured to a life of danger and hardship ever since his birth. Shivner, Baizaptu, Shivapur, and Shivapattan are some of the places, where, we can conjecture, Shivaji spent the first nine years of his life, before he came to have his own home at Poona. Naro Trimal Hanmantte and Gomaji Naik Pissanabdal are known to have been his care-takers at this period.

The marital life of Jija Bai can by no means be called happy. We have seen how her wedding itself was a subject of discussion. It is not necessary here to discuss the merits and the evidence of these two dates. The greatness of Shivaji is in no way affected, whichever date is accepted.
of compulsion. The Bhosles and the Jadhavs are not known to have then been on very friendly terms. Indeed their pent up feuds used suddenly to burst into flame on trivial grounds as illustrated in the Khandagle elephant episode. In the battle of Bhatavdi, Shahji won the day, and Jija Bai's father in the opposite camp had to save himself by flight. The Jadhavs certainly claimed a higher descent from the royal house of Deogiri; while the Bhosles were not admitted to possess any such royal blood. Both Jija Bai and the child Shivaji proved to Shahji rather an encumbrance than a help, while the elder Sambhaji to some extent certainly was his father's useful lieutenant.

October 1636 saw Jija Bai restored to a settled peaceful life at Poona under the guardian ship of Dadaji Konddev, who built for them a palace at Kasba, which was known as the Lal Mahal. Here Shivaji lived with his mother from 1636 onward until they removed to Rajgad some time after Dadaji's death in 1647 (7th March). From Rajgad after his safe return from Agra Shivaji moved about 1667 to his new Capital Raigad, where building work had been started in 1664.

It is these very hard knocks of his early days which proved highly beneficial to Shivaji in his later career. Adversity is the mother of resourcefulness and ingenuity, qualities, of which both Jija Bai and Shahji were living examples. Jija Bai, a truly Kshatriya lady full of varied memories of her royal ancestors of Deogiri and possessing a dauntless spirit of adventure and defiance chastened by years of suffering ever since her marriage, was to young Shivaji a veritable guardian angel. On her part all her future solace centred in his well-being and good fortune. Practically deserted by her husband, what hope could she have in life, unless this son grew up to be her sole prop? Her high spirit could never let her accept any compromise on right principles. The father had defied with his small power the might of the Mughals for seven years. Why may not the son do at least as much, if not more? Man can do what man has done.

The independent charge of his father's jagir at Poona

2. Sh. Bh, 3, 15–45.
proved of great advantage to Shivaji. In this small jagir all kinds of experiments could be quickly tried in the art of government, and valuable experience gained which could be later utilised on a wider scale when the time came. In Shivaji's helpless situation his mother naturally was his sole guide and mentor. She was a versatile woman, well-trained, according to the notions of those days, in traditional religion and mythology. The traditions of Ramdeo Yadav, of Hemadri, of Jnaneshvar possessed for her a peculiar charm on account of the high moral tone and the free atmosphere of independence they breathed; and her capacious mind invested them with a glow of the splendour of the indigenous Aryan culture as contrasted with Muslim vandalism and iconoclastic methods. The wanton cruelties of Ala-uddin Khilji and Muhammad Taghliak, the barbarities of Tamerlane, the jokars perpetrated by the Rajput women of Chitod, ever rankled in Jija Bai's heart. Such a lady, we may be sure, taught her dear young son the need of a supreme effort for avenging wrong and achieving national regeneration.

Their secluded life in the hilly Maval country afforded plenty of out-door occupation and opportunities of adventure. Robberies, corruptins, disorders were of common occurrence. The climate itself imposed constant exposure to rain, sun and cold, and other privations of various kinds. Riding, wrestling, spear-throwing, swordsmanship, swimming through torrential floods. In these and similar sports Shivaji developed a kind of wild comradeship both with man and nature; soon his aimless wanderings were transformed into studied excursions for organizing defence and protection either against the neighbouring chiefs or petty local evil-doers.

Time and surroundings usually suggest to all creatures the means of defence against wanton aggression or of escape from dangerous situations. One very common method of defence of Shivaji's days was the art of disguise. It had then been carried to perfection. Most people, men and women, of those days studied the art as a necessity for the safety of life and valuables. A smattering knowledge of several languages, a handy provision of clothes and necessary tools, and above all, 6
a ready wit, these were the normal essentials for a successful disguise. Shivaji in addition could dexterously imitate the voices of birds and beasts and knew a few words and sentences of several Indian languages picked up on purpose. His sense of hearing was particularly well developed. He could cover long distances on foot, without fatigue, quickly jumping over obstacles, was a consummate wrestler, and an accurate shot with a catapult or a match-lock. It would appear that he had traversed and thus knew intimately the hills and valleys, the passes and strongholds on both sides of the Sahyadri range between Nasik and Kolhapur and possibly much beyond. His walks and rambles were both intensive and deliberate, with his eyes and ears always alert, thus making him gain first-hand acquaintance with the sentiments of the people, their habits, occupations and resources, and impart to them in return his spirit of valour and defiance.

This training in activity between the years of ten and fifteen was supplemented by the teachings of his mother, his guardian Dadaji and his immediate personal staff in the spheres of moral development and administrative duties. The country atmosphere in which he grew up developed a healthy mind in a healthy body, and made him wary and buoyant in contrast with the indolent, corrupt and pleasure-seeking nobles and princelings at Muslim Courts. Shivaji was doubtless taught reading and writing, and he heard portions of the Mahabharat and the Ramayyan as expounded by the family preachers. In those days paper was scarce and only important transactions used to be committed to writing. Many letters have been discovered issued under Shivaji’s name, but unmistakable and clear evidence is wanting to prove how much of them was penned by him. That does not mean that he was illiterate as some writers would have us believe. To attribute illiteracy to him on this account is entirely unreasonable and unwarranted. State papers in those days were drafted by secretaries and clerks and concluded by ministers. The signing of letters and papers by the master himself as is done now, was not the prevailing practice then. But adding a few words or lines in autograph was prevalent.

Harikirtan or what may be called devotional songs and
3. On 35th May 1642 he thus wrote to the Deshpande:

"You have violated the arrangement effected for the worship and management of Raireshvar. You must at once come and answer for your unwarranted interference." (Raj. 15.896).

2. His guardian Dadaji.—Another powerful factor in Shivaji's training was his guardian Dadaji Kondadev. The training he imparted in the practical business of government and the meticulous care he bestowed upon Shivaji's general well-being, are in a great measure responsible for what Shivaji afterwards grew to be. Dadaji was not a mere clerk or accountant, but a noble character, a man of business, a keen observer of events and situations, a circumspect politician imbued with the prevalent spirit of love for his country, hatred towards foreign domination and religious persecution. He was much older than Shahji and had served the Bhosle family through thick and thin as their trusted friend and adviser. Dadaji rendered conspicuous service in relieving the distress of the ryots during the terrible famine of 1631-32 and resettling

sermons by household preachers and celebrated saints like Tulsi, was then a very common means of general education, and the training of the young and the old; and Shivaji took no opportunity of profiting himself by such occasions. Hindu shrines and places of worship he punctiliously visited and took an intelligent concern in their working as a nation-building factor. A large number of his letters deal with the management and proper upkeep of shrines and religious establishments. Of all concerns of life religion occupied his best thoughts and energies. He received his most useful education not through books on the present day model but in the wide school of experience, supplemented by such portions of old texts as relate to the common maxims of politics, morals and philosophy, e.g. parts of the Ramayan, Mahabharat, some of the Smritis, probably portions of Shraddhant and Chahdyant and the lives of the saints. Vidurant was possibly a favourite chapter selected from the Mahabharat. It is said that the Yudhakhanda or the War-chapter of the Ramayan was regularly read and expounded at night to all the garrisons of Shivaji's forts as part of their discipline.

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MOON 91
the Poona region after that devastation. Dadaji was himself a Kulkarni of Malthan and looked after the adjoining villages of Hingni, Berdi, Desogon and others, which belonged to the Bhosles. When Shivaji acquired the Jagir of Poona and Supa, Dadaji was entrusted with its management so as to make it yield a handsome income. This he did with great assiduity and attention. Papers of the decade 1637—1647 mention him as the accredited governor of fort Kondhana and the districts attached to it.

This new post of Dadaji as manager of the Poona jagir was by no means a bed of roses. Murar Jagdev during the late war had devastated Poona and the surrounding country constituting Shahji’s jagir. These Dadaji had to restore. Poona was then a Kasba town, i.e. a large village with a standing market of its own. In this market-place Dadaji built a commodious house for Shivaji, known as the Rangmahal or the Lal-Mahal and procured for him costly clothes, jewelry and equipment, so that people might look upon him as their legitimate master and pay him due respect. The jagir extended from Junnar in the north to Wai in the south and included Chakan, Supa, Baramati and Indapur as the principal Talukas, the names of which are current to the present day. It was to be ruled from Sinhagad, a secure place centrally situated, the northern-most boundary of the jagir touching the forts of Shivner and Trimbak, which Shahji had been compelled to yield according to the terms of Shah Jahan’s agreement. Shivapur at the foot of Kondhana was named after the young master where new extensive gardens and mango groves were laid out by Dadaji. The Shivapur mangoes are to this day considered a rarity in the Poona market. Jija Bai later founded a new town at the foot of fort Rajgad, and named it Shivguttan.

Jija Bai and Dadaji had Shivaji married to Sal Bai from the Nimbalkar family about the year 1640: Shahji’s mother Dipa Bai also had come from the same Nimbalkar family. By
this time the affairs of the jagir had been put on a sound basis; the restoration of peace and order brought prosperity to the Bhosle estates which they had not known before. The finances improved along with the growth of protection and government. A well-organized force of undoubted loyalty was raised from among the local elements known as the Mavlas, who though ignorant and rugged, proved to be his most trusted and loyal followers, capable of any sacrifice that they were called upon to make. Indeed these hardy mountaineers of the Maval hills formed in his later organization the mainstay of Shivaji’s fighting machine. This native militia protected the jagir from robbery, molestation and disorder. The wild animals that infested the jungle of the jagir, damaged crops and created terrible havoc. Dadaji took special measures to put an end to this evil. Another beneficial measure adopted by Dadaji was to improve the yield of the land by encouraging agriculture and gardening in all possible ways. Says an old paper, “New crops were reared in every village; mango, tamarind, pomegranate, lemon came to be planted afresh. Of every ten new trees planted, one was given to the owner for his use, and only the remaining nine were taxed; one-third of the crop being taken by Government, and two-thirds left to the owner.” This was the practice of Malik Ambar’s days and was now universally adopted. Lands were measured and their ownership fixed, new lands reclaimed and irrigation by wells and canals attended to. In a short time the jagir attained a degree of prosperity unknown before. Increase in income became quickly apparent and could be utilized for further improvements.

Another measure of public benefit was the settlement of long-standing disputes through village Panchayats and other indigenous judicial bodies. Dadaji moved from place to place with his young master hearing causes and dealing out justice without favour or prejudice. In all these measures he particularly held up young Shivaji as the sole master and ruler of the people and every transaction was made in his name. This detailed work supplied Shivaji with an excellent opportunity for learning practical methods of government and gaining useful experience of public matters. Dadaji was a strict
6. Though factual evidence to prove how the minds of responsible persons at Poona and Bangalore responded to and reacted on the reports of occurrences in these two places, is lacking, we have to read between the lines of what stray notices we get on paper.

disciplinary himself and never lax or remiss in exacting implicit obedience to his orders. He executed speedy and impartial justice. His name as a vigilant and unflinching administrator long survived his death, and fifty years later attracted the notice even of the Emperor Aurangzeb during his long stay in the Deccan. Thus the five or seven years of Shivaji’s growing boyhood were most usefully spent.

3. The first coup.—While the father was certainly happy in the Karnatak over the glowing reports he received of the improvement of his jagir, a kind of restless anxiety touched his mind possibly through reports from Bijapur that his young son under the guidance of his spirited mother and the stern Dadaji Konddev, was developing an unpleasant attitude of defiance towards the ruling authorities. Shivaji organized his men, repaired and garrisoned the forts and supplied them with provisions, so that a compact growing centre of subversive activity had come into being. These growing portents could not be neglected by the Bijapur Court and a report of them must have been transmitted to Shahji at Bangalore with hints that the son and his establishment deserved to be carefully watched and kept under control, while it was not yet too late. At the same time reports of Shahji’s activities in the distant south did not fail to reach Shivaji and Jija Bai’s ears, particularly that phase of the Karnatak expedition, in which the Hindu religion was ruthlessly put down, lands devastated, shrines desecrated, idols broken, women’s honour violated and all the accumulated wealth of centuries drained away. Was it not a shame that Shahji more than any one else, should be the instrument of destroying his own religion and enhancing the credit of the Muslim rulers and their faith?

Some time in 1640, Shivaji with his mother and guardian paid a visit to his father at Bangalore. Shahji was anxious to meet them after four years of separation and to see the
newly-wedded wife of his son. So he sent for them and the whole family spent the next two years together.

Shahji was the loyal servant and supporter of a Muslim State. Bangalore and the surrounding country were full of the old Vijayanagar relics and traditions, which now came to be crushed with a high hand. There were shrewd diplomats and wise and far-sighted counsellors at Shahji’s Court, who freely asked themselves questions like these as occasions arose: Was it not Shahji’s duty to try and preserve this noble ancient culture and meaning? Why should he not at least protest strongly against these destructive actions of the Bijapur Government? Why should he not at least refuse to execute them himself? The boy Shivaji listened in childish surprise.

The anti-national trend of Shahji’s service under Bijapur could not be relished by Jija Bai and Shivaji, who had begun actively to dream of salvation from the Muslim yoke, of creating a new state wherein political and religious freedom and tolerance for all would reign supreme. The incompatibility of the views and future aims of the father and the son soon became marked, and it was decided that Shivaji should return to his native country from Bangalore. But a call had been made for them all from Bijapur to visit the Court and make their personal obeisance to their liege lord, thereby affirming their loyalty unmistakably. Towards the end of 1642 or the beginning of 1643 the whole family journeyed from Bangalore to Bijapur with their full camp and retinue.

Shahji appears to have accepted the force of the arguments of the opposition and thereafter tried actively to support the Hindu cause by helping Srirang Rai, the last representative of the old Vijayanagar Empire, and often remonstrating with effect against the devastating character of Mustafa Khan’s policy.

A very late tradition tells us of young Shivaji’s spirit at this time when he was summoned to the Bijapur Court. Would he not make his bow according to the punctilious Muslim prescription? In the open Darbar he simply executed the ordinary form of Maratha salutation, respectable enough but not reaching the extreme point of the Muslim sijd, i.e. touching the floor with the fore-head. The father explained
away the rudeness by urging the rustic boy's ignorance of court etiquette. Shahji, even if he had the wish, could not restrain the turbulent spirit of his son.

4. Dream put into execution.—Upon his return journey from Bangalore, the father supplied the son with a full equipage for an independent court. Parmasand says, "in a few days Shahji Raja gave leave to Shivaji to depart from Bangalore at an auspicious moment, supplying him with infantry, cavalry and elephants, also prominent ministers, renowned instructors, costly flags and insignia of royalty and with plentiful treasure." Shyamrao Nikant Pesah, Bil Krishnaprasad Rana, Sali Hari Moshal (i.e. member of Council), Raghunath Ballal Kode, Sonepan Daber, Raghunath Ballal Attre Chitnis,—these and other officers trained under Shahji are said to have been told of for duty with Shivaji. When exactly these ministerial offices were created and appointments made to them, cannot be ascertained. They must have been gradually brought into employment as Shivaji's new raj came into being.

Shivaji's and Dadaji's experiment of improving the ban and the government of the jagir, aroused a spirit of emulation and gave a new life to the Maval country. Young friends and playmates of the locality and surrounding regions began to flock round him to share his labours and render any sacrifice that might be demanded. In this way he began to gather around himself a band of young faithful comrades. His vision expanded; he began to dream of a new swarajya outside the limits of the original jagir but based upon it. He used to hold secret consultations with these comrades in arms, planning to capture forts, secure funds by daring attacks on private and public treasures, selecting suitable persons for particular jobs, employing spies to gather information about the strength of the garrisons of forts, about buried wealth, and the measures concerted by the Bijapur and other authorities to stop these activities. On broad, plain issues these young enthusiasts sought the advice and guidance of Dadaji Kondadev. Gomajji

7. Skin-Flint, 10-25 27.
Naik Pannaambud, eji Kank, Tanaji Malusre, Baji Piskekar, and Bajirao Jedhe, son of Kanhoji Jedhe, became Shivaji's early helpmates. They possessed influence in different localities which they soon organized for the main objective.

Shivaji had a persuasive tongue. He addressed his comrades and brought home to them how the foreign Muslim rule inflicted hardships and wrongs upon their homeland and their religion. He narrated to them graphic stories of what he had seen and heard. Was it not their duty to avenge this wrong? Even an effort in that direction was laudable and necessary.

"Why remain content with the gifts conferred by foreigners or with our paternal acquisitions only? We are Hindus: this whole country is ours and yet it is occupied and held by the Muslims. They desecrate our temples, break our idols, plunder our wealth, convert our countrymen forcibly to their religion. Why remain content with this treatment? We possess strength in our arms. Let us draw the sword in defense of our sacred religion, liberate our native country and acquire new lands and wealth by our own effort. We are as brave and capable as our ancestors of yore. If we undertake this sacred task, God will surely help us. All human efforts are useless. There is no such thing as good luck or bad luck. We are the captains of our soil and the makers of our freedom."

These words appealed to every ardent mind and roused even those who were slothful and indolent.

An old paper contains the following statement: "Complete darkness prevails under Muslim rule. There is no inquiry, no justice. The officials do what they please. Violation of women's honour, murders and conversions of the Hindus, demolition of their shrines, cow-slaughter, and similar despicable atrocities prevail under that government. The Nizam Shah openly murdered Jija Bai's father, his brothers and sons. Bajji Nimbalkar of Phaltan was forcibly converted to Islam. Countless instances could be quoted. The Hindus could not lead an honourable life. This is what moved Shivaji to righteous indignation. An intense feeling of revolt took possession of his mind. He at once set to work. He thought to himself,
98

NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

"One who is strong in his weapon has no difficulty and no fear."

Soon a complete revolution in the people's ideology and outlook was the result of this young leader's activity. The former lethargy was rooted out. The dormant atmosphere of Maharashtra came to be galvanized. Everyone began to look about and think for himself. Some readily joined in this new rising, some perforce went into opposition, no one could remain indifferent or apathetic.

"Soon after returning from Bangalore to Poona, the twelve valleys of the Mavals were captured." is a cryptic but significant statement of the kalbhat, now corroborated by a Persian firman dated 1st August 1644. The firman is a letter addressed by the Shah of Bijapur to Khanji Jethe, of Kari. It runs thus:

"Shahji Bhosle has been disgraced and removed from the Court and it is now reported to us that his agent Dadaji Kondadev has commenced rebellious activities at fort Harnan. In order to put him down and assert our rule over the territory, Khanji and Baji Ghorpade have been commissioned to proceed against him. You are, therefore, hereby commanded to join the Ghorpade with your full contingent and destroy that wicked rebel Dadaji and his supporters with your might. Upon the successful execution of this task, you will be properly rewarded."

The clearly dated explicit evidence contained in this paper removes all doubt about Shivaji's early activities and supplies us a definite starting point in his career. Since Shahji also has been mentioned as being already disgraced, we can definitely assert that the father Shahji was then looked upon by the Bijapur authorities as the author of the whole mischief. It is significant that the firman mentions Dadaji as the agent in this mischief and that Shivaji's name nowhere occurs.

9. This is said by Kisanbhadrapant in his Maratha Polity. 
Although he was suspected, he was then too young to be separately noticed. In fact Shivaji’s name begins to appear officially after Dadaji’s death, or a year or so before that, in that famous letter of Shivaji to Dadaji Naras Prabhu about the oaths they had exchanged before Raireshvar in the summer of 1645. This position also leads one to conclude that Dadaji wholeheartedly supported the new movement of revolt against Muslim domination, and in every way encouraged Shivaji as the fittest instrument to lead the movement to success. It is also clear that the first fort captured by the rebels was Sinhagad and not Torna, which came into Shivaji’s hands a year or two later. Nor did Torna possess the strategic importance of Sinhagad. Shivaji discovered hidden treasures at Torna, on which account it received prominence, as a divine dispensation of the goddess Bhavani to help Shivaji’s cause. For security of person and property, Sinhagad was long a necessary adjunct of Poona, which city being on a plain was ever vulnerable.

In 1644 Shahji fell into disgrace at the Bijapur Court probably for complicity in the revolt of Seringapatam. So long as Randaula Khan was living, he could control Shahji’s activities with tact and softness; Randaula’s death in 1643 altered the situation and brought trouble for both Shahji in the south and Dadaji at Poona. The affair of this first revolt of the Bhose against the Bijapur authorities dragged on practically for five years from 1644 to 1649, occasionally assuming a formidable aspect as matters progressed. The Sultan Muhammad Shah was not able to control the situation and his failing health aggravated it and favoured the rebels. After the capture of Sinhagad in 1644, Shivaji commenced open aggression against Bijapur, of which further proof is supplied by another valuable document dated 30 March 1645, also a letter addressed by the Adil Shah to Kanhoji Jedhe, and his Deshpande Dadaji Naras Prabhu. It says:—‘Shivaji Raje has turned disloyal to the Shah inasmuch as he has organized troops of the Mavlas and having taken possession of fort Rohida, has established his own garrison in it. He has also built a new fort and named it Rajgad and thus strengthened his position. You have openly joined him and pay him the revenue, instead
of obeying our officer at Shirval. You give him insolent replies. This cannot be tolerated. Unless you at once resume your obedience to the Thansadar of Shirval, you will be put to death without mercy."

This letter clearly unfolds the early moves of Shivaji. After Sinhagad he took Rohida, built Rajgad, and established his hold on that portion of the Maval, all within a few months, indeed an astounding performance. What was first started in secrecy, took now the form of an open challenge. Dadaji Naras Prabhu referred the letter to Shivaji and asked him what reply he was to make. Shivaji thereupon wrote to Dadaji Prabhu the following reply on 16 May 1645:—"The Shah is entirely misinformed. Neither you nor I have turned disloyal. Please see me with that letter immediately. You have no reason to feel distressed. Raireshvar, the divine master of your valley, inspires you and me alike and gives us success. He gives us power enough to establish Hindawi Swarajya. We are mere instruments in divine hands. Come what may, we should stick to the secret oaths we have exchanged, as advised by Dadaji-pant, in the presence of Raireshvar. He wills it all. Don't lose courage." Letters like this tell us definitely how Shivaji set out on his mission. As usually happens, he outwardly professed perfect loyalty to the Sultan and urged that the activities he undertook were entirely in self-defence and part of the Government's work, intended to put down lawlessness and disorder, as peace was highly essential for the development of this hilly country, which for centuries past had known no rule, no authority, no order and which now had begun to yield a good return.

Thus Shivaji pushed on without caring for consequences. He possessed a quick eye for judging men. He picked up suitable helpmates, promoted them according to their deserts and exacted great tasks from them. He roamed over the country minutely observing the capacities of the men and resources of the people. If a writer, he gave him a writer's job! if a brave
man, he was made a captain. He wrote letters, paid visits, contracted friendships often through marriage ties, persuaded, threatened, coerced and thus strengthened his party. People talked of him as a heaven-sent leader, one whom they must implicitly obey.

The voluminous writings of Ramdas supply ample evidence of these early activities of Shivaji. They have prepared for us a stirring narration of how the people of Maharashtra began buzzing about, ready to sting in all directions. That narration is a piece of national history like what is enacted in all ages and climes by men of action or "heroes as kings" as Carlyle loved to call them. The storm was raised. Shivaji alone could ride it and reach the haven safely. A new bright hope dawned on the land. The pious Jija Bai became the protecting angel for all. In fact nothing gave Shivaji such supreme joy in life as when he came and reported her amidst gleeful laughter the graphic details of his numerous adventures and received her cordial approval in return.

These activities of Shivaji could not be long kept secret. The officers and landholders of the Bijapur Government soon came to know them and reported them to the headquarters. Fortunately for Shivaji as he started on his adventurous course, Sultan Muhammad Shah of Bijapur fell ill and for some time his life was despaired of. That is the real reason why no strong and immediate action could be taken against Shivaji. The Shah continued ill during the next ten years 1646-56, rapidly declining in health and strength, to the utter neglect of the State affairs.

The two sons of Jija Bai possessed a peculiar nerve and resourcefulness. What Shivaji did in Maharashtra, his elder brother Sambhaji imitated to some extent in the Karnatak. The Shah considered Shahji to be the principal author of the mischief and had him arrested as has been already noticed in an earlier chapter of this work. It can be noticed that Shahji's arrest caused no set-back in Shivaji's intrepid plans of establishing his independent kingdom. His small beginnings were potentially firm and he fully believed that the Shah dared not injure a single hair of his father's head. The result came out just as he expected.
In this connection Parmanand narrates an interesting incident, when Shivaji's father was arrested and threatened with death by the Shah at Bijapur in the summer of 1649, if the fort of Sinhagad captured by Shivaji were not at once restored. The father thereupon appealed to his son to give back the fort and save his life. Now Sinhagad was a precious possession on which Shivaji had lavished years of labour and expense, and which formed the main basis of his life's plan. He was not therefore inclined to give it up. His mother earnestly pleaded with him for the sake of her husband. The mother and the son disagreed and decided to abide by the advice of their wise counsellor Sonopant Dahir. Sonopant advised Shivaji to give up the fort, explaining the essentials of a political game to which Parmanand has devoted one long chapter of his work, urging that for a man of valour the whole world is wide open.5

5. Independence achieved.—From 1644 to 1674, from the capture of Sinhagad to Shivaji's coronation at Raigarh, is a period of three very convenient decades through which a student can review that great hero's life; viz., 1644-1653, 1654-1663, and 1664-1674. How these decades are distinctly marked and particularized will be explained later, but we must first set down the main incidents of the first decade, the end of which marked the first complete stage of Shivaji's journey. Some of the incidents of this first decade cannot unfortunately be accurately dated. We have already reviewed the affair of the Raireshvar temple where solemn oaths were secretly exchanged. Shortly thereafter Dadaji Kondadev died on 7 March 1647, having already given sufficient initiative to his young master and in peaceful contentment at the prospect of his success as a national hero. The event caused no break in Shivaji's plans, which had long ago been formed after full deliberation. Dadaji had played his part in setting Shivaji on his legs, who now came forth with renewed vigour and started open aggression against Bijapur. He easily captured Chakan and naming it Sangrændurg placed his own garrison there. His next move
was against Purandar the capture of which proved somewhat dramatic.

Shivaji's home at Poona was guarded by two strong sentinels, Sinhagad in the south-west and Purandar in the south-east. This latter fort was held for Bijapur by a Brahman officer named Nilo Nilakanth Sarnaik, a friend and neighbour of Shahji and his family. During the rains of 1648, fearing an invasion from Bijapur, Shivaji wrote to the Sarnaik begging for a shelter on the ridge below the fort during the inclement weather. The request was granted and Shivaji established a post at the foot of the fort. Soon after the festival of Diwali arrived, on which day Shivaji and his mother were invited by the Sarnaik up to the fort for exchanging friendly greetings with his brothers who had already secretly approached Shivaji for a settlement of their family dispute. One night during the Diwali, Shivaji arrested all the brothers in their beds and took possession of the fort for himself. The situation was fully discussed during the few following days, and the brothers were all set at liberty after having been bound by sacred oaths to hold the fort for Shivaji and remain loyal to him. In this way Shivaji managed to secure the fort without shedding a drop of blood in a manner which is illustrative of his singular skill in contrivance. The family of the Sarnaiks continued to serve the Maratha raj to the end of its days. Next year when Bijapur armies came against Shivaji, Purandar proved to him of immense value. In vain the Bijapur armies launched frequent attacks upon Shivaji from their camp at Shirval. He could easily turn them back from his strong position up the fort. In this fight Musa Khan was killed and Fateh Khan took to flight on being routed. Thus both Sinhagad and Purandar have played an important part throughout Maratha history.

Sapu was another important post not far from Poona, which was held by a rather uncongenial neighbour, Sambhaji Mohite, a staunch loyalist of Bijapur and in addition an unfriendly relation of Shivaji, as his sister Tuka Bai was the second wife of Shahji. Sambhaji Mohite, a hereditary noble of Bijapur, would not be persuaded to join Shivaji's move-
ment nor enter his service. On the other hand, as he was likely to prove an obnoxious spy on Shivaji's activities, it was not possible for Shivaji to tolerate him in his immediate vicinity. Sambhlaji possessed an armed force of some three hundred troops. One dark night Shivaji with a band of brave followers made a sudden raid upon Supa, surprised Sambhaji and his guards, plundered all his belongings, and took possession of Supa himself. Shivaji tried to explain his plan to Sambhaji and persuade him to join his movement, but as the proud man would not yield, Shivaji sent him under proper escort to his father at Bangalore and reported to him the measures he had taken. It is unfortunate that we have no record as to when exactly this affair took place. We can only surmise that it must have been between 1649 and 1652.

Thus Shivaji managed to secure his position in the territory roughly between the Bhima and the Nira, between Poona and Shirval, having strongly guarded the central posts of Chakan, Purandar, Supa and Baramati, all of which were quickly and easily subjugated without cost or bloodshed. In this way a small and compact independent kingdom soon came into existence. Shivaji was careful not to attempt expansion beyond his well regulated frontiers until he felt his power well established and fully organized in all the essentials required by good government. The goodwill of the people under him formed his main support. This sympathetic policy, this attention to the well-being of the people under him appealed to all, and at once made apparent the contrast of his beneficent and orderly rule to the Muslim disorder and confusion outside. For full seven years after Dadaji's death, Shivaji concentrated his energies in organizing his strength all round, making his rule acceptable to all. An independent rule means a compact well-defined geographical unit with clear regulations and a proper gradation of officers. The motto of the official seal which Shivaji adopted for his plan is itself an evidence of his aim. It runs thus:—"This seal of Shiva, the Son of Shah, shines forth for the good (of the people). It is daily to increase like the 14.

Shiva Bharat, Chap. 14; Rai. 20,47, pp. 70-71, mentions Sambhaji Mohite was arrested i.e. 1657. But the event seems to have been therein recorded long after it took place.
first phase of the moon and is going to be respected by the universe." Shivaji aptly compares the first stage of his plan to the first phase of the moon. These phases were to increase gradually and attain their fullness! This seal is found impressed on all Shivaji's papers from 1645 onward. His aims and objects could not have been better expressed than in this pithy sentence.

Like the official seal, the title Chhatrapati also appears to have been assumed long before his formal coronation in 1674, perhaps during this first constructive stage of his swarajya. The title was borrowed from the ancient Hindu works on polity and modelled on the traditional ideas of kingship. Shukramti, Manusmriti and probably Chanakya's works appear to have been consulted by Shivaji or his mother's agents. The Council of Eight Ministers, their ancient titles, and the name Chhatrapati were by no means new creations. There were ready forms and names in use during Hindu and Muslim rule and some of these were naturally adopted by Shivaji as time and convenience required. Pesheka, Muzmudar, Dowbor, Sarnobat, Surnis are Persian Office-titles which were later converted by Shivaji into Sanskrit ones. Not only titles, but forms of letters and documents, the system of accounts, revenue terms, office insignia which had long been in vogue during Muslim domination were adopted wholesale often in Sanskrit equivalents, and given the garb of the Aryan model.

Rajwade maintained on the authority of some old papers, that the word Chhatrapati appeared to have been applied to Shivaji in 1648. Some pieces alleged to be of Sant Tukaram's composition are found addressed to Shivaji in which the word Chhatrapati is used. Tukaram died in 1650, and if the compositions are not spurious, one must conclude that Shivaji styled himself Chhatrapati as early as that date. There are
obvious difficulties in determining these points. Few authentically original papers have survived. What we now possess are copies of old papers, in which the copyists have taken liberties with the original text or unconsciously inserted their own additions. A letter of 1653 and others of many of subsequent dates, have seals of Shivaji's Peshwa Shyamrao and other officials, the actual words of which prove that the first phase of a full swarajya with the King and the necessary Ministers, was doubtless completed and announced by the year 1653, and this fact is fully corroborated by Shivaji's own authentic letter addressed by him on 17 July 1653 to his Guru Siddheshwar-Bhatt Bratome of Chakan, whom probably he had employed to make spiritual invocations in his hazardous undertakings. Shivaji writes in this letter, "Through the strength of your penance my desire of establishing a kingdom has been accomplished in full measure as originally planned. Therefore I am pleased to assign to you an annuity of a cash payment from the Junnar treasury of one hundred gold hons" (Rs. 300).

This is a definite statement and although the Kingdom mentioned in it may not be more than the patrimony of his jagir, one can conclude that Shivaji's Swarajya was fully completed by the year 1653. It had to be expanded by further effort, but the first stage was completed within ten years of the capture of Sinhagad.

Fort Vijayadurg is said to have been built in the Vijaya Shaka i.e., the Christian year 1653. If this be true, it becomes clear that Shivaji had during these quiet years made a complete tour of the Konkan districts west of the Sahyadris and realized the possibilities of a future expansion over these coastal regions in which the Europeans had established their trading factories. The English planted a factory at Rolidpur in 1648, the Dutch at Vingorla about the same time, the Portuguese had their ancient post at Chaul, with all of whom Shivaji established friendly contacts. He decided to make the west coast the base of his future kingdom and defend it with a navy of his own. He also explored the possibilities of a friendly

37. Siddheshwar-Bhatt, p. 115.
38. Sanads and Letters, p. 115.
understanding with the Siddis of Jangirā, the only Muslim element on the west coast between Kalyān and Sondha. In this way his conception of a swarajya took a definite shape by the year 1653. During the first few years Shivaji acted as his father’s deputy, but after the release of Shahji, Shivaji declared his own independence in his jagir. 19

Parmānand gives a fitting tribute to the completion of this first stage of Shivaji’s project. “The Mahārāṣṭra country,” he writes, “then attained its literal significance, viz., the great nation, on account of Shivaji’s effort.”20 “The people of Mahārāṣṭra became rich and happy.” We thus see how the first phase of the moon covered the first decade of Shivaji’s undertaking since the seizure of Sinhagad was completed.

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19. Raj. Vol. 17-19; Patra Sar Sangraha, 717-722. In other papers there is further evidence that Shivaji’s administration was already completed. A judicial decision issued under Shivaji’s government and bearing the date 21 March 1657, contains many signatories among whom occur Śhyāmraj Nilkanth Peshwa, Vāṇudeva Bālandrājha Muxum-ād, Sondai Vishvaśīth Vahi, Bāḷśrīvināeupati and Nāropant Harīsānta Dābhī, Maḥārāṣṭra Śyāmraj Surnī, Nūrēg Sarmābbat, Īnfantry, and Fāntāḷi Gōvīlāḷ Chitnis, with the last words, “under permission from the Huzur.” It should be noted that in those days even petty jagirdars used to have officials under them called ‘Chitnis, Muxumār, Peshwa, Surnī, Dābhī, etc. so the use of these by Shivaji does not signify his own creation. He adopted what was already available.

20. भारतीय साहित्य: तत्त्वज्ञानीय ।
अत्यधिकसंग्रहकार रघुनाथाधिकार। लिखा भा १०.३४.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1636 — 1644</td>
<td>Aurangzeb Governor of the Deccan: Aurangabad named after him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>Death of Daulatrao Moray.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1649 — 1654</td>
<td>Afzal Khan Governor of Wai.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1655</td>
<td>Afzal Khan invades Golconda.</td>
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<td>1655 closing months</td>
<td>Shivaji's first attack on Javili.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1656 Jan. 26</td>
<td>Hannumatrao Moray killed and Javili captured.</td>
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<td>1656 May</td>
<td>Mullah Ahmad surprised, Kalyan and Bhivandi sacked.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1656 Nov. 4</td>
<td>Yashwant Rao Moray and brothers killed. Death of Muhammad Adilshah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1657 April</td>
<td>Aurangzeb launches attack upon Bijapur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1657</td>
<td>Shivaji plunders Jummar and Ahmadnagar. Shivaji sends Sonopant Dabir as envoy to Aurangzeb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1658 July 21</td>
<td>Aurangzeb becomes Emperor. Shivaji concludes a treaty of friendship with the Sawant of Wadi: Bhavani sword obtained.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1659 March 5</td>
<td>Portuguese Viceroy reports Shivaji's complete possession of south Konkan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1659 Aug. 16</td>
<td>Afzal Khan starts against Shivaji.</td>
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<td>1659 Sept.</td>
<td>Afzal Khan encamps at Wai.</td>
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CHAPTER V
RAPID PROGRESS
[1654—1660]

1. Short work with Morays. 2. Political situation of 1657.
3. North and South Konkan seized.
4. Administrative Measures

1. Short work with the Morays. — How Shivaji's first achievement reacted upon the policy of Bijapur and upon that of the Mughal Emperor will be seen in the sequel. The next stages of his experiments in swarajya become sharper and brighter as years pass on. The second stage (1654-64) is made up of extraordinary incidents which converted him into a full-fledged hero of Maharashtra.

Shivaji henceforth undertook rapid expansion all round, steadily building up on the original foundation, but carefully avoiding conflict with powerful neighbours and removing internal opponents who showed jealousy for his rise. Most of the Deshmukhs of the Mavals gradually joined him and willingly accepted his lead. But there were some who had a long hereditary greatness to boast of, and whose devotion to Bijapur was too strong to make them respond to the national call. The Morays of Javli surnamed Chandrarao at the western foot of the Mahableshvar hill, were an ancient Deshmukh family of respectability and high Kshatriya pretensions, as a branch descended from the great Chandragupta Maurya, a claim which was denied to the Bhosles. The Morays were allied by family ties to most of the other Maval Deshmukhs and refused to join Shivaji's standard. Thus became the first necessity for Shivaji to disarm the hostility of the Morays, as obviously one sheath cannot hold two sharp swords. Shivaji for years meditated upon the least harmful way of dealing with this prickly thorn. For long he waited patiently and left no stone unturned to find a friendly solution for an increasingly irritat-
The friction between Shivaji and the Morays started as early as 1648, when Daulatrao Moray, a man of prestige and standing died, leaving no accredited heir or capable successor to administer his estates. Daulatrao's widow adopted Yashvantrao, a younger member, and conducted affairs with the help of Hanumantrao Moray, a distant relative of the family. Determined to crush the defiance of the Morays, Shivaji spent years in negotiation for a peaceful way to gain his object. There arose a sort of a triangular contest between the Morays, Shivaji, and Afzal Khan representing the power of Bijapur. About the year 1654, Afzal Khan came to be transferred from Wai to Kanakgiri, and the coveted opportunity arrived for Shivaji to reach a decision. He took into his confidence some of the Maval Deshmukhs, particularly Kashi Joshi Jadh, Haibatrao Silimkar, and other neighbours of the Morays, and sent a proposal to Javali demanding terms which the Morays refused to accept. Then with the contingents of these Deshmukhs he dispatched his commander Sambhaji Kavaji with a small force threatening their residence. This first attempt proved ineffectual, when Shivaji sent another force under Raghunath Ballal Korde. A battle was fought near Javali in which Hanumantrao Moray was killed; Yashvantrao fled for his life and took shelter in the fort of Rairi. Pratap Rao Moray escaped to Bijapur for seeking the Adil Shah's help to oust Shivaji from Javali (26th January 1656). Shivaji himself at once proceeded to Javali, stayed there for two months, rehabilitating the house of the Morays and strengthening his hold upon the principality.

In the meantime, Yashvantrao started serious trouble afresh from the hill-top of Rairi, a large and lofty plateau near Mahas, which belonged to the Morays. Shivaji sent troops and his agent Haibatrao Silimkar to Yashvantrao demanding submission. After a long negotiation a meeting was arranged at the foot of Rairi in May. When the Morays came down to meet Shivaji, he killed the principal offender Yashvantrao and
RAPID PROGRESS, 1654-1660

Carried his two sons Krishnaji and Baji as captives to Poona. Later on these two brothers also were detected conducting secret intrigues with Bijapur and were therefore put to death.

In this long and vexatious affair many have accused Shivaji of wanton treachery. The Morays could easily have saved themselves if they had had the wisdom to yield, as happened in the case of the Sarnaik of Purandar. The women and dependents of the Morays were most kindly looked after. The verdict pronounced in common parlance on the Moray affair says, "A dozen advisers gathered, and the state of the Chandratais suffered a fall." Out of a long tale of conflicting details only the main story is summarized above. Shivaji seized the domain with all its wealth and treasure accumulated through centuries of power. History will certainly pronounce an adverse judgment upon Shivaji's dealings with the Morays. The result, however, proved highly beneficial to his purpose, as the world came to know what to expect from him if an open opposition were offered to his plans and desires. Fort Wasota which belonged to the Morays soon fell into his hands. So all the twelve Mavals from Junnar to Wai came into Shivaji's possession.

When Javli was taken Shivaji erected a new fort to command the valley of the famous Purandar and gave it the significant name of Pratapagad. The work was executed by Moropant Pingle, whose father had served Shahji in the Karnata and who himself had then come over to Shivaji's service. A new image of the goddess Bhavani was installed in this fort, where Jija Bai often came to live. Moropant Pingle soon became Shivaji's right hand man and was made the Peshwa or Prime Minister when Shyamrao died about 1658. Javli marked the first grand link in a chain of achievements which cover the second decade of Shivaji's exploits and which brought him to the inescapable notice of the two great Powers then ruling in the Deccan, Bijapur and Delhi. A new personality representing the Mughal Empire had now come on the stage of history, Aurangzeb, the astute son of the declin-

1. Shrivastava, Dijnal, J. See Moray Bakhar, Shiva Bhakat, Javli Shaktinath, etc. Shivaji acted on the plan suggested by his father, see p. 78 above.
ing Shah Jahan, a bigot in religion, who soon became an in­
veterate enemy of Shivaji.

2. Political situation of 1657.—Nine years senior in age to Shivaji, Aurangzeb was born at Dohad on 24th October 1618 and shared his father's hardships and wanderings during his boyhood. As he grew up, he developed austere ways and a hardened heart, which marked his career throughout life. He witnessed the war which his father had waged in the Deccan and in which Shivaji's father came to be expelled from his homeland. When after the conquest of the Nizam-Shahi ter­
ritories, Shah Jahan returned to the north, he appointed Aurangzeb his representative or Subahdar in the Deccan with a commission to settle the conquered territories. In this office he continued first for 8 years (1636-44), and again for five years from January 1653 to February 1658. During the break of the nine years between the two charges (1644-52), Aurang­
zeb was occupied with imperial wars on the north-west fron­
tier, which did not touch the Marathas. During his first Viceroyalty of eight years, Aurangzeb was occupied in con­
solidating the Mughal power and creating an orderly govern­
ment. But there is nothing noteworthy about his work or movement during this period. Shivaji was then young and no disturbance was expected from the Marathas. Aurangzeb was fond of hunting and selected for his official residence, in preference to the northern far away Burhanpur, the newly erected town of Khadki in the vicinity of Daulatabad, which had been founded by Malik Ambar, and named it after him­self. This new town of Aurangabad was a more suitable place from which to watch the Maratha activities centering on Poona.

But the interval of eight years between 1644 and 1653 had seen great changes in the south, not less than six different indi­
viduals having governed the Deccan territories of the Mughal Empire, including such well known figures as Mirza Raja Jaisingh, Shahzada Murad Baksh, and Shaista Khan. None of these, however, left behind him any conspicuous mark of his rule. Shivaji was then mainly occupied in consolidating his paternal jagir without rousing Mughal opposition. It was
about 1657 when Shivaji's vision began to expand beyond his father's jagir, that he attracted Aurangzeb's notice for the first time. When freed from the affairs of the Morays of Javli, Shivaji made his first open raid upon the Mughal territory in the summer of 1657, and plundered Junnar and Ahmadnagar. He simultaneously carried on an offensive movement against the Adil-Shahi possessions of north Konkan, by capturing Kalyan and Bhivandi. The Court of Bijapur was then involved in the wanton Mughal invasion which followed the death of Muhammad Adil Shah on 4 November 1656. A high road from Junnar to Kalyan then carried the inland trade of the Deccan plateau to the ports of Kalyan and Bassein on the west coast, then centres of wealth and traffic, which commanded the fertile region below the Ghats crossed by numerous navigable creeks. Shivaji considered the possession of this rich territory a highly advantageous adjunct to his jagir and one which could be easily defended from his base of Poona.

3. North and south Konkan seized—Shivaji's clever spies were long employed in the surrounding country and he himself toured the Kalyan district in order to gauge the strength of its defences. During 1655 as Shivaji was launching his attack on Javli he received news that the Adil Shah of Bijapur being in sore need of money had called upon the Governor of Kalyan named Mulla Ahmad,1 to personally convey all his accumulated revenue to Bijapur under a strong escort. Relays were laid on the route and local officials instructed to render help. Shivaji employed one party to make a sudden dash and carry away the treasure as it would pass by the route of Purandar, and another simultaneously to fall upon Kalyan itself. The plan proved eminently successful and the entire treasure was carried away safely and deposited in the strong vaults of Rajgad. While this sudden dash was being perpetrated near Poona, Shivaji's Peshwa Shyamraj Nilakanth and his cousin Dadaji Bapuji with a body of select troops surprised Kalyan itself, then denuded of all means of defence in the absence of the Governor. Another party of expert Mavalas

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led by Shakh Krishna Lohokare swooped down simultaneously upon the neighbouring post of Bhivandi. Shivaji planted strong garrisons both at Kalyan and Bhivandi and prepared to resist any reprisals by Bijapur. He then fortified the harbour of Kalyan and captured Mahuli and the other neighbouring forts to the south and north of Kalyan. Chaul, Tale, Ghoade, Rajmachi, Lohagad, Kangori, Tung-Tikona, all these were quickly seized one after another and strongly fortified, so that within a year’s time Shivaji’s small estate came to be doubled in extent and more than doubled in point of value and resources. Thus towards the end of October 1657 the whole province of north Konkan came into Shivaji’s possession. He lost no time in establishing a strong and beneficent rule therein, so as to make the people feel the happy effects of the change in comparison with the previous misrule. Shivaji appointed Abaji Sondev as the first Governor of this Kalyan province. The Portuguese of Chaul felt serious alarm for their security on account of this new Maratha neighbour.

A widely current anecdote concerning this raid on Kalyan certainly created universal admiration for Shivaji’s character and high morals. Mulla Mohammad the Bijapuri Governor of Kalyan had left his family behind, including his young and extremely handsome daughter-in-law who fell into Abaji Sondev’s hands. Abaji, considering that she would be an acceptable present for his young master, sent her properly escorted to Poona. But Shivaji who respected every woman’s honour as his own mother’s, remarked to the lady on arrival, “Oh, how nice would it have been if my mother were as fair as you are,” and at once sent her to her home with due apologies for her capture. At the same time he conveyed to Abaji his stern sense of displeasure and circulated a severe warning to his officials against this wicked universal practice.

With the capture of Kalyan Shivaji’s sway came to be exercised over a triangular tract the base of which was formed by the line of the sea-coast from Bassein to Bijapur and the two sides running from these points and meeting at Indapur. He reduced several forts in this region, among which was fort Prabalgad near Panvel, which was held by a Bijapuri captain named Kesari Sinh, who lost his life in the encounter.
upon Shivaji personally went up the fort and discovered at a certain spot a hidden treasure in large vessels full of mohars, konis and gold bars. Kesari Sinh's mother and two children were at the same time taken, hiding from fear of Shivaji. He, however, went to the lady, prostrated himself before her as if she were his own mother, gave her a Paiki to ride in and sent her to her native residence at Deulgaon under his own escort. The dead bodies of Kesari Sinh and others who had fallen in defending the fort, were cremated with due rites and honours. Such treatment given to the vanquished foe spread to distant places Shivaji's fame as a benevolent ruler.

From the north Konkan district, Shivaji at once turned towards the south via Chiplun right on to Rajapur and still further on as far as Sondhi, personally inspecting the country he traversed, and acquainting himself with its defensive and financial capacities. After finishing his tour he returned to his headquarters at Raigad. He seems to have decided after this inspection that the west coast should form the most convenient base for his future operations. His eyesight was as keen as that of a hawk. He quickly discerned the value of situations, characters and objects and formed his plans as best suited for his purpose.

4. Administrative measures.—In his plan of conquest and expansion, Shivaji was particularly careful to make his rule agreeable and beneficial to the people who came under it, by means of equal and speedy justice, by fresh avenues of honourable work in life, and by relieving the miseries of the poor. Wanton plunder and exploitation were rigidly put down. He fully pressed into his service the available capacities of his people, which he had an almost inborn genius to detect. Writes his courtier Sabhasad, "People are happy when they get wealth, the country can be held through a line of forts, and in this way is a kingdom built up. The best line for the defence of the Deccan lands is the Sahyadri range, the inhabitants of which are expert in climbing hills through torrents of rain, through dense forests and difficult passes. From amongst these Shivaji picked up his helpers, Mavlas from the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes, and raised them to positions of honour.
Through their local connections, Shivaji negotiated the capture of forts, sometimes by offering bribes or other inducements, at other times by taking advantage of existing dissensions among the defenders. More often, clever tactics were resorted to, as for instance, introducing into the forts his own men with heavy bundles of hay on their heads carried for sale, in which arms were secretly concealed. In this way many forts were easily secured and placed in charge of trusted keepers. The Maharaj was extremely kind to his men and solicitous of their welfare. People flocked to him in thousands. Honest workers were amply rewarded. Those that proved dishonest and treacherous were carefully weeded out and punished. Thus a strong contrast between the methods of his government and those of the Muslims, became quickly apparent. Under the latter rich men were openly plundered; while Shivaji protected them from harm.

As the administrative work increased, new appointments were made. Nilo Sendev, brother of Abaji the Governor of Kalyan, was made Munusudar. Araji Dash was made Sarnas or Sakhiv. Gangu Mangaji was appointed Waqenavis; Manaji Datto was made the Surnobat of cavalry died and in his place was appointed Netaji Pilane. But more than all, the services of a most faithful and capable Secretary Balaji Avji were obtained for the office of his Chitnis. Balaji was indeed an acquisition. For now Shivaji had to depend for the prompt and proper transmission of his orders upon a trustworthy and devoted secretary. Such a one was found in Balaji. His father Avji Chitre and his brothers held high positions under the Siddis of Janjira on the west coast. The family came to be disgraced and severely punished by the Siddis on account of some supposed derelictions of duty. Avji's brother was put to death and his wife Gul Bai and children ordered to be exiled to Muscat. Gul Bai proved a clever woman; as she and her children sailed in a ship from Janjira proceeding to Muscat, she managed by bribing the Captain to be disembarked at the port of Rajapur, where she brother Visaji Shankar, a respectable trader, purchased her and the children as slaves by paying to the Captain the amount he demanded for them. Gul Bai had three sons, Balaji, a fairly grown up lad, and two younger
ones Chimaji and Shyamji. Bajaji wrote a nice hand and was brought up by his uncle and initiated into his business. The three brothers and their mother changed their names and lived in hiding at Rajapur for fear of being discovered and ill-used by the Siddis. When Shivaji happened to visit Rajapur about the year 1658 Bajaji contrived to meet him, related his troubles and begged to be saved from the Siddis' wrath. Shivaji readily agreed, being delighted to have an opportunity of serving the Hindu cause, and took the whole family under his protection. They amply repaid these favours by faithful service through generations.

Once the main principles of Shivaji's policy are fully grasped, no fair-minded critic can accuse him of wanton aggression against the Mussalmans as a class. To him both the Adil Shah and the Emperor of Delhi were exactly alike. To protect the Hindus in their own land and to secure them full liberty to practise their religion in the way they liked, were Shivaji's aims, and when these were opposed he exacted full retribution. But even in doing this, he exhausted all peaceful methods before coming to an open conflict. In the beginning he was absolutely friendly towards Aurangzeb. In fact during the early career of Shivaji Aurangzeb was an unknown quantity. Nobody could then foresee that he would become an Emperor and that he would be such a fanatic as to hunt down the Hindus and their religion in the way he did. He unnecessarily started aggression against Bijapur in 1656 and against Golkonda in 1657 and for the first time attracted notoriety for wanton interference in the affairs of the Deccan Sultanates. His character came to be thoroughly exposed next year (1658), when he imprisoned his father, deceived his brothers, snatched the throne for himself and perpetrated atrocities against his eldest brother Dara Shukoh. These events created a stir throughout the land, so that Shivaji later on considered it his duty to resist Aurangzeb's wicked policy with all the means he could collect, including the plunder of Surat. But up to 1656 at any rate, Shivaji's relations with Aurangzeb were by no means hostile. We must read and follow history chronologically without allowing later events to warp our judgment in dealing with earlier ones.
As soon as Aurangzeb led an expedition against Bijapur after Muhammad Adil Shah’s death, Shivaji sent his foreign minister Sonopant to Aurangzeb offering to join the Mughals in their war against Bijapur, provided that he was allowed to acquire the territories of the Konkan with all the forts situated therein for his suzerainty. Sonopant returned with a confirmation of his request and Shivaji at once invaded those lands. He gauged rightly that in the dissolution of Bijapur, the Marathas had a better claim to their homelands than the distant Mughals. Shivaji did not spare even the Mughal possessions of Junnar and Ahmadnagar so contiguous to Poona and so essentially Maratha in character. In 1657 he suddenly fell upon Junnar, his own birth-place, and carried away gold, jewellery and horses. His armies proceeded further on towards Ahmadnagar plundering the intervening country right up to the gate of that old capital. The strong garrison of Ahmadnagar happily saved the town itself. Aurangzeb took prompt measures to prevent fresh molestation on the part of Shivaji. Fearing further chastisement Shivaji sent his ambassador Krishnaji Bhaskar to Aurangzeb in order to explain away the past deeds and urge his claim to the Bijapur districts of north Konkan.

Fortunately for Shivaji Aurangzeb at this moment became extremely uneasy on account of the news he had received of his father having fallen dangerously ill. He hastily prepared to go to the north with all the troops he could collect and contest the throne. He kept the news of his father’s illness a close secret and administered especially grave warning to the Bijapur authorities to restrain Shivaji with all their might, telling them if at all his services were considered needful, he should be employed in the distant field of the Karnatak like his father Shahji.

Aurangzeb left Aurangabad on 25 January 1666 and crowned himself Emperor at Delhi in the following July. Shah Jahan remained in confinement at the fort of Agra, which Aurangzeb did not visit during his father’s life-time. When Shah Jahan died on 22 January 1666, Aurangzeb entered Agra and took his seat on the peacock-throne for the first time in the following May, when Shivaji paid him his famous visit.
As soon as Aurangzeb grasped the imperial power, he appointed his maternal uncle Shaista Khan, a trustworthy and valiant general, to the government of the Deccan, with special instructions to prevent Shivaji from doing mischief. Shaista Khan arrived at Aurangabad in January 1660. These events in the north and their dates, in particular, must be borne in mind if we are to follow Shivaji's doings in the south, after 1658.

We have already seen that during the latter part of 1657 and the whole of 1658, Shivaji was busy consolidating his position in north and south Konkan, exactly adjoining his paternal jagir above the Ghats which he had formed into an independent State. The Sahyadri range has many tortuous passes and valleys through which Shivaji kept up easy and safe communication from the upcountry to the coast. These passes were not then very well-known nor used by large armies. Shivaji conducted his affairs without molestation from his enemies. The territory of north Konkan was then divided from that of south Konkan by the creek known as the Vashisthi river, which runs from Chipan to Dabhol. The country north of this river right up to Bassein, formed part of the old kingdom of Ahmadnagar and was handed over to the Adil Shah by the treaty of 1636. The lands south of the Vashisthi river already belonged to Bijapur and formed part of a jagir assigned to Rustam-i-Zaman. Shivaji's growing prestige along the whole coast from Kalyan to Vingol with Dabhol and Vijayadurg as fortified bases, excited the jealousy of this Rustam-i-Zaman and of the other powers such as the Siddis of Janjira and the European traders, with their factories on the coast.

The Siddis purchased Shivaji's friendship by handing over to him their posts of Tala, Ghosala and Rairi, of which Shivaji personally took possession during his southern tour early in 1658. Thereupon Shivaji visited the shrine of Haresvar and proceeded to Rajapur with a view to helping the Savant of Kudal whom Rustam-i-Zaman had attacked during the summer of 1658. This Savant was also a scion of the Bhosle family and in his extremity had appealed to Shivaji for help. Shivaji then personally toured the whole region of south Konkan and established his post at Rajapur. Friendly negotiations took place between Shivaji and the Savant, whose
envoy Pitambar Shenvi visited Shivaji and concluded with him a formal treaty of mutual friendship and help on 5th March 1659. The Savant from now onward practically remained a faithful ally of the Chhatrapati, although their relations were occasionally disturbed by extraneous circumstances. During these negotiations Shivaji visited Kudal, where he purchased a fine sword of European make for 300 baks and named it the ‘Bhavani’. He successfully used it in many an encounter. It was with this sword that he killed Afzal Khan a few months later.  
This many-sided activity of Shivaji discloses his singular capacity. His vigilant eye roamed everywhere far and near. Early in his career he visualized the necessity of a strong navy with suitable bases for its location to protect his newly-formed kingdom. The first naval fort he built was Vijayadurg which was commenced in 1653, the next was Suvanjadurg constructed in 1660, Sindhudurg or Malvan came into being in 1664, and the last great naval post was Kolaba which he finished just before his death in 1680. It is obvious from this that Shivaji’s naval effort was both earnest and continuous, and in his opinion the most valuable means of protecting and expanding his kingdom. Says Dr. Sen*:—
"The coast lines of the Konkan broken by many creeks offered excellent shelter for ships and the rocky islands near the coast presented invulnerable sites for naval strongholds. Once in secure possession of the Konkan, Shivaji early realized the necessity of a strong fighting fleet. The peace and prosperity of his raj demanded it. It was not his aim to secure the freedom of the seas against the world. He was quite content to share the sovereignty with his neighbours. On 16 August 1659 the Governor of Goa wrote to the King of Portugal, ‘Shivaji has made himself master of the lands near Bassein and Chaul and built some ships of war at Bhivandi, Kalyan, and Panvel.’ The Mughal Emperors had criminally neglected this vital subject."

From the Konkan we must now turn our attention to the uplands.

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3. It is still in the possession of his descendants at Satara.
5. Afzal Khan’s end—How far Shivaji expected smooth-sailing in his efforts to build up an independent kingdom for the essentially Maratha lands it is difficult to say, but he certainly kept himself prepared for any eventuality. It was too much to expect the Court of Bijapur, however decadent, to relinquish possession of the Maratha territories which had been earned by centuries of heroic endeavour, without making an attempt to save them from this upstart. The Bijapur Government was now indeed in a sad plight, what with Mughal aggression and what with the sudden rise of Shivaji in his homeland. Muhammad Shah’s queen Badi-sahiba was then managing the State affairs in the name of her young son Ali. Sometime ago Shahji was asked to restrain his son from encroaching upon the Adil-Shahi lands. He replied that he was not responsible for his son’s conduct and that the Bijapur Government might take any steps it liked against him. The power of Bijapur Government might take any steps it liked against him. The power of Bijapur was now practically collapsing, and even its Muslim nobles had turned disloyal. Shahji alone stood by his master during these critical times. This is clearly proved by a recently discovered farman addressed to Shahji on 27 May 1658, which states, “We are satisfied with your explanation that you cannot restrain your son and that you are not responsible for his acts. We have therefore restored to you all your jagir at Bangalore together with all the honours and titles which you formerly held.” This document also proves how powerless the Bijapur Government was against Shivaji’s aggressions, which went on steadily increasing after Aurangzeb’s departure from the Deccan; and none of the various other nobles of Bijapur would undertake the chastisement of Shivaji. Afzal Khan alone volunteered for that hazard. Afzal Khan’s name has often been mentioned before in connection with Shahji’s affairs. He was reported to be an illegitimate son of the late Muhammad Shah, his mother having been a cook in the royal kitchen. He had distinguished himself in the Karnatak wars, but the Bijapur State had by now come to be dismembered, the Maratha lands being seized by Shivaji and the Karnatak lands by his father. It, therefore, became a matter of life and death for Bijapur to put...

Afzal Khan entertained a long-standing inveterate antipathy towards Shahji and his sons. The resources of Bijapur were, however, scanty and it was rightly felt that Shivaji could not be easily overcome in the difficult regions which he had occupied. The Bijapur Queen, therefore, secretly advised Afzal Khan to lull Shivaji's suspicions by pretending friendship or by any other method that could be employed in order to have him captured alive or dead. Afzal Khan hardly needed this reminder. His treacherous conduct towards Kasturirang Naik of Shirgum was notorious throughout the land. He, therefore, in his vanity readily accepted the task of humiliating Shivaji by fair means or foul, reckless of the consequences.

After the conquest of Javli Shivaji was occupied in strengthening his position in the vicinity of Wai. He had built Pratapgad where he was supposed to have his main residence, treasure and stores. Afzal Khan too was intimately acquainted with the Wai district of which he had long been the governor. He started from Bijapur in September 1659 with a select army of twelve thousand and travelling via Pandharpur, the Mahadev Hills and Maladi, arrived at Rahimatpur and purposely behaved as a ruthless fanatic by desecrating Hindu temples and idols to give his expedition a stern and vengeful appearance. He particularly demolished the famous temples of Tuljapur and Pandharpur out of spite for Shivaji. At Malavdi he wreaked his wrath against Bajaji Nimbalkar who had recently been reconverted to Hinduism at the instance of Shivaji and his mother.

Afzal Khan's movements were being closely watched by Shivaji from Rajgad. He soon decided to give him battle in the surroundings of Wai and Javli, which were full of lofty hills and impenetrable valleys, and took up his residence along with his mother at Pratapgad above the mountain pass of Parghat west of Mahabaleshwar. When the Khan learned that Shivaji was at Pratapgad, he came straight against him to Wai and there formed his camp in October, this place being about 16 miles due east of Pratapgad, with the high plateau of Mahabaleshwar between. The Khan's vandalism and wanton atrocities had roused such strong feelings of hatred and wrath against him in the minds of the common people, that
RAPID PROGRESS 1654-1660

he lost all local sympathy and help. By the middle of October
the two opponents stood facing each other, the one to the east
at Wai, the other to the west at Pratapgarh, each meditating
upon the best means of overcoming the other.

The fort of Pratapgarh perched on an inaccessible narrow
hill-top, was not at all suited for an open fight such as the
Khan could offer, nor was it possible for him to move his large
army in mass to the vicinity of that fort. Shivaji remained
entirely on the defensive securely seated on the hill-top like
an eagle watching for an opportunity to fall upon its prey.
The Khan, on the other hand, was devising methods to draw
out Shivaji from his perch for a personal meeting, with the
object of getting his enemy under his clutches without recourse
to an open fight. Thus a personal meeting became an inevit­
able objective for both of them. As Shivaji could not avoid
it, how to make such a personal meeting successful became the
serious thought both to Shivaji and the Khan each day that
passed. In vain might the Khan keep his large army under
harness for any length of time and produce no result, nor could
Shivaji endure an interminable strain. Shivaji's ingenious
brain alone could dissolve the situation; no outside means was
available.

As Shivaji remained entirely on the defensive and bided
his time, it was Afzal Khan who became impatient to start
talks for alluring Shivaji into a personal visit under the pretext
of arranging an amicable settlement. For this he had to select
a convenient agent, one who knew Shivaji and who would
loyally help the Khan in bringing about a personal meeting.
Krishnaji Bhaskar, the Kulkarni of Wai, whose descendants
are still living there, and who owed everything to the Bijapuri
Government, was induced by Afzal Khan to take up the mis­
mission. He was asked to assure Shivaji of the Khan's high regard
and great friendship for him and his family and bring him over
to Wai for a personal exchange of views. It was suggested that
if Shivaji willingly offered to submit to the Shah's authority,
he would be cordially received and highly promoted in the
Adilshahi service like his father, that it was quite possible
that his own ambitions and the interests of the Bijapur Govern­
ment could be mutually adjusted to the satisfaction of both.
The Khan’s game clearly was to inveigle Shivaji into the Muslim Camp, so that means could be easily found to detain him and carry him in chains to Bijapur, or encompass his ruin in some other way. The plan was quite transparent to a man of Shivaji’s keenness, particularly as the Khan’s views, his present professions and past conduct were matters of common knowledge.

So Krishnaji Pant came on a mission to meet Shivaji at Pratápgad on behalf of the Khan and performed his part quite loyally and dexterously. Shivaji saw through the trap that was being laid for him. He, however, betrayed no impatience or acerbity on his part and professed cordial submission, expressing withal a filial reverence towards the Khan, whom he requested to extricate him (Shivaji) out of the awkward situation into which his reckless conduct had launched him. Shivaji, however, was in no hurry to push up the business, and thought prudent to lengthen out the negotiations and professed his utter helplessness to cope with the Khan’s preparations and his extreme fear of venturing into the Khan’s camp.

Shivaji lavished the utmost attention and comfort on the Khan’s ambassador Krishnaji Bhaskar and had long talks with him. He appealed to the Brahman’s religious instinct to further the great work he had undertaken of Hindu revival, and asked for his help in defeating the plot of the Khan. Krishnaji, although convinced of Shivaji’s noble intentions, stood firmly honest in his master’s service. He had not fathomed the Khan’s inner motives. He was well entertained at Pratápgad and was persuaded to explain to the Khan that Shivaji confessed his inability to fight with such a large force, that he now repented of the follies he had committed, and that if the Khan would pardon him and spare his life, he would readily hand back all the territory he had seized. With these professions Krishnaji Bhaskar returned to Wai accompanied by Shivaji’s agent Pantaji Gopinath to explain matters fully and arrange details for a personal meeting of the two principals. Through this Pantaji Pant Shivaji cleverly turned the Khan’s game against him. Pantaji urged, if the Khan’s professions of anxiety and cordiality were honest, why should he not trust Shivaji as well and come fearlessly to meet him at Pratápgad,
RAPID PROGRESS 1654-1660

where no troop movements were practicable for either party. Pantaji Gopinath was a devoted adherent of Shivaji, adept in discovering secrets by means of covert tactics and clever insinuations. With him was an expert spy of Shivaji named Vishvas Rao Namaji, who, disguised as a fakir, roamed about the Khan's camp begging and praying and collected valuable information of the Bijapuri plans and arrangements. In this way frequent messages and messengers passed between Wali and Pratapgad, enabling Shivaji to gather full details of the situation and form suitable plans for overcoming his opponent.

The Khan was entirely lulled into the belief that he could easily gain his object without recourse to open fight. Most of the Deshmukhs in those parts were being led by Kanhoji Jedhe and turned hostile to Afzal Khan. The Khopde Deshmukh alone was unfriendly to Kanhoji, having openly sided with Afzal Khan and promised to him that he would manage to capture Shivaji alive. Under these circumstances the Khan directed his efforts to inducing Shivaji somehow to come out. He spread out his troops through all the open spaces of the district with instructions to capture Shivaji if he ventured out. Shivaji was fully alive to these plans, being well posted with timely news of every move of his enemy. He stationed his own select bands in various secret recesses unobserved by the enemy and ready for any emergency. Pantaji Gopinath with his sweet tongue and animated asseverations managed to induce the Khan to come to the foot of the Pratapgad fort for a meeting with Shivaji. The Khan was quite confident of his superior personal strength. Pantaji Pant assured the Khan that once they met, Shivaji would follow him wherever he was wanted. In this way a meeting was finally agreed upon in a situation and under conditions in which Shivaji became the master and the Khan the dupe.

Minutely observant as Shivaji was, he foresaw every possible contingency and prepared for it in advance. He selected the spot for the meeting, at the base of the rampart where now stands a splendid tomb built recently by the Nizam of Hyderabad. A highly ornamented and attractive bower of woodwork

6. The following message was delivered before parting: “We have taken up the challenge. God wills it. If it proves adverse for me, you should destroy the enemy without fear and protect the rai.”

7. A scorpion-like weapon, says Sambhaji in his danapatra.
all was ready he received the blessings of his mother and started.

The Khan had already arrived and was in his seat, when Shivaji came in and was announced by Krishnaji Bhaskar. As Shivaji walked in, the Khan rose up and embraced him, tightly gripping him with his left arm and stabbing him with a dagger. Shivaji with perfect presence of mind thrust his short sword and the tiger-claws into the Khan's huge body, ripping open the bowels and bringing him instantly down to the ground. The whole affair was finished in a moment. The Khan's servants rushed forth to save their master, but were cut down by Shivaji's bodyguard. The two Brahman diplomats were dumb-founded. The body of the Khan was placed in the palanquin by the bearers, but as they started to carry it away, they were attacked and disabled. Shivaji's men severed the Khan's head, carried it up to the fort and exhibited it on a high mast from the topmost bastion. The preconcerted signal was at once given and the concealed Maratha soldiers rushed out from their holes, cutting every Bijapuri trooper that came in their way.

This in the main is the outline of what took place on this memorable occasion. There are ever so many details added in ballads and tradition as the result of the free play of popular fancy all over the country, that it is difficult to separate the grain from the chaff. The event has stirred Maratha hearts to their depths now for two hundred and fifty years. Those who have visited the locality with its dark winding paths up the hill can well realize the woe that befell the huge

8 Afzal Khan's ballad composed and sung by Ajnandas has been printed, in which the author says he was sent for from Poona by Jija Bai to Pratapgad and was ordered to sing the glorious achievement of her son. In those days this was the only means of publishing such events. Ajnandas says he composed the ballad and so impressed Jija Bai and Shivaji with its recitation that they rewarded him with two lbs. of gold ingot and a horse. The piece stirs our heart even to-day and contains many details which may be taken as accurate. Any way this is the only extant record of that memorable incident. The writer has used the words "Chhatrapati" and "Maharaj" for Shivaji. He describes him as one out of whose tank all animals have their drink in peace. Religious fanaticism is attributed to Afzal Khan. A very readable English translation in verse is published by Acworth.
Bijapurian army scattered through the pathless valleys on that short November evening with the bright half-moon just glimmering and exposing the bewildered Muslims to the swords of the nimble Maratha soldiery rushing out of the woods to prevent their escape. The battle if it could be so called is known as the battle of Pratapgad. Netaji Palkar, Morqant Pingle, Kanhaji Jedhe and several others had their appointed places and assigned tasks, pre-arranged according to plan, which were accurately executed. Shivaji had given strict injunctions to all to spare those of the enemy who would willingly surrender, and avoid bloodshed as much as possible. On the next day Shivaji attacked the Khan’s main camp at Wai where his son Fazl Khan was in charge with probably more than half the original army. Fazl Khan was routed and saved his life by flight. Two other sons of Afzal Khan, Rustam-i-Zaman and several distinguished nobles were captured along with an amount of plunder in animals and valuables worth about 10 lacs in all.

This Afzal Khan episode once again proves the decline of the state of Bijapur. In the long run murder does not pay. Muhammad Gawan, Chand Bibi, Lukhji Jadhav, Murar Jagdev and many others were murdered in cold blood under Muslim Governments. What good these murders availed, history has not been able to pronounce. Very recently in Bijapur itself the Vazir Khan-i-Muhammad and after him Baholkhan met the same fate at the hands of the Queen Dowagar Badi Sahiba. Shivaji abhorred wanton murders, and would not have killed Afzal Khan if he could have helped it. While it is perfectly true that he was prepared for any eventuality, he was forced to extreme measures in self-defence and would have gladly spared Afzal Khan if possible. It would have been the height of folly if he had gone to the meeting unprepared.

6. Panhala invested, Shivaji escapes.—Shivaji was perfectly aware that the death of Afzal Khan was only the beginning of a long-drawn struggle and that it was necessary for him to follow up his victory till the Bijapur ghost should be fully laid. He despatched Anaji Datto with a large force and captured Panhala, the capital of the western Adilshahi
district, through negotiation on 28th November, that is, within 18 days of Afzal Khan’s death. Panhilal and the surrounding district of Kolhapur, Vasantgad, Khelna, Rangani and other minor forts quietly surrendered. At this time Shivaji named Khelna Vishalgad. The district of Kolhapur and the forts of Parhali and Vishalgad had been long assigned to Rustam-i-Zaman as his charge. He was now joined by Fazl Khan who had escaped from Wai after his father’s death, and the two nobles came to oppose Shivaji at Parhali. They were defeated on 28th December 1659 by Shivaji and were pursued almost to the gates of Bijapur. Netaji Palkar and other generals of Shivaji plundered the towns of Railbag, Gagag and Laksmeshwar with the intervening country. By the end of January 1660 Shivaji was back at Ridgad with a huge amount of booty.

In his extremity the Adilshah called to his side Siddi Jauhar, his viceroy in charge of the province of Karan and induced him to undertake the task of subjugating Shivaji and bringing him to submission. Siddi Jauhar was at this time given the title of Salabat Khan. Baji Ghorpade, Rustam-i-Zaman, Fazl Khan and several others joined the Siddi and a large number of troops came against Parhali. The Siddi of Janjira and the Savant of Wadi were induced to work against Shivaji simultaneously. Shivaji too prepared to face the enemy and took up his residence at Parhali with the object of personally directing the defence. The Bijapurians besieged the fort, giving rise to determined warfare on both sides for some time since May 1660. Kadtoji Gujar conducted the defence of Parhali under Shivaji’s direction, and the Saruhaat, Netaji Palkar, remained outside to harass the enemy and devastate his outlying territories so as to stop supplies and reinforcements reaching the besiegers.

Salabat Khan was a resourceful commander. He pressed the siege with vigour and contrived soon to make Shivaji’s position perilous. Jija Bai at Raigad learned that the siege of Parhali was being hard-pressed against Shivaji and feeling extremely anxious about his safety, called Netaji Palkar to her side and chided him for his inactivity in the matter of relieving the siege of Parhali. Parmanand has eloquently described Jija Bai’s interview with Netaji, who assured her that all would be well.
Salabat Khan in the meantime approached the English factors of Rajipur for ammunition and some English gunners, who could create havoc among the defenders of Panhala. Revington, the Chief of the factory with his assistants Mingham and Gifford came with an efficient heavy gun and ammunition to the help of Salabat Khan. This European gunnery proved highly effective and made Shivaji's position altogether untenable. This wanton interference of the English merchants of Rajipur rightly gave offence to Shivaji and made him take reprisals with serious consequences for the English as will be noticed later.

At this very moment when Shivaji was hard-pressed at Panhala, another serious danger appeared against him in the north. Shaista Khan, the renowned Mughal Commander, who had been appointed Governor of the Deccan, arrived at Ahmadnagar. At the end of February 1660 he left Ahmadnagar and established his hold on Poona and Baramati and pushed right up to Shirval towards south in April, when Shivaji was surrounded at Panhala. Shaista Khan concluding that this was the best opportunity for him to reduce Shivaji's northern possessions and thereby to bring about his complete ruin, retraced his steps, occupied Poona in May taking up his residence in Shivaji's palace of Lai Mahal. In August he wrested Chakan from its valiant Commander Phirangoji Narsala. Shivaji thus found himself almost crushed between two huge grinders. But it is only at such critical moments that Shivaji's genius shone at its brightest and proved his mettle. At this time he sent his capable minister Sonopant Dabir to Shaista Khan begging for terms of settlement and at any rate to soften the Khan's bitterness towards him. The Khan was almost inclined to abate his rigour towards Shivaji knowing very well how difficult it was for his troops to conduct a war in the difficult tract of the western hills. In the meantime the situation was reported to Aurangzeb, who urged Shaista Khan not to accept Shivaji's word but to prosecute the war relentlessly and destroy his power finally. For this purpose the Emperor ordered Jashwant Singh from Gujarat to proceed again against Shivaji's possessions and reinforce Shaista Khan. Shivaji well understood what he could have to expect from the Mughals in future, and for the
moment concentrated his attention on the best way of removing
the pressure against Panhala.

He opened negotiations with Salabat Khan and begged for
terms for his submission. A provisional truce was arranged in
order to allow a personal meeting and Salabat Khan tempo­
riously stopped the siege-operations. In this situation, on the
dark night of 13 July 1660 when heavy rain was falling, Shivaji
escaped through a back gate of the fort and took flight to
Vishalgad, accompanied by a small party of loyal followers
led by a devoted servant, Baji Prabhu Deshpande. His escape
was quickly detected and a party of the enemy followed almost
on his heels. By daybreak the pursuers came so close as almost
to prevent Shivaji getting safely into the fort of Vishalgad.
At that critical moment Baji Prabhu occupied the narrow pass
known as Ghod-khind (horse-ravine) at the eastern entrance
of Vishalgad and allowed his master time to get safely into
it and himself stoutly resisted for hours the huge body of pur­
suers with his own small band, until they were all cut down
to a man and Baji Prabhu himself fell mortally wounded. He
had, however, the satisfaction of learning before he expired that
his master had reached the fort safely. This sacrifice of his own
life by Baji Prabhu is gratefully remembered to this day by
the Maratha nation and is typical of the way in which Shivaji
was served throughout his career. Needless to say that this
sacrifice was profusely rewarded.

This escape of Shivaji foiled the Bijapur plans of captur­
ing him. On 22nd September 1660 he gave up the fort of
Panhala formally to the Adil Shah and concluded peaceful rela­
tions with him so as to gain time to attend to the Mughal
onslaught.

\[\text{Re}. 15.363.\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1660</td>
<td>Ali Adil Shah II wrests power from Bagi Sahiba.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1661 Feb.</td>
<td>Shaista Khan captures Kalyan.</td>
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<td>1661 March</td>
<td>Shivaji attacks Rajapur, arrests 6 English factors.</td>
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<td>1661 April 29</td>
<td>Shivaji expels Surov from Shringarpur; conciliates that family later and also the Shirkes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1661 May-1662 June</td>
<td>Badil Sahiba’s pilgrimage to Mecca.</td>
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<td>1662 Jan.</td>
<td>The English factors of Rajapur released.</td>
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<td>1663 April 5.</td>
<td>Night attack on Shaista Khan.</td>
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<td>1663 April 6</td>
<td>Mughals attack Sindhagad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1663 Summer</td>
<td>Adil Shah reaches Barasatpur: opens war against Shivaji (1663-1664).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1663 Summer</td>
<td>Shivaji attacks pilgrimage ships to Mecca: writes a strong remonstrance to Mughal officials.</td>
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<td>1663 June</td>
<td>Shaista Khan retires to Aurangabad. Muazzam appointed Governor with Jashvart Singh.</td>
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<td>1663 Dec.</td>
<td>Shaista Khan leaves for Bengal.</td>
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<td>1664 Jan. 1</td>
<td>Shivaji leaves Nasik for Surat.</td>
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<td>1664 Jan. 8-9</td>
<td>Shivaji sacks and burns Surat.</td>
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<td>1664 Jan. 10</td>
<td>Shivaji leaves Surat for Raigad.</td>
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<td>1664 Jan. 23</td>
<td>Death of Shahji.</td>
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<td>1664 May</td>
<td>Shivaji at Kudal to defend the Sawant.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1664 Sept. 30</td>
<td>Mirza Raja Jay Singh commissioned to proceed against Shivaji.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1665 — 1667</td>
<td>Mirza Raja Jay Singh’s Life-period.</td>
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<td>1664 Novr.</td>
<td>Shivaji sacks Motihal, kills Bilji Ghorpade.</td>
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<td>1664 Novr. 25</td>
<td>Shivaji starts building the Sindhusadung castle and organizes a naval force.</td>
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1665 Jan. 19 Jay Sinh reaches Burhanpur.
1665 Feb. Shivaji plunders the harbour of Basrur.
1665 Feb. Shivaji at Gokarna.
1665 Feb. Jay Sinh starts the offensive against Shivaji.
1665 March. Jay Sinh at Poona.
1665 March 30 Dilir Khan invests Purandhar.
1665 March 31 Jay Sinh encamps at Saswad.
1665 April 14 Dilir Khan captures Rudramal.
1665 April 14 Murad Baji killed.
1665 May 20 Shivaji's envoy Raghunath Pandit meets Jay Sinh at Saswad.
1665 June 11 Shivaji visits Jay Sinh.
1665 June 13 Shivaji meets Dilir Khan.
1665 June 14 Shivaji concludes treaty with Jay Sinh.
1665 June 15 Shivaji surrenders Sinhagad and other forts.
1665 Sept. 5 Shivaji receives Imperial farman.
1665 Novr. 25 Jay Sinh opens operations against Bijapur; Shivaji joins in them.
1666 Jan. 16 Shivaji's unsuccessful effort to capture Panhal.
1666 March 20 Netaji receives Imperial Missed from Aurangzeb.
CHAPTER VI

UPS AND DOWNS

[1661 — 1665]

1. Kartalb Khan humbled. 5. Bijapuri activities; Baji
3. Night raid on Shaista Khan. 6. Jay Sahu and Shivaji face to
4. Surat sacked.

1. Kartalb Khan humbled.—The Afzal Khan affair taught Shivaji how to deal with outside forces. Shaista Khan was now in Poona slowly putting restraints on Shivaji's freedom and did not hazard an immediate open war. For the capture of Chakan he had to pay a heavy price in a thousand valuable lives. Shivaji after escaping from Panhala reached Vishalgad safely and thence quickly proceeded to Rajgad for taking measures to stop the terrific onslaught of Shaista Khan, who now directed his attention towards reducing Shivaji's power in north Konkan, which supplied him with his principal resources in money and provisions. With the object therefore of capturing Kalyan, Shaista Khan equipped a large army and despatched it under a valiant and trustworthy commander named Kartalb Khan accompanied by a brave Brahman warrior lady and her full contingent; she was the wife of the old grandee Udaram of Basim, who had rendered distinguished service to Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb entertained a high regard for this lady and had conferred on her the title of Rai-Bagan (the tiger-princess).

Kartalb Khan left Poona in January 1661 and descended the western Ghats by what was known as Umbar-Khind at the foot of fort Lohgad, a little to the south of the present railway station of Lonavla, a difficult passage as the railway route itself shows by running through so many tunnels. The pass of Umbar-Khind was extremely narrow and about 8 miles in length, but more than 15 miles from the eastern plain to the western, and hardly allowed more than two men walking abreast. The path is steep and narrow and runs through a
Shivaji had studied the intricacies of the passage and being well informed by efficient spies, he tried to encompass the complete ruin of Kartalb's forces. His well trained parties of infantry remained hidden in secret recesses, ready to pounce upon the enemy at the given signal. The Mughals unsuspecting any untoward trouble, leisurely descended through the narrow pass in evident glee, encumbered with baggage, guns and ammunition. As soon as the whole force had been practically entrapped in the narrow defiles, the two entrances above and below came to be suddenly closed by Shivaji's men, so that the Mughals could neither turn back nor proceed on: and missiles of stone and bullets began to fall upon them from the adjoining rocks. Kartalb Khazz found no way out, his men were dying of suffocation and thirst, so that he begged the Rai Bagan to intercede with Shivaji. The Maratha exacted a heavy fine and lo! in a moment the path was left clear, so that the Mughals could wend their way back to Poona in utter discomfiture. Parmanand has described this episode of Umbar-Khind with graceful eloquence.*

As soon as Kartalb Khan was disposed of, Shivaji appointed Netaji Palkar to look after the Mughals, and he himself rapidly moved against Rajapur as much to wreak his vengeance upon the English factors for their wanton interference at the siege of Panhalik, as to further weaken the Bijapur power by seizing its territory of the south Konkan as well. Dabhol, Rajapur and Karwar were then wealthy ports thriving on foreign trade. Rustam-i-Zaman the nominal governor did not raise a finger for his master. Shivaji probably in the early months of 1661 conducted a regular raid through the Konkan territory, plundered Nizampur, put down the chief of Palwan near Dapoli, captured Dabhol from its owner surnamed Dalvi, worshipped at the shrine of Parshuram near Chipuln, proceeded to Sangameshwar, also a rich port then, and stationing there two of his trusted officers Tanaji Malusre and Pilaji Nilakanth, himself suddenly appeared before Rajapur.

Here he plundered the English factory and kept under restraint six of the East India Company's officials. He collected

a large plunder from Rajapur and appointed his own administrators at the port, and also at Kharepatan about ten miles to the south. In the meantime receiving news that Surya Rao Surve, the Chief of Shringapur near Sangameshvar had attacked Tanaji Malsure and defeated him, Shivaji ran back from Rajapur to Tanaji’s succour. This Surve like the Moray of Javli had often intrigued against Shivaji; the latter now determined to teach him a lesson. Shivaji came straight upon Shringapur on 29 April. At his approach the Surve ran away to save his life, so that his principality stretching from Sangameshvar to Dupoli, fell into Shivaji’s hand without a contest. Shivaji built new forts in this region for its protection. They were named Prachitgad, Palgad and Mandangad. Trimbak Bhaskar was appointed to administer this newly conquered territory.

The affairs of the Surves of Shringapur used to be administered by another chief named Waghoji Shirke (of Kutre) who was won over by Shivaji and gave his daughter Soyra Bai in marriage to the young hero. This was his second wife, taken no doubt for political motives in order to win the two great ancient Kshatriya families, the Surves and the Shirkes. Thus the two powerful chiefs of south Konkan, the Shirkes of Kutre and the Surves of Shringapur, were won over by Shivaji to his service, so that the whole west coast from Baswein to Malwan together with the inland territory stretching up to the Sahyadris came into Shivaji’s possession. The lands east of the Sahyadri range were already in his possession from Junnar to fort Rangna, so that we now get a rough idea of the way in which Shivaji steadily consolidated his possessions.

2. The Chhatrapatis received many Shrikot ladies into their house and married their own daughters to Shirkes, as this table will show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shirke Name</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
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<tr>
<td>Waghoji Shirke</td>
<td>Soyra Bai = Shivaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanaji Surve</td>
<td>Surya Bai = Shivaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karadli</td>
<td>Soyra Bai = Shirke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaush historically married to Shivaji's daughter</td>
<td>Yeshai = Sambhaji</td>
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<tr>
<td>= Shahu</td>
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having carved them out from the Bijapuri and the Mughal dominions.

2. English Factors confined.—It is necessary here to revert to the story of the English factors captured by Shivaji at Rajapur. The friction between them had a previous history, without which the present scuffle cannot be properly explained. English factory records now published throw full light on the affair. When early in 1660 Shivaji's men came upon Dabhol, that port had in it three trading vessels belonging to Afzal Khan who had been cut down by Shivaji. Muham­mad Sharif the Governor of Dabhol conveyed those ships quickly to Rajapur at the request of Fazl Khan and delivered them for safety into the custody of the English factory, lest they should fall into Shivaji's hands. As Shivaji was at war with Bijapur, he sent his agent to Rajapur to take possession of those ships of his enemy. The British would not give them over on the plea that Fazl Khan owed them large amounts, which they wanted to recover out of the property contained in those ships. When Shivaji arrived at Rajapur, the Chief of the factory, Remington, for fear of being seized, ran for safety out to the sea, but Doroji succeeded in seizing the goods and detaining the second Officer Gifford (20 January 1660). At this stage Rustam-i-Zaman pleaded with Shivaji for restoring the goods and releasing Gifford. Shivaji agreed and the affair was for the moment closed.¹

Then came the siege of Panhalgad, where the Rajapur factors came to fight against Shivaji at the call of Siddi Jauhar Salabat Khan, Remington, Mingham, Gifford, and their inter­preter Velji went to Panhalgad, supplied ammunition and opened a most damaging fire against the fort. Shivaji warned them that as traders they ought to remain neutral and not take sides in an internal war, and that since they had taken part in the war against him, they would have to suffer the conse-
quences. They ridiculed this threat and exhibited their own flag at Panhālā in open defiance and fired some very destructive shots making Shivaji’s position untenable. It was this wanton offence for which Shivaji was bent upon exacting full retribution.

Such a time was not long in coming. The English grenades were fired at Panhālā in July 1660, and Shivaji appeared at Rājāpur in the following March with the double object of punishing the English traders and bringing under his sway the whole of the southern Konkan, then belonging to Bijāpur. On arrival at Rājāpur he invited the factors to pay him a visit, and they too out of curiosity, as if in utter ignorance of their conduct at Panhālā, called on him, when six of them Randolph Taylor, Richard Taylor, Gifford, Ferrand, Richard Napier, and Samuel Bernard were immediately put under restraint, their goods confiscated, and they themselves were removed to different places and confined, some at fort Songadh near Mahad, and some at fort Wāsotā. Shivaji stationed a competent officer, Raoji Somnathī, to manage the affairs of Rājāpur and look after the comforts of the six factors in confinement. In a few days Raoji Somnathī informed the factors that they would be set at liberty and amply compensated for their losses, if they would readily help Shivaji in his projected campaign against the Siddis of Janjira, but that if they refused, they would have to pay ransom for their release. The factors flatly rejected this offer. Many Muslim and Hindu traders and bankers of Rājāpur were similarly dealt with. Shivaji urged that he was in open war against Bijāpur, and whoever opposed him would have to suffer the consequences.

Shivaji took particular care to supply the best available comforts to the factors whom he had kept in confinement. Their release was, however, long delayed owing mainly to their stiff and uncompromising attitude and partly to Shivaji’s preoccupations also. They swore and threatened, committed self-abnegation, sent highly provocative and distorted accounts to their President at Surat, whom they requested to intercede with Shivaji, pay the fine and obtain their release. But the President refused to interfere in this affair as it had originated from their own unwarranted behaviour. In a letter dated 10th March 1662, the President chides them in the following terms:
How you came in prison you know very well. It was not for defending the Company’s goods: it was for going to the siege of Pannella and tossing balls with a flag that was known to be the English. [Shivaji’s action] was exactly as any other would do, having power to revenge himself of such affronts. For merchants are not to sell their goods, when if of that nature as granadoes, to goe and shoote them off against an enemy; for Merchants while trading in a strange country one may live quietly; if not, medling, must looke for a repaitall of their desrets. We must tell you plainly and none but what rehearsed is the cause of your imprisonment; Mr. Revington himself having mentioned the commands of Shivaji not to sell any; [these words] are cast in your teeth of being at Pannella castle because he would returne the injury as he hoped more to his satisfaction, if he could obtain money by this means."

The President confessed his inability to coerce Shivaji into obedience, and when the prisoners became convinced that they could not obtain release through any outside agency, they pleaded with Raoji Somnath for mercy. In the meantime Revington fell ill and obtained release for treatment. He reached Surat on 17 October 1661 and died there a year later. On 17 January 1663 Raoji Pandit came and carried the other captives to Rajapur where they were released, when the following message under Shivaji’s seal was read to them. “Let us forget the past. We had on hand a war with Bijapur for which funds were needed, and so Rajapur had to suffer. We shall not repeat the affair.” After this the English factors resumed their trade at Rajapur. A writer in that factory informed the Surat President that “Shivaji’s raid on Rajapur cost it in plunder the amount of 24,000 Hons, the death of two persons and the detention of the factors for two years.” The English merchants long continued to press Shivaji for reparation of the damage caused to them in the Rajapur plunder, but he declined, being sure he had acted with perfect justice.

3. Night raid on Shaista Khan.—It has already been mentioned that while Shivaji had a stiff war on hand against Bijapur, Shaista Khan was pressing him severely from another direction. After the retreat of Kustal Khan in February 1661, Shaista Khan immediately sent another large army into north
Konkan and wrested from Shivaji's hands Kalyan and its ad­joining districts up to Pen. The next rainy season brought in a temporary cessation of hostilities; but operations were soon resumed and Namdar Khan marched against Pen where Shivaji routed him in January 1662. During this whole year there was no large-scale open warfare, but Shaista Khan weaved his coil round Shivaji and crippled him in the region round about Satara. For a time Shivaji felt completely non-plussed against the growing menace of the Mughals. Here was the Khan backed by the full resources of the Empire then at its zenith, and practically all the swarajya which Shivaji had so long built up had been overrun by the Mughals. The Khan occupied the very palace of Shivaji, his soldiers and spies roamed throughout the land hunting Shivaji out like a beast of prey beaten out of the jungle. For three long years now Shivaji struggled and chafed, and racked his brain severely for a solution.

But the genius of great men shines in such darkness. Some act of stern retribution must be done to the Khan personally, if an open fight was out of the question. After long thinking and deep planning Shivaji contrived his own ingenious device.

He came to stay at Sinhgad in order to make a sudden dash upon the Khan's residence at Poona, which was his own palace, every detail of which was known to him. Shivaji sent two Brah­man spies and collected whatever information could be obtained about the arrangements and disposition of the Mughal camp. He himself selected some four hundred clever and intrepid Marlas, dressed them as Mughal soldiers and descended from Sinhgad on the afternoon of 1st April 1663, with a night of the 6th rising moon before him. Coming near the main gate of the camp in the early hours of the night they were admitted without suspicion on declaring that they were a party of Mughal troops going in to relieve those who were already on duty. The Mughal armies were full of such new recruits. It was the month of Ramzan when the Khan and his household after breaking their day's fast retired before midnight. The moon set. While the camp and the Khan's quarters were en­veloped in quiet and darkness with a few dim lights showing how the people were stationed and distributed at different points, Shivaji with about fifty men entered the house through
a hole made in the weak kitchen-wall behind without noise. They made their way into the bed-rooms, cutting the cloth partitions through and slaughtering men and women in their beds. Shouts and cries arose and confusion overtook all. Having thus perpetrated terrible havoc, Shivaji and his party left hurrily, some being cut down as they ran out, but most of them escaped safely back to Sinhgad. It was discovered later that the Khan himself was not among those that were killed. He escaped with the loss of his fore-fingers. One of his sons was killed along with one captain and six women. Two of his sons and eight maid-servants were wounded. Thus did Shivaji avenge himself upon Shaista Khan for having made him a homeless wanderer for three long years.*

Jashvant Sinh was close to the main Mughal camp, but did not raise a finger to save his chief. Early next morning the Mughals set out to make a furious attack against Sinhgad, but the guns on the fort played heavily against them. To besiege the fort and force Shivaji into submission was a long affair, not considered feasible as the rains were approaching. After this dreadful experience Shaista Khan considered Poona unsafe for his residence and retired to Aurangabad for the rains. Later in the year Jashvant Sinh tried to invest Sinhgad, but gave up the attempt as hopeless. This daring execution of the Maratha hero increased his prestige. He was considered the very incarnation of Satan, from whom no place was safe and for whom no feat was impossible. The whole country talked of it with astonishment and terror as a superhuman deed. The news reached Aurangzeb on 8th May and caused bitter humiliation and sorrow to his whole Court and family, as the Empire’s premier peer was thus cunningly struck down by the devilish Maratha. Aurangzeb peremptorily transferred him to Bengal. The Khan left the Deccan on 1st December 1663 for his new province. Shivaji became a noted hero who had withstood two great powers with consummate stratagem. But more was yet to come.

* 4. Susas Sackeed.—Shivaji was not the man to rest on his oars. His keen mind devised fresh blows at the Mughals.

4. Vide Shiva-C-Sahiya 5.12.
The night attack on Poona, however spectacular, did no material damage to the Emperor. During the rainy season of 1663 Shivaji’s spies and agents were busy watching the northern Mughal territories between Poona and Burhanpur and picking out the weakest point for a fresh infliction, as open war had now broken out between them. He sent round a band of clever spies, obtained correct details of the Mughal dispositions far and near, and then made up his mind to strike at Surat and raise such a huge fire in the breast of the Emperor that his reputation would be for ever darkened, as the poet Bhushan puts it. The plan was kept a closely guarded secret. Nobody knew where Shivaji was going. He gave out that he was proceeding to the south, but actually moved towards the north.

We are now in the second decade of Shivaji’s career. His rising moon grew continuously to fulness, every year bringing in fresh problems, new dangers, successful escapes, and additional glories in rapid succession. His restless mind always looked out for fresh adventures. The captain of his spies, Balaji Naik, after a strenuous tour brought him news about the wealth of distant Surat, the prosperous gateway of India, a port from which thousands of Muslim pilgrims embarked for Mecca and returned every year. Most of the seaborne trade of Mughal India passed through Surat, giving it an eminence even greater than that of Imperial Delhi. There lived at this port at least twenty merchants, both Hindu and Muslim, who could be assessed by crores and at least two or three who could be counted the richest in the world. One Mulla Abdul Jafar alone owned nineteen ships laden with costly goods.

Shivaji made up his mind. Would he succeed in an attack on such a place, at least two hundred miles away without good roads or easy means of communication? The only highway to Surat lay through Burhanpur, which Shivaji must avoid. He had already established two military camps in the vicinity of Danda Rajpuri and Pen, with a view, as he gave out, to putting down the Siddis and the Portuguese. He established another camp near Nasik, all containing select men personally picked. With proper instructions issued in advance, portions of these specially prepared troops numbering about four thousand in all, started from their stations at an
auspicious moment previously selected. Shivaji himself left Nasik about 1st January 1664 and his men marched through Mahuli, Kohaj, Jawhar and Ramnagar, all the detachments uniting at Gandevi, 28 miles south of Surat on Tuesday 5th January. The news of his approach reached Surat like a flash of lightning causing extreme terror and anxiety in every breast. Many people left the town with their families for safety outside.

Surat castle then had a fort-wall not very strong, while the town with the main populace and the business centre lay outside the walls. The Governor of the town was one I.imayat-ul-a Khan who had kept no troops for the protection of the town, although he drew cash allowance for their expense. From Gandevi Shivaji sent special agents in advance to inform the Governor and the merchants of his intended arrival and assuring them that he meant no harm to anybody, that he was at open war with the Emperor, for which he was in sore need of funds which he must obtain from those who traded under the Emperor's protection and who could pay. For years, he urged, the Emperor had driven him out of his house at Poona and appropriated all his treasure and belongings. He expected from Surat a handsome amount, about 50 lacs which could be easily subscribed by the wealthy merchants of the town. Shivaji also addressed letters of similar import to the Governor and to some particular merchants asking for contributions and warning them of the consequences of a refusal. "Tomorrow," he said, "we shall be at Surat when you should pay me a visit and deliver the specified amount. If you fail to comply, we shall have to use severe methods of collecting money, such as plunder and arson, for which the responsibility will be yours." The Governor sent his agent with an imperiment reply, upon which Shivaji detained the messengers and himself arrived at 11 o'clock in the morning, the next day, Wednesday 6th January camping with his followers in a garden outside the Burhanpur gate.

No one took notice of Shivaji's warning and none came...
out to meet him. Besides the Indian merchants in the town there were English and Dutch factories at the river wharf with their own fortified enclosures. But Shivaji had not come prepared with artillery to engage in an open warfare with the handful of foreign traders, who had plenty of goods but little of gold and silver. It is not right to argue that he was afraid of them and so did not molest them. The experience of Rajapur was fresh in his memory. Indeed he was not in a position to fight even the Governor of Surat if he had chosen to defend the town or the fort. It was because the Governor in a panic ran to the fort for safety and left the town at the mercy of the Marathas, that the subsequent troubles occurred. Shivaji’s move was an open challenge to the Emperor and a means of acquiring the sinews of the war that had been imposed on him.

Wrote Thevenot: “All the town of Surat was plundered except the monastery of the Capuchins. The plunderers did no harm to the Convent. For the first day in the evening Father Ambrose, who was Superior of it, being moved with compassion for the poor Christians living in Surat, went to the Raja and spoke in their favour, praying him not to suffer any violence to be done to them. Shivaji had a respect for the Father, took him into his protection, and granted what he had devised in favour of the Christians.”

On the day of his arrival Shivaji sent for some local merchants and employed his men to force out funds from them as far as possible by peaceful and persuasive methods. Some of the merchants were detained by him as prisoners. On Thursday 7 January the cowardly Inayat-ulla sent a young man to Shivaji with a pretended offer of peace. After a little conversation the young man approached closer to Shivaji saying that he had to communicate something in private and suddenly rushed forward to stab him with a concealed dagger that he had brought with him. A Maratha bodyguard struck off the assassin’s hand, but the fellow hurled himself upon the Raja. Shivaji’s clothes were seen stained with blood. The guards wanted to start a general massacre of the townspeople and of the prisoners that had been assem-

bled; but Shivaji sternly prohibited such a course and only
cut off the hands of a few known culprits. If according to
his own previous demand upon the Governor and the three
principal merchants Haji Saiyid Beg, Bibirji Bohra, and
Haji Kasim, they had personally come and negotiated for the
amount of ransom in a reasonable mood, all the subsequent
miseries could have been avoided. But the foul plot of the
Governor to get Shivaji murdered, excited his spirit of revenge
and then he ordered a general sack of the houses of the rich
and setting fire to various localities. Throughout the 8th and
the 9th of January this work of plunder and devastation con­tinued with unabated fury; numerous houses were consumed
by fire, and nearly two-thirds of the town destroyed. "The
fire turned the night into day as during the day time; the
smoke had turned day into night, rising so thick that it dark­ened the Sun like a great cloud." This description of the
English chaplain is closely followed by the poet Bhusan in his
poetic fashion.

The Marathas broke open the doors of houses and chests
and carried off as much booty as they could lay their hands
on. No resistance was offered to this plunder and heaps of
articles of all kinds were accumulated in front of Shivaji's
camp. He made the best of his four days' run at the town but
skirted from any wanton cruelty for extracting money.

On Saturday the 9th of January Shivaji received news of
a Mughal force coming rapidly for the rescue of the town,
and next day he left the place as suddenly as he had arrived,
carrying away nothing but gold and silver, pearls and dia­monds, and precious ware of light weight and small size.
Heaps of clothing and household articles that were collected
were freely distributed to the townspeople as there was no
time to open a sale for them. It is not possible to offer an
accurate estimate of the value of the plunder he carried away,
possibly Shivaji himself had never the time to make an exact
calculation. But it must certainly have been above a crore of
rupees, possibly double that amount. The plunder was car­ried straight to Raigad and was utilized in fortifying that
capital of his future government. The giant water-fortress of

8. See Sarkar’s Shivaji and his Times p. 100.
Sindhudurg at Malwan was also constructed out of this plunder nearly at the same time. The Mughal forces from Khandesh arrived before Surat a week after Shivaji had left it and found that place entirely defaced.*

5. Position of Bijapur, Baji Ghorpade.—About a week after Shivaji's return to Raigad he received the sad news of his father's sudden death near Basavapattan, south of the Tunga-Bhadra river, on 23 January 1664 in an accident while out hunting. This incident necessitates a reference back to Shivaji's relations with Bijapur and the part played therein by his father. In September 1660 Shivaji gave the fort of Panhala back to Bijapur and brought about a kind of truce with that State in order to direct his attention to Shaista Khan's aggressions. He also strengthened his hold upon Rajapur and south Konkan, taking advantage of the struggle for power that was then going on between the young Ali Adil Shah and his mother the queen Badi-Sahiba. By the end of 1660 Ali seized the sole power and the queen marked her displeasure by going away on a pilgrimage to Mecca. She was away for a year from May 1661 to June 1662. During this interval Ali Adil Shah tried to befriend Shivaji by calling upon Shahji to act as a peace-maker. For two or three years since the affair of Afzal Khan, Shivaji had been openly at war with Bijapur as we have already seen. During this period the conduct of Shahji was not altogether free from suspicion. Outwardly he disclaimed any responsibility for his son's conduct, but at the same time he did not readily help the Shah in suppressing the revolt of Shivaji. How could he? He was as human as any father and son to-day. The noble enthusiasm of the son was rewarded with success and in comparison the father was pushed into the background. After all every successful revolutionary is a rebel at the start, and he becomes a legalized monarch only after a career full of perils and adventures.

The death of Shahji opened the third and last phase of Shivaji's guiding star. Upon the recall of Shaista Khan, the

*Surat was denuded of all its glory' is the common description of this episode given by the Bakhars.
Emperor sent his son Shahzada Muzam as Governor of the Deccan with Jashvant Sindh as his lieutenant. They were both lukewarm in taking any strong measures against Shivaji, who, however, allowed himself not a moment's rest. He and Netaji Palkar fell like vultures upon the Mughal territories between Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar. Shivaji's navy too now began to molest the pilgrim ships proceeding to Mecca from Surat. Shivaji was supposed to be some supernatural being possessed of wings which carried him anywhere, having the power to make himself invisible and roam about wherever he liked without being observed. The English factors wrote, "Report has made Shivaji an airy body and added wings. Or else it would be impossible he could be at so many places at once and the same time. He is and ever was for a running banquet plundering and burning those towns which have neither defence nor guard. The Deccan is embroiled in civil wars, Shivaji reigns victoriously and uncontrolled. He is a terror to all the kings and princes round about, daily increasing in strength. He is nimble and active, imposing strange labour upon himself and exercises his chiefest men that he flies to and fro with incredible dexterity."

At this time (1664) Shivaji wrote a very strong letter to the officers and counsellors of the Emperor, in which he wrote, "You very well know what results have been achieved by the famous generals and able counsellors sent by the Emperor during the last three years for seizing my country and my forts. How is it you don't realise that this is an impossible task? Your officers are not ashamed of reporting entirely fictitious accounts. My home here is not like the towns of Kalyani and Bedar; which could be easily assaulted and taken. My country has lofty hill-ranges two hundred leagues in length and forty in breadth and is well protected by sixty strong forts newly built. Afzal Khan came against me and perished helplessly. Your great Amir-ul-Umra Shaista Khan laboured hard for three years and went away in disgrace after suffering a terrible disaster. It is my duty to guard my land, and I will do it. Thank God, no invader of my beloved country has yet bloomed forth."

It has already been mentioned that Ali Adil Shah took back the fort of Pandharpur from Shivaji. Early in 1663 the Shah started on an expedition into the Karnatak and took his station at Bankapur, determined particularly to recover the territories of south Konkan, which Shivaji had seized and bring back to obedience the Savant of Wadi who had gone over to Shivaji’s side. The presence of Adil Shah cowed the Savant as well as the Dutch factors of Vingola and the Portuguese of Goa. This move was at once opposed by Shivaji who personally arrived at Kudal in May and threatened all those who had deserted him. The Dutch and the Portuguese readily purchased his goodwill by bringing in costly presents. Shivaji established a strong garrison in Kudal and returned to Rajgad in June.

The Adil Shah could not bear this direct affront to his power. He concentrated his best effort upon recovering Kudal and sent a large force under Ikhlas Khan to recover Kudal, and at the same time ordered his minister Khawas Khan to proceed with a well-equipped army from Bijapur to reinforce Ikhlas Khan. Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol was at the same time ordered to proceed against Kudal. Shivaji’s half-brother Ekoji from Tanjore also arrived on duty to oppose Shivaji and wrest Kudal from his possession. This was indeed a formidable combination, the details of which were being constantly reported to Shivaji, as the concentration took months in being organized and executed. Shivaji was equal to the danger and boldly attacked the various confederates piecemeal. This was Adil Shah’s last stroke against Shivaji. Adil Shah’s plans came to a head during the autumn of 1664, and Shivaji struck the first blow most unexpectedly in the month of November of that year by suddenly falling upon Mudhol the seat of his cousin and inveterate enemy Baji Ghorpade, who was a staunch adherent of Adil Shah, deeply opposed to any move like that of Shivaji towards swarajya, and who, it should be noted, had taken the leading part in the arrest of Shahji before Jinji in 1648. This last incident was rankling in Shivaji’s heart.

Shivaji’s plan was to prevent Ghorpade from joining Khawas Khan in an attack upon Kudal. Learning that Shivaji was rapidly coming upon Mudhol, Baji Raja left the place
and boldly came out to meet him with his whole following. A sanguinary action ensued in which Baji and several of his officers lost their lives. Shivaji then captured and plundered Mudhol and secured an amount of wealth that had been accumulated there through many prosperous years of peace. Shivaji had no time to lose, because he was anxious to dispose of his next opponent Khawas Khan, who had left Bijapur for Kudal. Makkaji Ghorpade the youngest son of Baji was installed as the Chief of Mudhol, and Shivaji immediately afterwards turned to the direction in which Khawas Khan was reported to be moving. The latter was suddenly attacked, about which the Dutch factors wrote, "Sivaji had gone to Khanapur with the pick of his men to plunder it and that in doing so he had passed Khawas Khan’s army within a mile without that lord’s stirring." The Khan got so severely wounded that he soon died and lost 200 men besides all the cash. Shivaji leisurely plundered Khudiyar, Hubli etc. and sent off the goods in due security. Shivaji himself wrote about this encounter, "Thereupon Khawas Khan marched upon me, and I on my part answered his charge vigorously. A stiff battle ensued in which the enemy was completely routed and ran back to Bijapur after losing some brave commanders under him. I then turned to punish the Savant for his wanton desertion of my cause, plundered his territory and captured his forts and towns. As the Portuguese sheltered him I blew their fort of Panad with gunpowder and captured it by sheer force. They negotiated for peace and gave me some guns. Ptambur Shenvai came to me as an envoy of peace to treat both for the Savant and the Portuguese. I annexed half the territory of the Savant and restored the other half to him."

11. Years afterwards Shivaji thus wrote to Makkaji, “it is to be regretted that your father forgetting all the good that my father had done him, acted with Mustafa Khan in capturing him. It was your father who gave over my father as a captive into Mustafa's hands, thus causing enmity for years between your house and mine resulting in bloodshed. My people killed your father in a fight but now has arrived the occasion for rectifying the past mistakes.” (Shivaji Souvenir p. 146).

12. This report of Khawas Khan’s death was false. He long served Sijapur and came to be murdered on 20 Jan. 1676.

reminded him that he was a son of the Bhosles and ought to join me in saving our country and religion."^*

During this war Shivaji's half-brother Ekoji came from Bangalore to serve the Bijapur cause. But after all, his strength was too small and Shivaji did not care to notice his reprehensible conduct, till after his own coronation ten years later. These unbrotherly pin-pricks he wisely reserved for future retribution. The Adil Shah, however, rewarded Ekoji for his services.^^

Shivaji had already realized the advantages of a strong navy, with the help of which the European powers so weak on land made permanent settlements on the west coast and amassed untold wealth through foreign trade. To hold them in check he created a naval base of his own in the vicinity of the Dutch and the Portuguese settlements by erecting the wonderful fort of Sindhudurg on a difficult rock near Malwan. This costly work was commenced on 25 November 1664 and its completion was possible only on account of the vast accumulations Shivaji had made by seizing the wealth of many trading towns. The country acclaimed Shivaji's exploits and felt thankful that Providence had at last sent them a redeemer.

"War to pay for war" was Shivaji's principle of national rule, call it what you will, plunder, or robbery or in modern democratic parlance, a legalized war indemnity imposed by a victorious Government, or the Tonnage and Poundage of Hampden's days. Before the fort of Sindhudurg was ready, Shivaji built his ships in that harbour and ordered them about for asserting his power throughout the coastal regions. He personally led the first daring expedition southward. On the morning of 8th February 1665 he suddenly appeared in the harbour of Basrur as far south as the coast of Betnur, with a large group of ships totalling 85 of medium size and three men-of-war of a superior type. In one day he amassed a huge quantity of plunder from that port and returned to Karwar, devoutly worshipping on the way the Mahabaleshvar image at Shiva—Gokarn^6 on the Shivaratri day, and in the midst of

his rejoicing receiving the dreadful news of an attack on his dominions by Mura Raja Jay Sinh, he hurried back by land to face the new danger. Such was the great hero’s life, genius leading to success, success to wealth, that again to renewed dangers which he ultimately overcame with singular will power to reach a haven of safety. All his past year’s work at Kudal and his power over its ruler the Savant were entirely upset; the same Pitambar Shenvai going to Bijapur on behalf of the Savant, and effecting a fresh treaty with that Court for a coalition against Shivaji. The Savant needed one more severe lesson.

6. Jay Sinh and Shivaji face to face.—By his surprise attack on Surat, Shivaji invited upon himself the full wrath of the Emperor. Aurangzeb recalled Musumam and Jashvant Sinh and despatched a fresh expedition under Mura Raja Jay Sinh with Dilir Khan to assist him and with full equipment to annihilate the growing power of Shivaji and to effect the final conquest of Bijapur. Jay Sinh and Dilir Khan were the ablest and most devoted of Aurangzeb’s nobles and whole-heartedly undertook their mission. Jay Sinh had never known a reverse in his career. In 1617 when twelve years old he entered the Delhi Emperor’s service and had since then distinguished himself in various imperial campaigns from Balkh in the north to Bijapur in the south, and from Kandahar in the west to Monghur in the east. During Shah Jahan’s reign he had been rewarded practically on every annual birthday celebration for some victory gained by him. At the Emperor’s Court Jay Sinh was on the same level of honour as the sons of the Emperor. He was no less adept in the art of diplomacy than in that of war, for which his coadjutor Dilir Khan was highly distinguished. In any serious danger threatening the Empire Jay Sinh alone was the Emperor’s last resort. He possessed a sweet persuasive tongue, and could speak the three foreign languages Turk, Persian, and Urdu in addition to his own Rajasthani. He had now reached the age of sixty and had developed the statesman’s obduracy and circumspection by long past experience. It was not, however, with a light heart that he accepted the present command, having before him the sad examples of Afzal Khan, Shalda Khan and Jashvant Sinh.
“The task I have undertaken allows me not a moment of ease and peace,” are words found repeated in almost every letter that he now wrote to the Emperor.

It was on 30 September 1664, the occasion of Aurangzeb’s birthday celebration, that Jay Sinh received the formal dress for this signal undertaking. In addition to Dilir Khan he took with him his son Kirat Sinh, Daud Khan Qureshi, along with several Rajput and Bundella princes. Nicholo Manucci accompanied him in charge of the artillery. Never had such a select force crossed into the Deccan before. Jay Sinh forded the Narmada on 9 January 1665, reached Barhampur on 19th, and after spending a few days there in preparation, he arrived on 10 February, at Aurangabad and on 3rd March at Poona, which Jashvant Sinh immediately left on his return journey.

At this time Shivaji, as we know, was on the Kanara coast. Immediately on his arrival and even before it Jay Sinh took steps to prevent any kind of help reaching Shivaji from Bijapur. Indeed it was at the behest of the Emperor that the Adil Shah had been recently waging a war against Shivaji and that even the Savant of Kudal had deserted the latter’s cause. The Emperor had urged Jay Sinh to pursue Shivaji into the Konkan, a proposal which he stoutly resisted, knowing full well that those inaccessible hilly regions were most unsuited for the military operations of the army he was commanding or for any effective action against Shivaji. He, however, at once established his hold on the western uplands between Lohgad and Rajgad, and allowed no base to Shivaji in and around Poona. He sent his envoys to the English at Bombay and the Portuguese at Goa, and invited their navies to co-operate in a war against the rebel. Jay Sinh also sent special Brahman agents to the various Poligars of the Karnatak. Afzal Khan’s son Fazl Khan and the Nayak of Bednur joined Jay Sinh with their quota of troops. Jay Sinh also tried to weaken Shivaji’s own following by offering bribes and alluring promises. At his request the Emperor invested him with full authority to order and execute anything he thought necessary in the interest of his heavy task. He had full control of the treasury without any interference from the Accounts and Audit officials. Knowing that the monsoon was due soon, Jay Sinh established his main camp near Sasawad and himself
took up his temporary residence in Poona. He posted one general Kutbuddin Khan at Lohagad with 7000 troops to guard the western passes.

Jay Sinh did not rely on armed preparations only. He employed private agents to induce Shivaji to submit of his own accord and avoid an unnecessary bloody war. He intimated to Shivaji that he himself was as solicitous of the Hindu religion as Shivaji, and that if the latter would willingly offer his submission to the Emperor, his own interests would be highly promoted. That he should not feel any derogation in such a course, Jay Sinh pointed to the honour he had gained by serving the Emperor, as the premier Hindu noble of the Mughal State.

Having safeguarded the western frontiers Jay Sinh moved from Poona to Sawad on 31st March and at once employed Dilir Khan in laying siege to the fort of Purandar. He despatched Daud Khan Qureshi to capture Raigad, where Shivaji had his main treasure and offices. On 14 April a detached portion of Purandar known as Rudramal or Vajragad offered to submit. In the mean time Netaji Palkar, Shivaji's commandant, tried to capture Purandar but failed. Purandar, it seemed, would not long hold out, although its valiant defender Murar Baji gave Dilir Khan a fore-taste of what the Mughals could expect from Shivaji's men.

Dilir Khan arrived before Purandar on 30 March and invested it with the numerous force he had brought. He opened a heavy fire against the fort with rapid effect. Murar Baji tried his usual guerilla tactics of starving the besiegers out and setting fire to their ammunition. But these slow and imperfect methods had no effect on the well-equipped and richly supplied Mughal troops. Murar had with him only about two thousand select Mavla troops, all fired with the same zeal as himself. When the lower fort Rudramal fell into Dilir Khan's hands, he took up his residence at its foot known as Machi or the ridge. Thereupon the defenders took shelter in the upper fort and kept up an incessant fire with their small guns. They attacked the Mughals with such fury that once Murar himself pursued the Khan right up to his tent on the ridge where the two parties closed with each other in a deadly hand to hand combat. Many Marathas were cut down. Murar
Baji lost one arm and his shield, but would not yield. He tied his maimed arm with his scarf and kept on hacking at the enemy. As he rushed against Dilir Khan himself, he was soon overpowered and had his head severed. His followers rescued the fallen trunk and sent it to Shivaji for the final rites. Still the Mughals obtained no access to the upper fort. The spot where Murar Baji fell is called Ranatemb meaning the hillock of the fight.

It was now the middle of April. Shivaji at Shingad east of Goa, had received on 14 March the first news of Jay Sinh and Dilir Khan’s arrival at Poona and their formidable attacks in all directions. He hastened back and reached the vicinity of Purandar by the middle of April, halting probably at Shirwal, where he received the headless corpse of Murar Baji, the sight of which awakened him to the dangerous situation that faced him. After some days of hesitation and deliberation he made up his mind to submit.

After messages had been exchanged between the two sides for some time Shivaji on 11 June 1665 accompanied by six Brahman counsellors rode in his Falchi to Jay Sinh’s tent in the middle of his camp near the plain of the Narayan temple of Pur about a couple of miles from Saswad. Jay Sinh wisely took the precaution of not conducting the negotiations behind Dilir Khan’s back, as the latter acting like a spy might make an adverse report to the Emperor. On the day following Shivaji’s arrival, that is on 12th June, Jay Sinh sent Shivaji with his own agent Rai Sinh to pay a visit to Dilir Khan in his camp. Shivaji went to Dilir Khan entirely unarmed. The Khan was mollified by this marked attention from Shivaji, presented him with two horses, a sword, a jewelled dagger and clothes, and personally conducted him back to Jay Sinh. When the Khan began to tie the sword on Shivaji, the latter said, “I should like to remain entirely unarmed; your good faith is my highest protection.” Thereafter a free and frank conversation took place between the three chiefs and the terms were settled during the four days that Shivaji stayed in the Mughal Camp. He left it on 15 June and returned to hand over the forts which he had agreed to surrender.

We have to-day three main accounts of this important visit, first the full Persian reports made to the Emperor by Jay
Sinh himself, secondly the account recorded by Manucci, who was an eye-witness on the spot, and thirdly an interesting anonymous poetic account in Persian written by some intelligent person present in the camp and recently published under the caption Shivaji's letter to Jay Sinh. This last is an admirable piece of composition vividly depicting the atmosphere in the Mughal camp and supplying Shivaji's side of the affair, as the first of the three items gives the official Mughal version. On the basis of these three accounts we shall summarise the story of this grand event. Shivaji's Letter to Jay Sinh cannot be rejected as worthless simply because it was composed in the poetic vein. It deserves to be remembered that even official reports like Jay Sinh's are often intended to whitewash actual facts. Jay Sinh could not report to the Emperor Shivaji's actual grievances.

Jay Sinh writes, "After the arrival of the imperial army near Pabal, Shivaji's agents began to visit me and again up to my arrival at Poona they twice brought letters for me. But I gave no answer and sent them back in disappointment. He again sent me a long Hindi letter saying that he was a useful servant of the imperial threshold and would readily help in the conquest of Bijapur. I wrote to him in answer that "the imperial army was sent against you. If you desire your own life and safety, be a slave to the Imperial Court." When he was put to hard straits and our troops captured Rudramal, Shiva made a proposal, and begged to spare his life and property. I gave no answer and continued my war against him. On 20 May Shiva's Guru styled Raghunath Pandit arrived on a secret embassy and stated Shiva's terms of submission. I declined to negotiate with him. The Pandit went back and brought another message. I told him if Shiva consents to obey the Emperor's orders, he would be pardoned. On 9th June the Brahman went to Shiva and on the 11th he brought the news that Shiva had arrived. I sent my Bakhshi to conduct Shiva in." 

Shivaji stayed with Jay Singh for three complete days, a period during which, apart from official business, the two chiefs must have talked about various matters of national and religious import and of the general state of Indian politics. Two such important personalities can hardly come together
without arriving at some material results. At Jay Singh's suggestion, Shivaji proceeded with his son Kirat-Sinh and met Daulat Khan on 13 June; and on the 15th Shivaji left the Mughal camp, after agreeing to a treaty by which twenty-three of his important forts were to be at once delivered into the Mughal possession, he himself retaining only twelve minor ones. Kirat Singh accompanied Shivaji to take charge of the forts personally from him. Fort Kondhana or Sinhagad was at once given up to Kirat Singh. Shivaji's mother and wife who were there left it, as also the whole garrison of seven thousand men. Kirat Singh returned to his father on 18th June accompanied by Sambhaji who was to serve in the Mughal army. The keys of the vacated forts were forwarded by Jay Singh to the Emperor.

Jay Singh's letters to the Emperor appear after all to be formal official reports of the transactions and do not supply any idea as to how far he agreed or disagreed with Shivaji's views. This want is admirably made up by the Persian "Letter addressed to Jainsinh" in the name of Shivaji, appealing to his heart as a Hindu to appreciate and support the national and religious uplift undertaken by Shivaji in order to deliver his land from the oppressive Muslim yoke. Shivaji urged that as Hindus, they must both work together to win back their religious liberty and to prevent such persecution as was involved in the demolition and plunder of temples and forcible conversions; that Aurangzeb's power was mainly supported by the strength of the Rajput princes, and it was a shame as Shivaji pointed out, that a great ruler of the calibre of Jay Singh should not raise even a finger against the Emperor's policy but meekly execute it by pulling the Hindu religion down. Frank private discussions could not have been avoided during the famous meeting. This is amply evidenced by Aurangzeb's own subsequent conduct. He suspected Jay Singh of treachery and disgraced him publicly a year later when Shivaji escaped from Agra, with the connivance, if not with the active support, of Jay Singh's son Ram Singh.

This Persian metrical letter on the face of it reveals the surcharged atmosphere of the Mughal camp during the days of Shivaji's visit, which is admirably depicted even by Manucci. There was an unprecedented stir in the camp. Great
vigilance prevailed there, lest some mischief should occur through the wily Shivaji. The small details mentioned in the letter could not have been reproduced unless the author had breathed that vivacious atmosphere. Shivaji brought to Jay Sinh's notice how he was being deluded into false hopes by the wily Emperor; he removed all Jay Sinh's fears about treachery on his own part on account of the way he had behaved in the affai of Afzal Khan. But, urged Shivaji, people did not know that Afzal Khan had kept a reserve of 1200 Abyssinian troops in hiding near the place where they met; and had therefore to act in the way he did to save his own life. The letter mentions the severe taunts that Shivaji personally conveyed to Jay Sinh. The latter, however, all along soberly maintained, "after all the Emperor was their master; it is our duty to obey him and to be perfectly loyal to him." Thereupon Shivaji earnestly put him the plain question, "were you not equally bound to be loyal to Shah Jahan, when you were ordered to march under Dara Shukoh's command against the rebel Aurangzeb? Were not Shah Jahan and Dara your masters? Did they not put perfect faith in your honesty? What happened to your loyalty then when you treacherously deserted them and joined Aurangzeb? Don't you suppose you have been finally absolved from these heinous sins? You will surely have to answer for them before the Final Arbiter, if not even in this world. Anyway, friend, beware of Aurangzeb. If you give me a helping hand, well and good; if not, I am perfectly able to take care of myself. I have already cast my die, and am prepared to stand by it."

Manucci gives a few interesting details of Shivaji's visit to Jay Sinh, who tried to obtain success over Shivaji and avoid a result like that of Shaista Khan. When Shivaji's agents came to Jay Sinh, making various offers, Jay Sinh informed Shivaji through them, "If you put complete trust in me and follow my advice, I shall see that the Emperor promotes your interests highly." Shivaji accepted this advice, put perfect faith in Jay Sinh and went fearlessly to meet him, unarmed and unattended, into the very den of the lion. The whole camp was in an excited state upon Shivaji's arrival, lest some mischief should follow from his visit. But when it became known that he had come alone with no followers, the people
in the camp felt easy. Jay Sinh provided for Shivaji's residence a tent adjoining his own. One evening as Manucci and Jay Sinh were playing at cards, Shivaji unexpectedly dropped in. All rose to receive him and when they were seated, Shivaji pointing to Manucci asked Jay Sinh who this young gentleman was, Manucci then about 25 years of age being some twelve years younger than Shivaji. Jay Sinh replied, "this young man was the leader of the Franks, (Firangies)." Thereafter the two, Manucci and Shivaji had a long conversation together on various topics, particularly the States of Europe, their strength on land and sea and their methods of warfare. Manucci spoke Urdu fluently and they had direct talks without an interpreter.

In due course Jay Sinh received the Emperor's reply confirming the treaty of Purandar, and a similar letter addressed to Shivaji dated 5 September 1665 was also received, worded rather in stiff terms. When the Emperor's farman arrived, Jay Sinh invited Shivaji to come and receive it with due ceremony. Shivaji went six miles on foot with Kirat Sinh and welcomed the farman with fitting honours and obeisance. By the treaty of Purandar Shivaji agreed to join the Mughals in the conquest of Bijapur and executed his promise faithfully. As Shivaji was intimately acquainted with the local conditions, his co-operation in the coming war against Bijapur was found by Jay Sinh immensely valuable. Jay Sinh took charge of the ceded forts, but had not enough men to spare in order to garrison them all. Purandar, Shinganad and Lohagad were the only ones which could be supplied with defensive forces and requirements. The walls and fortifications of a few others were demolished.

Thereafter Jay Sinh spent the wet season in completing his preparations for the war against Bijapur, in which Shivaji joined with a following of 9000 Mavlas under Netaji Palkar. The combined armies started from Saswad on 25 November 1665 and reached Mangalvedhe on 18 December. Here Mllloji Chorpude of Manthol and Eloji from Bangalore came and joined the Bijapur forces under Sharra Khan and Khawas Khan who had come from Bijapur to oppose the Mughals. A stiff battle took place in which Netaji Palkar and Dilir Khan inflicted a severe defeat upon the Bijapur
forces. The two brothers Shivaji and Ekoji for the first time met personally in an open encounter. But after all the war did not turn out as successful for the Mughals as they had expected. Dilir Khan secretly reported to the Emperor the real or fancied wrongs he had received at the hands of Jay Sinh, and behaved like a spy on the movements and measures adopted by the latter. This was indeed an intentional contrivance used by the Emperor, who entertained grave suspicions that Jay Sinh sympathised with the Hindus of the Deccan. Any way this open conflict between the two top-men of the Mughal army affected the fortunes of the war very adversely. The Bijapur forces fought for life with unexampled valour and determination and were joined by the troops of Golconda also. The moment for the extinction of these two States had not arrived.

Jay Sinh and Dilir Khan proceeded very near Bijapur, but the former on being affronted by the latter marched away towards Parenda. Shivaji offered to capture the fort of Panhala and delivered an attack on it on 16 January 1666, but did not succeed in the attempt.

At this time a grievous breach occurred between Shivaji and Netaji Palkar, which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. It deserves to be carefully noticed and investigated as it has a close relation with Shivaji's history. Netaji was doubtless a valiant soldier, second only to Shivaji in tactics, and he had rendered long and valuable services to the Maratha State. A quarrel arose between them on some point of discipline; and while Jay Sinh's war with Bijapur was on, Netaji left Shivaji's service and joining the Bijapuri forces, created thereby a serious situation for Jay Sinh, who, by means of secret overtures took Netaji into the Mughal service and obtained for him a five thousand command from the Emperor (20 March 1666). We shall hear more of Netaji in due course.
CHRONOLOGY

1665
June 15 Treaty of Purandar.

1666
Jan. 22 Death of Shah Jahan.
May 12 Shivaji starts for Agra.

May 20 Jafar Khan presents Shivaji's petition to the
Emperor.

June 8 Another petition from Shivaji presented.

June 9 Shivaji requests to be taken out of Ram Sinh's
charge.

July 15 Shivaji obtains a loan from Ram Sinh.

Aug. 17 Shivaji escapes from Agra.

Aug. 23 Poet Parmisund placed in detention.

Nov. 20 (or Sept. 12?) Shivaji reaches Rajgad.

Dec. 26 Parmisund brought back from Chandangaon.

Netaji Palkar brought to the Emperor's court.

1667
Netaji made Muslim and sent to serve in
Afghanistan.

May Jay Sinh recalled: is replaced by Muazzam and
Jashvant Sinh.

Bahadur Khan besieged fort Rangna: Shivaji
raises the siege.

Aug. 28 Death of Jay Sinh at Burhanpur.


Dec. 11 The Portuguese make peace with Shivaji.

1668
March 9 Aurangzeb makes peace with Shivaji.

Aug. 5 Sambhaji joins the Mughal camp.

1668
Bhilpur and Golconda agree to grant Chauth
to Shivaji.
CHAPTER VII

THE LION BEARDED IN HIS DEN.

[1666—1667]

1. Hesitation to visit Agra.
2. The Audience Hall.
3. After effects, peace.
4. The wonderful escape.

1. Hesitation to visit Agra.—Although Shivaji was shrewd enough to assume a submissive attitude towards Jay Sinh at Purandar, he cleverly made it a stepping stone to his future advancement. The treaty of Purandar was to him only a temporary set back, by no means a final extinction. (After all, Jay Sinh was a brother Hindu whom Shivaji meant to conciliate rather than to destroy.) The treaty of Purandar was almost a stage-managed affair and should not be interpreted as a humiliation for Shivaji. He was not openly beaten. (Jay Sinh was sanguine about effecting a permanent understanding between the Emperor and Shivaji. Could not this be satisfactorily secured if the two were to meet and arrange matters personally? Shivaji had already agreed to serve the Emperor in the Deccan, and even in that connection he had carefully avoided offering his own person, but substituted in his place his own son of 8 years for the Emperor's service. But as time passed, Jay Sinh considered it the best way to bring about a permanent reconciliation, more or less a first step to leading Aurangzeb back to the policy that had been adopted by the Great Akbar, of making friends with the Hindu princes. The experiment was worth trying. Jay Sinh repeatedly urged Shivaji to meet the Emperor personally and explain to him all the grievances that he had himself uttered in the Purandar camp. With equal force he urged upon the Emperor to receive a visit from Shivaji, test his hearty goodwill and convert him into a powerful support for the preservation of peace in the southern dominions. If only Shivaji could once meet the Emperor, thought Jay Sinh, and the latter shower on him all his kindly attentions and honours, he could
be won over to serve the Empire loyally. Thus Jay Sinh played the part of a mediator for reconciling the two opposite views into a beneficent union. History has pronounced this as Jay Sinh’s blunder in not having judged his master’s character correctly.

Jay Sinh offered Shivaji his personal guarantee that no harm would come to him from his visit to the Emperor. He assured Shivaji that the Emperor was anxious to meet him and to utilise his services for the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda on which he had long set his heart. So while Aurangzeb probably suspected mischief from Shivaji in a personal visit, Shivaji had grave doubts about the sincerity of the Emperor, whose ways and methods were already well-known. He deceitfully betrayed his own brother Murad, cruelly encompassed the ruin of Dara Shukoh and Shuja, artfully confined his father and selfishly seized the throne for himself, not even sparing his own sons from his wrath. These were public acts which made Shivaji hopeless of receiving any signal favour by a personal visit. But there were other considerations which persuaded him to undertake the risk. A personal visit to the Emperor and his capital would give him a realistic idea of the inherent power of the Empire, so that he could judge for himself who could be his friends and who his foes at Court, and how far his dream of a Hindu Empire was practicable. In his own narrow sphere of the south, Shivaji was anxious to oust the Siddis from the vicinity of his capital on the west coast. Jay Sinh assured Shivaji that this object could be easily adjusted in a mutual discussion. Although, therefore, the prospect of a personal visit to the imperial capital was not very tempting to Shivaji, it held forth opportunities which made it worth a trial. He revolved the project in his own mind and with his mother and advisers for days together. Some matter-of-fact men declared the step as dangerous and therefore highly inadvisable; but the priests, the astrologers, and above all Shivaji’s inner voice the Devi Bhavani, favoured the undertaking. Jay Sinh and his son Kirat-Sinh sent him solemn oaths and written promises that while at the capital both Jay Sinh and his eldest son Ram Sinh would guarantee his life and safety. The resolve was taken, the die was cast. Jay Sinh reported that Shivaji would soon arrive at the im-
These matters were under negotiation during the early months of 1666. Shivaji prepared for the worst and made as perfect arrangements as possible for his work being carried on in his absence. Jija Bai was to be the head of the administration with Moropant Peshwa, Nilopant Muzumdar and Prataprao Gujar Senapati forming the executive council. Shivaji made a tour of his districts, encouraging and inspiring local officials and guardians of forts. On Monday Falgun Shudha 9, 5 March 1666, he took his departure from Rajgad with his son Sambhaji and a select following of officials and servants and an escort of about 4000 men. Exact lists of those who accompanied him are not forthcoming, but Tanaji Malusre, Yesaji Kask, Baji Sharzerav Jedhe, Hiraji Parzard, Balaji Avji, Niraji Rasoji, Raghunath Ballil Korde, Trimbak Soredev Dabir, and Madhir Mehtar are some of the prominent names mentioned in the available sources as his companions.

The Emperor advanced him one lac of rupees for his travelling expenses and commanded that he should be accorded the honours of a Shahzada throughout the journey. The local official of every district through which Shivaji travelled was to accompany him in his jurisdiction.

On 5 April 1666 the Emperor wrote to Shivaji, “Your letter reporting that you have started, has been placed before me. Come here without delay with full confidence in my grace and perfect composure of mind. After you have obtained audience of me, you will be glorified with my royal favours and given permission to return home. I am sending you a splendid Khilat.”

When Shivaji reached Aurangabad crowds of citizens turned out to have a look at him. But the Governor Safshan Khan did not come out to receive him, expecting that Shivaji would call on him. Shivaji noticed the affront and went straight to Jay Singh’s quarters. The latter at once reprimanded the Governor who came the next day, offering apologies for his remissness. (About the middle of March Shivaji left Aurangabad and proceeded towards Agra by slow comfortable marches, patiently studying on the way men and matters of the Mughal Government and noting whatever was found pertinent to his purpose.) No untoward incident is reported of
this journey; a distance of about 500 miles was covered in nearly two months.

Shivaji was received by the Emperor in the Agra fort and not at Delhi as is commonly supposed. Agra was the favourite residence of Shah Jahan, where the celebrated Peacock Throne was located. When in 1658 Aurangzeb became Emperor, he proclaimed himself at Delhi and kept his father confined in the fort of Agra, which he never visited till after his father's death on 22 January 1666. When the time of mourning was over, Aurangzeb made his first public entry into the Agra fort and decided to celebrate his 50th lunar birthday, which fell on 12th May 1666, by holding his first grand Darbar with his seat on the Peacock Throne. As Shivaji was expected to reach Agra about the same time, it was arranged that his first audience with the Emperor should take place in that Darbar on 12th May. Aurangzeb was then at the height of his glory. He had just recovered from a serious ailment: all internal and external enemies had been humbled. He had not yet proclaimed his famous religious policy which later brought on him the Rajput war and other troubles. His generals had overcome the rebel Shivaji in a short easy campaign. Thus this birthday celebration of 1666 had a peculiar significance for Aurangzeb, which was to receive added importance from the presence of Shivaji. What proved to be the outcome of this proudest day for the Mughals, history has recorded.

2. The Audience Hall—Contemporary letters have recently been discovered among the state archives of Jaipur which throw full and true light on the important events connected with Shivaji's visit to the Emperor and his miraculous escape. These events can now be accurately explained on the strength of this fresh evidence. Mirza Raja Jay Sinh was then the premier grandee of the Mughal Court and his success over Shivaji added lustre to his laurels. As he had constant dealings with the imperial Court, he had stationed his news-writers who despatched regular reports in Hindi and Persian to his capital Amber about every important transaction at the Court. These reports and letters which have now become available are of great historical importance, after remaining buried in oblivion for over two and a half centuries.
About twenty of these letters in Hindi pertain to Shivaji's visit and supply a graphic account of how he was received, how he took offence at the slight shown to him, and how he was dealt with during the three months of his confinement at Agra. One particular point about the presence of the poet Parmānand, author of the Anupuran or its Tamil naṇṇe the Shivabharat, among the followers of Shivaji at Agra has now been clearly established. These works recently recovered and published, have now a precious historical value, as the doubt about the contemporaneity of Shivaji and Parmānand is now set at rest.1

Parmānand's uncompleted epic brings the story of the Bhosles and the life of Shivaji down to the year 1661, and the portions subsequent to this date if at all written are missing. Parmānand was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahman who long lived at Benares and wrote his work at the request of curious local inquirers about the wonderful career of the Maratha hero. This Sanskrit poem was planned to consist of 100 cantos, of which only the first 31, with a portion of the 32nd, are now available.

WE must now resume the story of Shivaji's visit to Agra. On that 12th of May the palace Hall Diwani-i-Am of Agra presented a unique spectacle. The whole square bristled with men and their varied equipment, and formed a grand exhibition of the highest Mughal splendour. The Emperor was weighed against various costly articles according to the Hindu fashion and then took his seat on the Peacock Throne. Let us quote from the eye witness' description of the part Shivaji played on this occasion:—

"A letter has been sent by Maharaj Kumar Rām Sinh to Shivaji asking him to arrive at Agra by the 11th of May to have the audience of the Emperor, who has ordered that the Kūnur and Fidwi Khan should advance one day's march and welcome Shivaji on the way and conduct him to the capital. Tāj Sinh has been deputed by the Mirza Rāja to accompany Shivaji all the way. On 11th May Shivaji reached Malik Chand's Sarai, and halted there. Then Kumar Rām Sinh gave to Girdhar Lāl Mūnshi a special robe and a horse with"

silver trappings and said to him, “Do you go and convey my Ram Ram to Shivaji.” So Giridhar Lali went there with 40 horsemen, gave Shivaji his master's salutations and informed him of the arrangement made for their meeting. Shiva dismissed Giridhar Lali after bestowing on him one robe and Rs. 300 cash.

On 12th May Ram Sinh rode out to welcome Shivaji; and the two chiefs met each other at the Nurjung Garden. Tej Singh told Shivaji, “This is Kumar Ram Sinh.” and next coming up to the Kumar's side pointed out Shivaji to him. The Kumar moved forward and embrace Shiva. Muldilis Khan met Shiva next. The Kumar conducted Shiva to a tent close to his own camp and welcomed him with music etc.

Then Ram Sinh and Mulhilis Khan started leading Shivaji to the Court. (In the main time the Emperor had left the Diwan-i-Am and taken his seat in the Diwan-i-Khas where Shiva was conducted.) The Emperor ordered Asad Khan Bakshi to bring Shiva forward. Asad Khan led him up to the Emperor's presence. Shivaji presented one thousand Mohars and two thousand Rupees as his Nazar and Rs. 5000 as Nisar (propitiatory gifts being waved round).) Sambhaji also was introduced to the Emperor and he offered 500 Mohars and 1000 Rs. as Nazar and Rs. 2000 as Nisar. Shivaji was made to stand in the place of Tahir Khan in front of Raja Rai Singh. The Emperor neither talked with nor addressed any word to him.

It was the Emperor's birthday and the betel leaf of the ceremony was distributed to the Princes and the nobles and Shivaji too got one. Next the Khilats for the occasion were presented to the Princes, to the Wazir Jafar Khan and to Raja Jashvant Singh. At this Shiva became wrathful and fretted. He flew into a rage and his eyes became red. The Emperor noticed it and told the Kumar, “Ask Shiva what ails him.” The Kumar came to Shiva's side, when Shiva told him, “you have seen, your father has seen, your Padishah has seen what a man I am, and yet you have deliberately made me stand up so long. I cast off your mansab. If you wanted me to stand, you should have done so according to the right order of precedence.” After saying this he turned his back to the throne and roughly walked away. The Kumar caught hold of his hand, but Shiva wrenched it away, came to one side
and sat down. The Kumar followed him and tried to reason with him, but he would not listen and cried out, "my death-day has arrived. Either you will slay me or I shall kill myself. Cut off my head if you like, but I am not going to the Emperor's presence again."

"As Shiva could not be persuaded, the Kumar came back to the Emperor and reported the matter to him. The Emperor ordered Muktat Khan, Aqil Khan and Mukhlis Khan to go, console Shiva, invest him with the Khilat and bring him back to the presence. These three nobles came over and asked Shiva to wear the Khilat, but the latter refused, saying, "I don't accept the Khilat. The Emperor has deliberately made me stand below Jashvant Sinh. I am such a person and yet he has wilfully kept me standing. I decline the Emperor's mansab. I will not be his servant. Kill me, imprison me, if you like, but I will not wear the Khilat."

So the nobles returned and reported this to the Emperor, who then told the Kumar to take Shiva away with himself to his own residence and persuade him to the proper course. Ram Sinh led Shiva away to his tents, seated him in his private chamber and reasoned with him. But Shiva would not listen. "After keeping Shiva with him for an hour, the Kumar dismissed him to his own camp."

In the mean time how to deal further with Shivaji became a serious question with the Emperor. Many nobles advocated a severe punishment for such a gross breach of etiquette as he had committed. Ram Sinh on his part continued to send his agents and presents to Shivaji and tried to induce him to a reasonable course. Siddi Fulad the Police Prefect of the capital, visited Ram Sinh and conveyed a message from the Emperor intended to conciliate Shivaji. The next day, 13th May, Ram Sinh attended the Emperor's Darbar taking Shivaji's son along with himself. The Emperor gave the boy one full robe, a jewelled dagger and a pearl-necklace. In due course the Emperor decided either to kill Shiva or to confine him in a fortress. He ordered Siddi Fulad to remove Shiva to the house of Bad-Andas Khan, a low-born fanatic and a favourite of the Emperor, who was then Commandant of the Agra Fort. When Ram Sinh heard of it, he sent a message to the Emperor, saying, "Shivaji has come under a sacred
guarantee of safety from me and my father. So kill me first and then deal with Shivaji as you like." Then the Emperor asked the Kumar to sign a bond of security for Shivaji that he might not escape or commit any harm. In the morning of 15 May Shivaji came to the Kumar's tent, gave him the solemn assurance of good conduct and Rana Singh signed the security bond.

One of the Jaipur letters thus describes Shivaji's appearance and retinue at Agra, "He has come alone with only a hundred retainers and his escort numbers 200 to 250 in all. Among the latter, 100 are mounted on their own horses and the rest are bargirs. When Shiva rides out in a Palki, many foot men wearing Turkish caps go before him. His flag is orange and vermilion-coloured with golden decorations stamped on it. In his train camels are few and meant for carrying luggage. He has a hundred Bandars. All his high officers have Palkis to ride in; so he carries many Palkis with him.

"At sight Shivaji's body looks lean and short. His appearance is wonderfully fair in complexion, and even without knowing who he is, one does feel instinctively that he is a ruler of men. His spirit and manliness are apparent. He is a very brave, high-souled man and wears a beard. His son is nine years old and is marvellously handsome in appearance and fair in complexion.

"Shivaji has come with a rather small contingent but with great splendour of equipment. A large elephant goes before him carrying his flag. An advance guard of troops precedes him. His force moves with grace and pomp. His Palki is completely covered with silver plates and its poles with gold plates. The public extol him for his manliness all the more on account of his audacity and strong replies in the presence of the Emperor."

For more than three months from 12th May to 17th August Shivaji stayed at Agra, under confinement which became more rigorous as the days passed. How to remove the deadlock was the question which agitated both the Emperor's and Shivaji's minds during this interval. The former, however, made up his mind to put Shivaji to death, in what decent way was the only point he had to decide. Shivaji too understood what fate there was in store for him and set about making preparations to meet it. The Jaipur letters have the fol-
lowing entries on this point:—One day in a general talk in Ram Sinh’s tent Shivaji said, “it is sheer destiny that has brought me here. Why did you not advise the Maharaja (Mirza Raja) against sending me into the Emperor’s hands?” Shivaji then paid some money to the Vizir Jafar Khan to win his support; and on other courtiers too he spent more or less. He sent presents to many Umras to gain their favour. On 20th May Jafar Khan presented Shivaji’s petition to the Emperor and got him to pardon Shivaji’s offence and spare his life. Previous to this the Emperor had ordered Ram Sinh and Shivaji to go on duty to Kabul. But afterwards he rescinded that order. There were hopes that Shivaji would be taken to the Emperor and formally pardoned.

“On 29 May Shivaji wrote a petition to the Emperor saying, ‘If Your Majesty would restore all my forts to me, I will pay two crores of Rs. Give me leave to depart. My son will stay here in your service. I came here in full trust in your word. My loyalty is strong. Your Majesty is now at war with Bijapur. Let me go and fight there in your service.’ To this petition the Emperor replied, ‘Shivaji has gone off his head, because of my mildness towards him. How can he be given leave to depart for his home? Tell him firmly that he must not visit anybody, not even go to the Kumar’s house.’ Thereafter strong patrols have been posted round Shivaji’s residence.”

8th June. Shivaji has petitioned the Emperor requesting, “Issue orders for a residence for me, to which I can move, but do not keep me here in the custody of Ram Sinh.” The Emperor replied, “Ram Sinh is a faithful servant, you must remain in his charge.” So the Kumars’ men are now keeping a watch over Shivaji in addition to the Kotwal’s troops. Ram Sinh says that “if Shivaji escapes or kills himself, I shall have to answer for it to the Emperor.” Therefore Tej Sinh and his retainers keep watch over the bed of Shivaji, while Arjunji, Sukh Sinh, and other Rajputs patrol around. Shivaji, therefore, has sent word to Ram Sinh, take back the bond of security you have given to the Emperor and let the Emperor do what he likes with me.” In the meantime the Emperor wrote to the Mirza Raja asking what course should be followed with regard to Shivaji and his replies are awaited.”

On Friday 9th June Shivaji sent all his servants away,
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

saying “Go away, you all. Let none remain with me. Let me be killed if the Emperor desires it.” Thereupon his men loaded their goods for departure. Shiva sent word to the Emperor directly through Fulad Khan, “I beg that my men be granted passports for the journey.” These were obtained and Shivaji’s retinue left Agra about 25th July.

16th June. Shivaji petitioned the Emperor asking permission to go to Benares and there pass his days as a religious recluse. The Emperor replied, “Let him become a fakir and live in the Allahabad fort. My Subahdar there will keep a good watch on him.” Shiva’s residence is strictly patrolled by the Emperor’s troops. The Kumdr too enforces all strictness and caution. Râm Sinh takes Shiva’s son to the Darbar. No reply has been received by the Emperor from Jay Sinh. It is rumoured Shivaji is secretly soliciting some of the nobles for his release. He offered through them to the Emperor to be allowed to go personally to hand over the forts. The Emperor declined, saying, “Why need he go there himself? His men will yield the forts upon writing to them.” Shivaji had run out of funds during his unexpectedly long stay at Agra. He had to spend heavily in bribes, presents and perquisites in order to secure his release. He had also to make large purchases. By the middle of July he appealed to Kumdr Râm Sinh for a loan and obtained 66,000 rupees for which he gave a hundi on his officers in the Deccan to pay the Mirza Raja.

(Days passed in this way. Jay Sinh wrote back strongly to the Emperor not to take severe steps against Shivaji but to conciliate him and utilise his services in the Deccan. He urged that the Emperor ought to respect the sacred oath and guarantee he had solemnly given to Shivaji that no harm would be done to him; that an Emperor’s word is the most sacred thing in the world. An open violation of such guarantee would not only antagonise Jay Sinh, powerful as he doubtless was.

2. Sandhaji was then nine years old and used to visit the Emperor now and then. In giving an account of his past life in a secret letter (dated 1688) he says he was, while in Agra, called upon to have a duel or a wrestling match by the Emperor (possibly with another boy of his age). He strongly refused to obey the Emperor.
but would estrange all the other Rajput princes. This fear indeed deterred the Emperor from taking the extreme step of putting Shivaji to death.

Backdoor influences were at the same time urging the Emperor to take that extreme step. Shaista Khan's wife was bitter against Shivaji on account of the latter's raid upon the Khan's Camp at Poona. Aurangzeb's maternal aunt was married to the Vazir Jafarkhan, to whom Shivaji once paid a visit to explain matters. But Jafarkhan's wife prevailed upon her husband to dismiss Shivaji summarily, as she considered it dangerous to have in the house this dreadful devil, the perpetrator of that outrage against Shaista Khan as he was supposed to be able to take a sudden and long jump upon an adversary at a distance.

After these no details are available of Shivaji's residence at Agra up to 17th August, on which date he escaped in a wonderful manner. The plan was entirely of his own contrivance which revealed what a fertile brain he possessed. The event at once made Shivaji a conspicuous figure, as a divine agent specially appointed to uplift the Hindu religion. How he conceived the plan of escape and executed it with unfailing dexterity, is a perpetual riddle for the historian. We shall proceed to solve it, making the eye-witnesses speak.

3. The wonderful escape.—Thevenot the French traveller who was then at Agra and has recorded what he saw and heard on the spot, is the only intelligent eye-witness we have for this event. His account singularly corroborates the version of the Jaipur letters and explains the reason of Shivaji's visit. Thevenot writes, "Aurangzeb hearing the news of the sack of Surat and wishing to do away with Shivaji, expressed himself thus to the Rajas of his Court, amongst whom he knew Shivaji had many friends and told them that he highly esteemed Shivaji for his valour and wished he might come to Court, saying openly that he would take it as a pleasure to honour a hero like Shivaji at his Court. He commanded the Rajas to write to Shivaji and gave his royal word that he should receive no injury, he had now forgot what was past. Several Rajas wrote what the King had said and made themselves in a manner
sureties for the performance of his word, so that Shivaji made no difficulty in coming to Court and bringing his son with him.

"At first he met with all imaginable caresses, but some time after, Shivaji perceived a dryness in the King and boldly told him that he believed he had a mind to put him to death, though he had come on his Royal word to wait upon him without any constraint or necessity that obliged him to it; but that His Majesty might have known what man he was, from Shaista Khan and the Governor of Surat; that after all, if he perished, there were those who would revenge his death and that hoping they would do so, he was resolved to die with his own hands and drawing his dagger made an attempt to kill himself but was hindered and had guards set upon him.

"The King would have willingly put him to death, but he feared an insurrection of the Rajas. They already murmured at this usage notwithstanding the promise made to him, and all of them were so much the more concerned for him. This consideration obliged Aurangzeb to treat him well and to make much of his son. He told him that it was never in his thoughts to have him put to death, and flattered him with the hopes of a good government if he would go with him to Kandahar which he then designed to besiege. The King granted him passports for his troops coming from the Deccan. When he got these passports he resolved to make use of them for himself withdrawing from the Court. He gave the passports to his officers under pretence of calling his forces to provide him horses in certain places. When everything was ready Shivaji got himself and his son both carried privately in baskets (carried in pairs on bamboos) to the riverside. They crossed the river, mounted the horses that were ready and ran away telling the waterman (at the river) "go and acquaint the King that he had carried over Raja Shivaji." They rode day and night finding always fresh horses in the appointed places.

"Aurangzeb was extremely vexed at Shivaji's escape; many believed that his escape was a false report deliberately given out and that he was in reality put to death. This raja is short and tawny with quick eyes that show a great wit."

1. Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, p. 183.
The Jaipur letters and Thevenot's account tally in a great measure and may together be taken as the substantial truth. The perfidious conduct of Aurangzeb in inducing Shivaji to come to Agra and then trying to encompass his death through foul means was highly reprehensible. He was too timid to perpetrate the deed boldly. He was afraid of the public opinion which was none too favourable about his past conduct towards his father and brothers. Putting Shivaji to death in open violation of a sacred promise of the Emperor, would have quickly made Aurangzeb's name odious throughout India.

Aurangzeb was a man of a thoughtful introspective temperament, not prone to impulsive action. He had a masterly command over his feelings. After Shivaji's first outburst in the open court, there were three main alternatives before the Emperor: (1) to put him to death, (2) to convert him to Islam, and utilize his services, (3) or to conciliate and send him back in fulfilment of his solemn word. There were advocates for each of these courses. The Emperor long wavered between the first two and laterly he made up his mind to do away with Shivaji, trying only to delude the public into believing that he had no hand in such a foul deed. He, therefore, tried to devise a course that would bring about the desired result, without implicating himself directly in it. For such a course Shivaji's vicinity to Ram Sinh's quarters was inconvenient, as Ram Sinh was the first person who was to be put off his guard as regards the Emperor's evil motives. Therefore a complaint was got up from the police that they could not keep a sufficient watch over Shivaji's movements in the open surroundings in which he lived as Ram Sinh's neighbour. The Emperor, therefore, ordered that on 18th August Shivaji should be removed to the house of Fidai Husain, which had been hurriedly completed and which was well suited for a prisoner's residence. When Shivaji was informed of this, he escaped on the eve of the day appointed for the change of his residence. He had already asked Ram Sinh to cancel the bond of surety he had executed. He was anxious that Ram Sinh's position should not be compromised by his action.

To all appearances Shivaji talked of preparing for death.
The father hugged the son and bitterly mourned their lot, cursing the moment when they left their home. In desperation Shivaji often seemed to have given up all hope and made utterances calculated to accept anything that the Emperor would demand provided his life was spared. He begged each and every person of influence to intercede with the Emperor to have his life saved. Most of his men had already left him. He fell ill or pretended to be so. Only one or two servants Hemaji Paranj and Masuri Mehtar remained in attendance on him. In the evening of 17th August some one else slept in Shivaji’s bed wrapped in coverings, and both Shivaji and Sambhaji escaped in separate baskets as narrated by Thevenot. Nirajlji, Rangji, Dattaji Trimalk and Raghun Mitra are mentioned as having accompanied him. As soon as they reached their secret rendezvous, they mounted the horses that were kept ready for them by previous arrangement and rode away for the Deccan by way of Mathura.

The next morning Hiroji who had been sleeping in Shivaji’s bed, also went out quietly telling the guards that Shivaji was fast asleep and that the sick man should not be disturbed. It seems Shivaji was not missed till about mid-day on the 18th. Fulad Khan himself came in and examined the spot to find that the bird had flown away. In extreme terror he went to the Emperor and reported that Shivaji had vanished by magic as no one was detected leaving his house by the guards who were closely watching the place. The Emperor was not so simple as to believe in witch-craft, and in extreme consternation sent round strict and expeditious orders to all governors and local officials to apprehend the runaways. Search parties were immediately dispatched in all directions. Passes and fords were closed to traffic. Shivaji got the start of nearly one full day or at least 18 hours. The Emperor held Ram Sinh responsible for Shivaji’s escape and commanded him to go personally and catch the fugitive. The Kumar went in search towards Dholpur. Fulad Khan in an outburst of violence declared that Shivaji had escaped through Ram Sinh’s patrols. In a few days the Kumar was disgraced and forbidden the Court. It took some time to discover that he had slipped away by crouching down in the baskets of sweetmeats which used to be sent out. Those
on duty were severely punished for their negligence. The in­
quiry went on for several days. The property left behind by
Shivaji jewels, elephants, horses etc. was confiscated. Two days
after Shivaji had left Agra, Trimbak Sondev and Raghunathpant
Korde were discovered and placed in confinement. They were
subjected to severe torture by Fulad Khan and his underlings,
but ultimately discharged on 3 April 1667, six months after
Shivaji had reached home.

One of the Jaipur letters dated 15th July 1666 reported
about Parmirand thus,—“Shivaji has a poet entitled Kavindra
or Kavishwar to whom he has given a male and female ele­
phant, one thousand rupees cash, a horse and full suit. Shivaji
says as I am not able to go out, I will thus give away my horses
and elephants and remain here as a Fakir.”

A letter dated 23rd August from some local official says,
“we have sent out orders to that effect to all the parganas.
To-day Manohardas Purohit and Nathuram report from Dausa
that Parmirand Kavishwar had arrived there with two ele­
phants, two camels, one horse, pack-bullocks, and forty runners.
I have asked Manohardas to detain the poet and search the
bullock packs thoroughly.” The next letter of 28 December
says, “Manohardas and Nathuram write to say Kavindra
Kavishwar Parmirand of Shiva’s service had been detained
here. Later an order came from the Mirza Raja to release and
keep him under guard where he is. We made inquiries and learn­
ed that he had gone to Udaipur intending to proceed to Benares. So
on hearing this news, I sent off four horsemen and fifteen foot­
men after him that very day. They overtook him in Chandran­
gaan in the Hindum Pargana and brought him back on Wed­
nesday December 26. He now says, “I want to go to Delhi.
Order me, therefore, what I should do with him. He carries
much baggage.” There is no further news in the Jaipur letters
about the poet Parmirand.

I. The whole circumstantial evidence discloses one main fact
that the world outside was extremely favourable to Shivaji,
accusing the Emperor of treacherously violating his pledged
word, an Emperor’s word sacred for all time. If this were not
the case, Shivaji could not have so easily escaped, or after
having escaped would have been quickly seized. With wrong
and unjust ways even mighty Emperors become powerless. After some time Ram Sinh was formally pardoned, but never again taken into that loving confidence which he had enjoyed before. It is also plain that Ram Sinh had no hand at all in Shivaji's escape. Shivaji's own genius and the way in which he had won the hearts of those about him, were mainly instrumental in his safe return. As little Sambhaji could not keep pace with his father in running away, he was placed at Mathura in charge of some faithful priests; and the father himself travelled through the country of the Gonds on to Golconda and Bijapur and suddenly appeared before his mother at Rajgad in the garb of a wandering mendicant on 12 September, 1668 or on the 25th day after his leaving Agra.1

The news of this most thrilling dramatic achievement quickly resounded throughout the country. Every Indian home began to talk of the contrast—a small slim figure all alone in that famous historic hall of Agra facing the mightiest and the most awe-inspiring monarch seated on the exalted Peacock Throne, surrounded by all his power and dignity. The incident sent an indescribable thrill throughout India and filled every Hindu breast with new hope and fresh courage on behalf of downtrodden humanity. Shivaji's reputation reached its zenith for having outwitted the wiliest and the mightiest Mughal Emperor. He at once became an all-India figure. His arrival in the homeland was hailed with peculiar joy, and grand celebrations were held throughout the Deccan. The forts pealed out salvoes of artillery announcing the event. As these feu-de-joies became unrestrained, Shivaji later on circulated standing orders prescribing the exact number of gunfire for specified important occasions. He rewarded all those individuals who had served him in his sore trial, Niraji Raoji, Balaji Avji, Hiroji Farzand, Raghu Rathram Korde, and Trimbek Sondev and others. Sugar was distributed in all forts in memory of the event. Shivaji was happy to find that his affairs had been satisfactorily conducted during his absence. The Mughal troops were harassing the land, but not a single act of treachery

1. This date is mentioned in the Jaipur Akbarals, see House of Shivaji, p. 131. But the Jodhpur Chronology says he reached Rajgad on 21 November, that is 92 days after leaving Agra.
or desertion was noticed among Shivaji's officials, disclosing thereby to what perfection and order he had raised his State and his Government within a few years, and how the previous chaos and confusion had been removed.

But perhaps the highest gain which Shivaji derived from this adventure was that he came into direct contact with the men and politics, the currents and cross-currents of the imperial Court. He minutely noticed its strong and weak points and made full use of this experience in his future work. He concluded that the Mughal power was a hollow show, full of injustice, tyranny and corruption, and that it could be easily overthrown. Historians trace the decline of the Mughal Empire from this date of Aurangzeb's ascent to the zenith of power. Hereafter his slide down began, although slowly at first. Shivaji was ever on his brain and the Emperor continued mourning to the last day of his life the mistake he had committed in not putting Shivaji to death at once. He wrote in his will, "A moment's negligence in gathering correct news from the Kingdom leads to serious consequences and would have to be repented for life. I neglected to guard carefully that wicked Siva, and have on that account to suffer these terrible hardships of war till my end."

4. After effects, peace.—Shivaji's escape from the Emperor's custody at once nullified all the work of conquest that Jay Sinh had effected in the Deccan and increased the Emperor's anxieties. His visit to Agra benefited Shivaji more than if he had remained contented with the treaty of Purandar; he now felt himself no longer bound to observe that treaty. To guard against Shivaji, the Emperor thought of Netaji Palkar whom Jay Sinh had recently admitted to the Mughal service, and who possessed valuable experience of war in the Deccan. Aurangzeb wrote to Jay Sinh to arrest Netaji and send him a prisoner to the Court, thinking perhaps that he would create further trouble in conjunction with Shivaji. So Netaji and his uncle Kondaji arrived at the capital, when the Emperor suggested to Netaji that if he would turn Muhammadan, he would be amply rewarded; if he declined, he would have to remain in life-long confinement. Netaji reluctantly agreed and was converted, re-

receiving the name of Muhammad Kuli Khan. He was then married to a Muslim lady and asked to accompany Mahabat Khan on war duty to Afghanistan. Here he remained for 8 years, receiving high praise for the good work he did there. The future career of Netaji and his reconversion will be noticed in a later chapter.

Upon his return Shivaji for a time allowed himself rest and ease for recouping his shattered health and deliberating on the line of conduct he should now adopt towards the Mughals. Jay Sinh was still in the south with large armies, but Shivaji gave him no occasion to notice him. In fact Shivaji studiously avoided causing any irritation to the Mughals for some time. He directed his energies to consolidating his power in the Konkan and effecting a revenue settlement there. He had yielded formal submission to the Mughals by the treaty of Purandar, which he continued to observe in all outward appearance. He informed the Emperor that he had run away from Court for fear of his life, that he had no ill-will towards him personally, and that he was still as ready to serve the Emperor as he had stipulated. He wrote to Jay Sinh, "the Emperor has cast me off; otherwise I intended to have begged him to allow me to recover Kandahar for him with my own unaided resources. If through your intercession I am pardoned, I shall send my son Sambhaji to wait on the Prince and serve at the head of my followers wherever required."

"In May 1667," says the Shakaavat, "Bahool Khan and Ekoji Rajaji besieged fort Rangna. Shivaji Rajaji attacked and raised the siege. A treaty of agreement was concluded in September between Shivaji and the Adil Shah." This proves that the Adil Shah at this time tried to regain his hold on south Konkan and that Shivaji wrested it back. Jay Sinh's position as the Mughal generalissimo in the south became untenable both on account of Shivaji's escape and his own failure before the armies of Bijapur. When Shivaji was in confinement at Agra, Jay Sinh urged his son Ramin Sinh not to undertake the unpleasant task of guarding Shivaji, one Hindu prince watching over another. In this way both Jay Sinh and Ramin Sinh fell in the estimation of the Emperor, who suspected them to be the agents responsible for Shivaji's escape. Some of Shivaji's Brahman followers who were arrested at Agra after Shivaji's
flight, admitted, no doubt under torture, that Ram Sinh had played a mischievous game. Jay Sinh on the other hand kept on writing bitter letters to the Emperor expressing his severe anguish at the pass to which matters had come and reproaching his own ill-fate for the result. He was disgraced and recalled by the Emperor to the Court. Shahzada Muazzam was sent as Governor and arrived in May 1667; Jay Sinh delivered over the charge to the Prince at Aurangabad and set out on his northward journey, worn out by age and toil and by extreme disappointment at this public humiliation and the thought that his loyal life-long services had proved ineffectual in sustaining his honour and dignity. On the way he died at Burhanpur on 26 August 1667 (aged 62, born 1605).

At this moment Shivaji was not at all inclined to undertake any warfare against the Mughals: and when he heard that Jay Sinh had been recalled, he probably breathed a sigh of relief as with all his persuasive powers he had found Jay Sinh either incorruptible or too much committed to the views of the Emperor, so that he could now welcome the return of the weak and indolent Muazzam and the open-hearted friendly Jashvant Sinh to the government of the Deccan. For the time being the implacable Dilir Khan was absent in a campaign against Devgad conquering the Gond country. Muazzam had all along resented the insubordinate spirit and spying nature of Dilir Khan, who wielded on that account an abnormal influence with the Emperor. Dilir Khan and Jashvant Sinh openly slighted each other, as the latter was the trusted counsellor of the Shahzada. Shivaji with his usual circumspection was fully posted in these internal details of the Mughal Government and did not fail to take full advantage of them.

Jashvant Sinh and the Shahzada welcomed with all their heart Shivaji's offer to serve the Emperor, knowing well that it was not possible to crush him. They recommended Shivaji's offer to the Emperor, who replied accepting the proposal and recognized Shivaji's title of "Raja." Sambhaji was sent to the Viceroy's Court at Aurangabad, had his first interview with him on 4th November and was then allowed to return home. In a letter dated 9 March 1668 Muazzam conveyed the Emperor's orders to Shivaji, conferring on him the title of "Raja" and agreeing to a peace, which lasted for two years.
On 5 August 1668 Sambhaji came back to serve in the Mughal Camp with his contingent headed by Prataprao Gujar and Nirajiraoji. Sambhaji was created a commander of five thousand, and presented with a jewelled sword and an elephant. Jagirs for his expenses were assigned to him in Berar. This was Shivaji's peculiar method of securing substantial interests, practically losing nothing by his submission according to the treaty of Purandar. He soon got most of his forts also back as we shall see shortly. He was Aurangzeb's vassal in name. His relations with Bijapur also remained pacific. The European powers on the west coast sought his friendship. The Portuguese sent their agents to Shivaji and concluded a treaty of peace with him (11 December 1667). When the Mughal Emperor acknowledged him as a Raja, Bijapur and Golconda began to deal with him as an independent king. Through Muazzam Shivaji secured the right of exacting Chauthai dues from those two States, thus treating them as his vassal territories. In order to avoid annual Maratha incursions for the exaction of these dues, they agreed to pay him a lump sum annually, Bijapur three and Golconda five lacs. The year 1668 thus marks a rapid increase towards fullness of the last lunar phase of Shivaji's life.
CHRONOLOGY

VIII

1669 April 9
Emperor orders Hindu schools and temples to be demolished.

" Sept. 4
Kasai-Vishweshwar temple pulled down and masjid built on its site.

1670 Jan.
Shivaji plunders Berar.

" Feb. 4
Shivaji recaptures Sinhasad.

" March 3
Kalyan and Buvardi recovered.

" April
Junnar, Ahmrodur, Parenda plundered.

" Oct. 3—6
Shivaji's second raid on Surat.

" 16
Daud Khan routed at Vani Dindori.

" Nov.
Shivaji raids Berhanpur and Karanja. Mahbub Khan appointed Mughal Governor.

1671 Jan. 5
Shivaji captures fort Salher.

" March
Diler Khan sacks Poona.

" Dec.
Mainabat Khan recalled: Bahadur Khan takes his place.

" Nov.
Ishias Khan besieges Salher.

1672 Feb.
Mughals defeated before Salher.

" June
Fort Kamhergaon bravely holds out for Shivaji.

" Nov.
Shivaji's envoy, Qazi Haidar, meets Bahadur Khan and is confined at Parenda.

" Dec.
Junnar and Ramnagar seized by Moropant.

1673 March 6
Fort Panhala taken by Shivaji.

" April 15
Battle of Umbra: Bahlol Khan routed.

" Feb. 24
Panteti Rao Gujjar plunderers Hubli.

1674 Feb. 24
Battle of Nensar. Panteti Rao killed.

" March 23
Sonipgan plundered.
CHAPTER VIII
STILL GREATER TRIUMPHS
[1668-1673]

1. Fresh wave of Mughal fanaticism.—Soon after peace was concluded by Shivaji with the Emperor through the Shahzada, there occurred serious differences between that Prince and his overbearing lieutenant Dilir Khan; of which Shivaji was not slow in taking advantage. The Emperor held the Khan in high esteem and credited his slanderous reports in preference to his son's statements. This produced a strong ill-feeling between them, the Shahzada being guided by Jashvant Sinh who was a great opponent of Dilir Khan. Their growing enmity came to a head just about the time that Shivaji was negotiating his peace and when the Emperor's attention was directed more to his preoccupations in north India involving as a consequence an utter neglect of the affairs in the Deccan. Sambhaji lived at Aurangabad under the guardianship of Pratap Rao Gujar and Niraji Rajeji. They formed a close friendship with the Shahzada and Jashvant Sinh, all sharing the pleasures of hunting and the amusements of camp-life. This phase of Mughal-Maratha fraternity so disgusted Dilir Khan that he went to the length of reporting to the Emperor that the Shahzada was planning to depose him with the help of the Marathas. Thereupon the Emperor sent urgent and explicit orders to his son to place under immediate arrest the two Maratha officials Pratap Rao Gujar and Niraji Rajeji. The Shahzada being friendly to the Marathas, contrived to communicate the news of this order privately to the two officials and thus enabled them to return home. This conduct further embittered the relations between Muazzam and
Dilir Khan and produced utter confusion in the Mughal administration of the Deccan. Just at this time Aurangzeb launched his cherished policy of persecuting his Hindu subjects by issuing on 9 April 1669 general orders “to demolish all the schools and temples of the infidels and put down their religious teaching and practices.” A new large department was organized for a wholesale attack on the unbelievers throughout his dominions, and he called for periodical reports of what actual results were achieved as regards the demolition of schools and temples, the imposition of Jazia, the exclusion of the Hindus from public offices, the banning of Hindu fairs and festivities and similar measures.

Aurangzeb was obsessed with the vain belief that Providence had given him his position and power only for exalting his own religion and putting down other faiths. In his view other religions could not stand in equality with his own. Soon after his father’s death when he felt himself firm in his seat, he started on his life’s mission with all the earnestness and vehemence he was possessed of. In this spirit of fanaticism he turned his arms first against the Bundellas, then against the Rajputs and lastly against the southern peoples to whom he was drawn by the rebellion of his son Akbar. Shivaji did not fail to remonstrate strongly and publicly against the mistaken policy of the Emperor which received its first formal demonstration in 1669 when the famous Kashivishveshvar temple was demolished. The Keshorai temples of Mathura suffered a similar fate. So furious was Aurangzeb against the Krishna worship at Mathura that he changed the name of the town to Islamabad. Ahmedabad and Vijaynagar were similarly treated. “Officers were appointed in a systematic plan, in all the cities and sub-divisions of the Empire, as Censors of Morals to enforce the regulations of Islam. The festivals of Diwali and Holi were ruthlessly suppressed. A Director General was placed over the large number of officers employed in this grand task. The provinces of Bengal, Orysa, Assam and Rajputana suffered the same fate. The temples of Anbar, the capital of the loyal state of Jaipur were broken down later in 1680.”

Neither age nor experience softened the rigour of Aurang—

zeb’s religious policy. He confiscated all Hindu religious grants in Gujarat and remained deaf to all pleadings of pity and political expediency alike. When he was the Viceroy of Gujarat he had desecrated the temple of Chintamani at Ahmadabad in 1644 by slaughtering a cow in it and turning it into a mosque.

All these measures of the Emperor, who must, by his position, be the protector of all religions, and of all races, became well known throughout India and caused the deepest concern to all thinking men. Brilliant examples of tolerance and liberty of worship and conscience, were before the Indian public, like those of Akbar and Kahir. Shivaji certainly knew this and we may be sure that during his three months’ sojourn at Agra he kept his eyes and ears open in order to devise measures to meet such attack on the Hindu religion, the most emergent question of the moment. Shivaji accepted the challenge and devoted his life to its solution.

The news of the demolition of the Vishveshwar temple at Benares on 4 September 1669 spread like wild fire and caused extreme consternation throughout the country. The masjid raised on the old shrine stands to-day as a living witness of the event. Shivaji at once set about measures to avenge the wrong and retaliate for the insult offered to his religion. At the beginning of 1670 he recommenced his aggression upon the Mughal territories in all directions, taking full advantage of the daily growing confusion in the Mughal administration of the Deccan. He began vigorously to recover the important forts he had surrendered to Jay Sinh. Early in January 1670 his troops plundered Berar and collected 25 lacs. Similar raids were carried out in the region of Ausa. At this moment the quarrel between the Shahzada and Dilir Khan had reached its height. Dilir Khan turned a rebel, and was about to be arrested and imprisoned under orders of the Emperor which had been previously obtained, but having got an inkling of the plan against him, he ran away into Malwa, leaving all his military equipage behind. The Shahzada and Jashvant Sinh pursued him and called upon Shivaji to take part in the chase. The Emperor’s government became practically paralysed throughout the Deccan. Shivaji being supplied with correct news took
advantage of the situation, and declared an open war by his famous capture of fort Sinhagad on February 4, 1670.

2. Shivaji’s heroic reply, Sinhagad recaptured.—Of all the forts surrendered to Jay Sinh the most important was doubtless Sinhagad, for it was looked upon as the capital of the western regions and a key in the hands of those who had to govern them. Purandar ranked next to it. That is why Jay Sinh had insisted that Sinhagad should be the first to be handed over by Shivaji personally. He had after his visit to Jay Sinh in June 1665 personally delivered the fort to Kirat-Sinh. The fort was now most strongly held by a trusted and valiant Mughal commander named Uday Bhan Rik hod. No other fort was so well protected both by man and nature and now strongly guarded by the Mughals. He who possessed Sinhagad was the master of Poona.

There is evidence to show that Shivaji himself thought Sinhagad impregnable. He was, however, egged on to the venture by his mother Jija Bai in whose mind the public insult of the demolition of Kashivishveshwar was bitterly rankling. The ballad of Sinhagad says, when she found Shivaji hesitating on the question of retaking Sinhagad, which practically meant a sacrifice of some of his best soldiers and a challenge to the Emperor, she insisted on playing with him a game at dice and the wager was to be the capture of this fort. She demanded that if Shivaji lost the game he must pay the price. If he refused, she threatened him with a curse upon his newly erected raj,—a mother’s curse! What was Shivaji to do?—Shivaji certainly wanted the fort back, but believed that an attack on it would unnecessarily plunge him into a deadly war with the Emperor, which had been to some extent happily closed. He well knew that the fort could not be taken by any other means than by his brave soldiers scaling the walls.

2. The reader may spend a little time in going over the ballad of Sinhagad so ably rendered by Acworth. Says Shivaji to his mother—

"Oh lady, all my forts are thine, but ask me not what is not mine."

"Beware a mother’s curse." She cried

"Its fire shall scorch thy kingdom wide.
Give me Sinhagad."
by means of rope-ladders stealthily walking in and opening the main gates, through which the storming party could rush in. Sinhagad is the only fort not vulnerable to artillery: there is no room where guns could be brought into position for a bombardment of it. All the sides are steep, upon one of which a narrow path now leads to the main gate for communication with the outside world. The difficulty was removed by Jija Bai who called in Tanaji Malusare, Shivaji's dearest comrade and his brother Suryaji and prepared them for the venture with all the arts of motherly affection.

On the dark night of Magh 9 (4 February 1670) when the moon rose after midnight, Tanaji made the attempt, succeeded in capturing the fort but lost his life. With about 300 Mavlas he arrived at the fort after nightfall. A large number headed by Suryaji remained concealed near the main gate and Tanaji himself with his selected followers scaled the walls by means of an iguana and opened the gates by putting to the sword the few sentries that came out to oppose him. But all this could not be accomplished without making a noise. The guards were roused, an alarm was given and the commandant himself came out determined to defend the place to the last. A sanguinary action ensued in which both sides lost heavily including their leaders Tanaji and Uday Bhanu. The fort was captured and a huge bonfire announced the result to Shivaji at Kajgad. Next morning the dead body of Tanaji arrived in a palanquin to be received by Shivaji and Jija Bai, who grieved for the loss with poignant anguish. The fort had been recovered, but the lion Tanaji was no more.

Tanaji's exploit is annually commemorated at the fort, which is practically still in tact in its original grandeur. Jija Bai at once sent for Tulsidas, a professional bard from Poonam, and asked him to compose a ballad which sang in touching strains the valour and sacrifice of Tanaji Malusare. Shivaji amply rewarded the relatives of those who had fallen. Tulsidas'
When this principal fort fell, the others were not long in being taken, as none of them was so well defended. The defence of these forts could only be conducted by the devoted Mawlas, adept in a particular device perfected by the genius of Shivaji, who knew full well, in handing them over to the Mughals, that it would not be a difficult task to take them back. So they were peacefully handed over and now as peacefully got back. Purandar was attacked and taken on 8 March 1670, when its commandant Razi-uddin Khan was made a prisoner. At the same time Shivaji’s men raided Chhindwad near Nasik and carried away the imperial treasure that was deposited there. An attempt was made on Mahuli, but its keeper Manoharadas, Aurangzeb’s trusted officer, successfully defended it and for the time Shivaji had to give up the attempt. Kalyan and Bhivandi were easily taken by putting to death the Mughal Governor Uzbeg Khan on 3 March 1670. Manoharadas too failed to get timely reinforcements and himself delivered Mahuli to Shivaji on 16 June, thereafter joining another post under the Mughal government. Thus Shivaji got back the whole territory of north Konkan and quickly removed all traces of his former submission to the Emperor of June 1665. By the end of April 1670 Junnar, Ahmadnagar, Parenda and many other important Mughal possessions were raided and laid under heavy contribution by Shivaji’s armies. There was one most valiant and efficient Mughal General, Daud Khan Qureshi, previously working under Dilir Khan at the siege of Purandar, who now did his best to resist this aggression of Shivaji manfully and for a time captured back fort Mahuli. We shall soon hear more of this Daud Khan.

3. Second sack of Surat and sequel—Shivaji’s active mind meditated fresh blows against the Emperor, and once more Surat attracted his attention. Having been informed that the Governor of Surat had recently died and that it had
STILL GREATER TRIUMPHS

no strong garrison, Shivaji at the head of a large force of fifteen thousand horsemen and some choice commanders, suddenly appeared before Surat on 3 October 1670. For three full days the town was mercilessly subjected to plunder and fire, nearly half the town being reduced to ashes. The European traders were cautious enough and had removed their valuable goods and treasure several miles away to the harbour of Swally, beyond Shivaji’s reach. They did not oppose Shivaji, nor did he interfere with them. On the 3rd day when he learned that a large army was marching from Burhanpur for the relief of Surat, he retraced his steps after imposing an annual payment of 12 lacs upon the town by way of tribute and declaring his intention of renewing his attacks in case of failure to pay it. If the amount were regularly paid without demur, he proclaimed that he would do no injury to the peaceful merchants of that trading city. Two agents of the English factory at Surat waited upon Shivaji in his tent outside the town with presents of cloth, sword-blades, and knives. The Maratha King received them kindly and assured them that he would do no harm to the English, as they were his friends.

This time Shivaji collected from Surat a treasure worth 66 lacs and returned by way of Salher and Mulher. When he arrived in the vicinity of Chandwad, he found his way barred by a large Mughal army led by the redoubtable Daud Khan Qureshi, who had obtained correct news of Shivaji’s movements, and on the night of 16 October suddenly attacked him between Van and Dindori with fury and determination. In this predicament how to save his men and treasure became a serious problem for Shivaji. He at once divided his force into four separate columns, each under a clever and resourceful leader, and decided to harass the Mughals in a guerrilla fashion, avoiding open action as far as possible and giving out that he was going to make a sudden attack upon Aurangabad. A fifth and smaller body with the main booty of Surat managed to slip away through a secret pass, while the other divisions engaged the enemy. The ruse succeeded and the treasure was got safely away. But the action somewhere between Van and Dindori proved most tenacious and costly on account of the determined onslaught made by the Mughals, under their various capable officers, Ithlas Khan and Baqul.
The numerous and complicated details of this affair are interesting and may be studied minutely in the well-arranged narrative given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Shivaji and his Times, pp. 175-179.

For several years after Shivaji's withdrawal from Surat, the town used to shudder with panic every now and then, even at false alarms of the Marathas coming, so that the trade of this the richest port of India was practically destroyed. The alarm was revived throughout the following months of November and December and also fitfully throughout several succeeding years.

Shivaji rapidly followed up his second sack of Surat by a sudden irruption into Berar, Baglan and Khandesh. Early in December he himself traversed Khandesh, capturing some forts of the Baglan district on the way. His Senapati Pratap-Rao Gojji plundered Bahadarpura, a suburb of Burhanpur, and quickly passing into Berar fell unexpectedly upon the rich and flourishing city of Karanja. Spoils to the value of a crore of rupees were carried away loaded on four thousand oxen and donkeys. The richest merchants of Karanja were carried away for the exaction of ransom. Shivaji from now on openly commenced his levy of Chauth on all the Mughal territories through which he passed. He meant to announce that all Maratha territories belonged of right to him and not to the Mughals.

4. The numerous and complicated details of this affair are interesting and may be studied minutely in the well-arranged narrative given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Shivaji and his Times, pp. 175-179.
4. Bloody toll of Salher.—While Shivaji was occupied in Berar and Khandesh, his Peshwa Moro Trimal Pingle made his way through north Konkan into Baglan, wresting from the Mughals Trimbak and some other forts, and passed via Mulher into West Khandesh levying contributions wherever he went, right, upto fort Salher, which is on the border of Khandesh and Gujarat. It was a post of the utmost strategic importance, for the possession of which a bitter conflict unprecedented in all Shivaji’s life ensued, and several bloody battles were fought with heavy losses on both sides, proving thereby that Shivaji and his Marathas never shirked open fights when such were considered necessary. As Shivaji was returning from the plunder of Karanja, he was joined by a column under his Peshwa Moropant and the united division besieged the fort of Salher and captured it on 5 January 1671 after a short but desperate defence by Fathulla Khan its Mughal commander. The Mughal Government tried strenuously for a year to retake the place, when several memorable actions took place between the two contending parties.

The confusion in the Mughal government of the Deccan soon attracted Aurangzeb’s attention. The second sack of Surat and the Maratha conquest of Baglan roused him to a sense of the grave situation. In November 1670 he sent to the supreme command of the Deccan the veteran Mahabat Khan. Another competent general Bahadur Khan was ordered from Gujarat as an additional support. Daud Khan and Dilir Khan were already there. The Emperor often talked of proceeding to the Deccan himself, but if his intention was really serious, it did not materialize, possibly owing to a want of nerve to face Shivaji personally. Many renowned Rajput officers were now posted to the Deccan. Mahabat Khan, Jashvant Sinh, Daud Khan and others all assembled at Aurangabad in January, paid their respects to Prince Muazzam, and fully deliberated upon measures for restraining Shivaji. But, as may be imagined, matters are not necessarily improved by many worthy men being brought together: the probability is that such wise heads differ radically and spoil the result, making the confusion worse confounded. They had mutual jealousies which prevented co-ordination and concerted action. It would be a tedious affair to detail the story of the present Mughal-
Maratha War and the recapture of Salher. During the mon­soon months of 1671 the Mughals encamped at Parner, where the various commanders held daily entertainments such as music and dancing, where they all attended and made them­selves merry when their soldiers were dying in numbers through pestilence in the camp. Four hundred dancing girls from the Punjab and Afghanistan lived in the Mughal camp and were patronized by the officers.

The Emperor suspecting Mahabat Khan of a secret un­derstanding with Shivaji, recalled him from the Deccan and appointed Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan to that government. They rapidly came from Surat while Mahabat Khan was still in charge, and laid siege to Salher which was now in Maratha hands. In order to cripple Shivaji still further, Bahadur Khan and Daul Khan left the conduct of the siege to Ikhlas Khan and themselves made a detour upon Poona with a view to stopping Maratha succours proceeding to Salher. Bahadur Khan advanced towards Supa and Dilir Khan came upon Poona in December 1671. The latter massacred a large num­ber of the innocent inhabitants of the place. But Shivaji was equal to the occasions. Pratap Rao Gujar, Anand Rao Makaji, Moropant Pingle and other commanders of Shivaji played such havoc in Khandesh upon the small Mughal forces of Ikhlas Khan that Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan had to retreat pre­cipitately from the vicinity of Poona and hurry back to the north. Thereafter an obstinate and sanguinary battle took place before Salher in the first week of February 1672, in which the Mughals were completely routed. Ikhlas Khan and some thirty principal Mughal officers were wounded and captured and several thousand soldiers were slain. Moropant recapture­ted both Salher and Mulher, took prompt and ample mea­sures for their future defence, and returned to report the suc­cess to his master. Says Sabhasad, "One Surya R5o Kakde, Shivaji's companion in arms from childhood lost his life. More than ten thousand men were slain on the two sides with countless numbers of horses, elephants and camels. Rivers of blood flowed on the battle ground. The Marathas acquired by way of plunder six thousand horses, as many camels, see
hundred and twenty-five elephants, all the camp baggage of the Mughals with treasure and jewelry. This phenomenal victory was mainly due to the strategy and valour of Shivaji's Peshwa of whom a contemporary poet sang:

"The valleys of Poona echo the name of Shivaji,
There roams his dauntless Peshwa,
He slaughtered the Mughals of Salher
Just as Arjun slaughtered the Kauravs of yore."

The fight of Salher was an open action by Shivaji's men opposing the best equipped and most ably led Mughal armies, by no means partaking of the nature of guerrilla warfare. The disaster to the Mughal arms led to the disgrace of Mahabat Khan at the hands of the Emperor, just in the same way as Jay Singh five years before him had suffered. He was transferred to Afghanistan and died on the way thither, having served the Empire long and faithfully.

Sabhasad paints a glowing picture of the battle of Salher. Maratha captains and the Mavla troops overcame the most renowned Mughal commanders. The news rejoiced Shivaji's heart. He rewarded the messengers who brought the news with gold bracelets and wrist-lets. Sweets were widely distributed. Dilir Khan saved his life by flight. A large number of the Mughal wounded and captives fell into Shivaji's hands. They were properly nursed and were released with presents after their wounds had been treated. Some willingly accepted Shivaji's service. Thus Shivaji in a few years not only recovered his former position but became a match for the best generals and administrators of the Mughal Empire. His officers and men were so well trained that they could exhibit skill and initiative in every difficult situation. How one earnest leader can change the character of a whole nation and attain a swift rise to prosperity is well exemplified in this military organization of Shivaji.
An illustration of this national change was now furnished by the fort of Kanheragad near Chandwad, where Shivaji had appointed one Ramaji Panger as the keeper. The small fort was suddenly attacked by Dilir Khan with a very large force, when Ramaji with a small but select band of 600 men faced terrible odds fighting with all their might, until nearly all the defenders were wounded and disabled but they succeeded in turning the enemy back with discomfort. Such a spirit of service and sacrifice quickly permeated the whole Maratha nation at the magic lead of Shivaji. The terrible rout and the consequent debacle of the Mughal forces before Salher drove Aurangzeb to an extreme measure of reproach. He thus vented his wrath in bitterest terms in a letter to Dilir Khan and others.

"Why did you not die on the battle-field to avoid this disgrace to your master? Why do you live and report to me this dismal news? You very well know how the Adil Shah, the Kutb Shah, the Portuguese and the Siddis all court our favour and express an earnest desire to join our standard. If you had made such a common cause with all these and hunted Shivaji down from all sides, he could have been easily brought to his knees." But things are easier said than done.

In reply to these taunts Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan rendered a piquant reply to the Emperor saying that:

"If the Emperor remembered that this same Shivaji had before so cleverly managed to effect his escape in a strange manner from the strictest imperial custody at Agra, our
own offence would not appear after all so very blame­worthy."

Write Sabhasad,

"The news (of the Mughal defeat before Salher) reached, the Emperor and grieved him sorely. He did not make his public appearance for three days, saying "It seems God Almighty is pleased to deprive the Muslims of their Empire and bestow it upon an infidel. Why, I should rather die than live to see such results." The Emperor's foster-brother Bahadur Khan Koka, was then near the Emperor, when the latter uttered the above lamentation. He comforted the Emperor saying, "I am ready to go and retrieve the Mughal honour. I will attack Shivaji and humble him." The Emperor took comfort in this declaration and at once appointed Bahadur Khan to the government of the Deccan with Dilir Khan as his assistant. A local Marathi poet of the time thus described the Emperor's grief at the unbroken success of Shivaji:

Just as one cannot weigh the waters of the ocean,
As one cannot gaze at the noonday sun.
As one cannot grasp a live coal in his fist,
So cannot I overcome this Shivaji.

Soon after the battle of Salher Pratap Rao Gujar once more threatened Surat, but stayed his attack owing to other engagements. He, however, wrote a singular letter to the merchants and other people of Surat, which received an equally audacious reply from the Governor. These need not be repeated here: they show the pitch which the Mughal-Maratha antipathy had then reached. Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan informed the Emperor that Shivaji had sent them his own trusted ambassador Qazi Haidar for effecting an amicable settlement. But the Emperor would not think of making peace with Shivaji and ordered that the ambassador should be kept in confinement. He was then detained at Parenda, but soon effected his escape and returned to Shivaji's service. Obviously Shivaji intended to have his independent status formally re-

cognizance by the Emperor. As this effort failed he had to declare his independence to the world by a formal ceremony of coronation which soon after took place. By employing Qazi Haidar a Muslim Official for the delicate task of conducting peace negotiations, Shivaji showed that he entertained no class or religious prejudice, and that the Muslims loved him as much as the Hindus.

Soon after the capture of Salher and Mulher, the Peshwa Moropant descended into North Konkan and conquered the territories of Jawhar and Ramnagar in June 1672, thus clearing Shivaji's direct way to Surat, which city on that account remained in constant alarm ever after. The Emperor was unable to prevent it. Although most of the forts in Baglan also surrendered to Shivaji, his birthplace the fort of Shivner remained in the Mughal possession right up to about 1755.

The Rajas of Ramnagar had been receiving Chauth or one fourth of the land revenue from the Portuguese of Daman for a long time past to ensure their defence against Kolli raids. Shivaji, it is supposed, picked up this practice of exacting the levy of Chauth on the model of Ramnagar. It soon developed into a formidable instrument for the expansion of the Maratha power, after Shivaji's death.

Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan took vigorous measures against Shivaji and exerted themselves most energetically in restoring the lost prestige of the Emperor. With a view to having a greater check upon Shivaji's central government at Poona, Bahadur Khan transferred the principal Mughal camp from Aurangabad to Pedgaon situated at a convenient bend of the river Bhuna east of Poona. A large fort came to be constructed at Pedgaon during 1672 and onward and it was named Bahadurgad.

The three years 1669-1672 were a time of peculiar strain for Shivaji and his men. But it is this strain which called forth sacrifice, co-operation, and a sense of national unity and brotherhood, and stopped for a time the fissiparous tendencies of the Marathas. National unity and joint efforts thus came into being for the first time under the inspiring head of Shivaji.

9. See भक्ती सत्यता P. 150.
Indeed this is the greatest service Shivaji did his nation as is testified to by Grant Duff.  

5. Panhala taken.—While engaged in dealing blows at the Mughal Empire, Shivaji continued nibbling at the possessions of Bijapur also. But on the whole there was peace between them since the expedition of Jay Sinh. This peace came to be disturbed on the death of Ali Adil Shah II on 24 November 1672, which caused a scramble for power among the officials and ministers of the Adil Shahi State. On this occasion Shivaji was engaged in consolidating his possessions from north to south along the Sahyadri range and was careful in holding strongly those forts and posts which had political and strategic significance. Like Sinhgad for the Poona region, the fort of Panhala was coveted by him for the security of his southern section. His memorable fight at Panhala with Siddi Jawhar Sahibat Khan had before this proved fruitless and the fort had remained in Bijapuri possession since 22 September 1660 with a strong garrison to defend it against any sudden move on the part of Shivaji. When Sinhgad was secured by the death of the Tumliji Malusre, Shivaji became ever more impatient to get back Panhala, and concerted measures for its recovery. He assembled a band of valiant fighters at Rajapur and asked Anaji Daitto to lead them against Panhala. Anaji obtained a clever co-worker Kondaji Ravlekar and arranged a sudden attack upon Panhala on a dark night, nearly on the same plan that had been adopted by Tumliji Malusre at Sinhgad two years before. Kondaji managed to obtain a secret entrance into the fort in disguise and seduced the garrison. On the night of 6 March 1673, the 13th dark moon of Phalgun, the Maratha Captain secretly scaled the walls with sixty select companions by means of rope ladders and suddenly created such a noise and confusion by means of trumpet calls and yells that the defenders did not realize what had happened and what was to be done. Kondaji's men opened the gates and Anaji Pant's bands rushed in, sabring every one that came.

10. "The highest legacy of Shivaji to his nation was not the territory and treasures he acquired but the example of service and sacrifice which he infused into the Maratha people."
to oppose them. They went straight to the Chief Keeper Babu Khan’s residence and killed him outright. Nagoji Pandit, Babu Khan’s second in command, got such a fright that he ran away for his life. Thus with no one to lead the garrison, the fort fell easily into Maratha hands. A vast amount of buried wealth was recovered by threatening severe punishment. Shivaji received the news at Raigad and immediately repaired to Panhala for making permanent arrangements for its defence. Satara and Parli were two other forts belonging to Bijapur in that sector and these were secured quickly. The Bijapur monarchy was hastening to its final extinction. Fort Parli was handed by Shivaji to Samarth Ramdas for his shrine and renamed Sajjangad or the fort of the pious.

In heroic and lively strains this capture of Panhala has been celebrated by the Sanskrit poet Jayram Pindy and his account, absolutely contemporary, deserves a careful study.  

6. Pratap Rao Gujar’s Sacrifice.—The Bijapurians could not take all this lying down. Chawas Khan, the minister in power, at once despatched Bahlol Khan with armies and provisions for wresting back Panhala. The news of this fresh advance reached Shivaji, and deciding to encounter the Khan before he had proceeded far from Bijapur, Shivaji sent Pratap Rao Gujar and Anand Rao Makaji to oppose him. The two forces came into contact near Umbrani about 36 miles west of Bijapur. The Marathas hovered round the Bijapurians and starved them out. Unable to stand the privation any longer, the Muslim troops came out for an open action on 15 April 1673, when they were beaten with heavy loss. Bahlol Khan entreated Pratap Rao for quarters which he at once gave in a chivalrous spirit. The Khan was allowed to return, but he treacherously broke his word and started a quick offensive in another direction.

When Shivaji heard the full account of the battle of Umbrani he considered Pratap Rao’s generosity entirely misplaced in allowing Bahlol Khan to go away unscathed when he was fully in the Maratha clutches. Shivaji imparted a strong reprimand to his commander about his conduct and asked...
ed him not to show his face to him again until he had brought Bahiol Khan to complete submission. Pratap Ráo's pride was sorely touched by this unwonted censure from his master, and he immediately started in pursuit of the Khan, rightly guessing that the Khan would come out again at him if he would savage the Kolhapur districts by levying a heavy blackmail. Pratap Ráo left his headquarters first proceeding to the south and plundering the rich town of Hubli. Bahiol Khan, as expected, came against him with his full force, fired with a resolve to reconquer south Konkan from Shivaji. Bahiol Khan was soon joined by Sharrza Khan and they together started their work with great fury and determination. Pratap Ráo keenly watched for an opportunity to face Bahiol Khan in a personal combat, and having been informed by his spies of the Khan’s exact position, fell upon him in the narrow pass of Nesari near Gad-Hinglaj about a mile to the north of the Ghataprabha river. When Pratap Ráo received the news, he was alone with only 6 or 7 of his own bodyguards, his main army far behind; but fired with anger and in reckless disregard of ordinary precautions, he set out and attacked the Khan’s army. But how could eight men, however powerful and determined, hope to beat thousands! These were all quickly cut down on 24 February 1674. Pratap Ráo fell fighting like a brave warrior proving how dearly he loved his master’s cause in preference to his own life. How much Shivaji mourned his Senapati’s death and reproached himself for this sad result, can be better imagined than described.

Pratap Ráo’s help-mate Anand Ráo Mákájí was not far away when the former fell, and upon learning the news of his death hastened to avenge it. Bahiol Khan received timely help from Dilir Khan and extricated himself from the difficult situation in which he found himself. Anand Ráo plundered Sampgaon the principal seat of Bahiol Khan’s jagir, and carried away a plunder of 1½ lacs báns (23 March 1674). On his way back he was surprised by Bahiol Khan, but beat back the attacking force and returned home safely in high spirits. These events bring the story of Shivaji to the most glorious event of his life, his coronation.
CHAPTER IX
THE FULFILMENT
{1674—1676}

1. The Coronation,—its true significance.

The Coronation,—its true significance.—Man is fond not only of work and achievement, but of exhibition and demonstration as well. By performing a splendid coronation ceremony in the old orthodox fashion, which had long been in abeyance for the Hindu nation, Shivaji revived the ancient custom and proclaimed the restoration of full Hindu sovereignty at least over one corner of India.

The ceremony consists of the erection of a throne and its formal occupation after a ritual bath and the sprinkling of holy waters accompanied by Vedic incantations. This was considered to be an excellent method for Shivaji's novel experiment of attracting public attention and confirming his ideal in the Indian imagination. Most of the Maratha nobles had the long established tradition of being addressed as "Rajas," but this did not mean actual kingship. Nor were there any Maratha kings of old who had celebrated the coronation ceremony since the days of the ancient Guptas. After long and deep deliberation with his counsellors, Shivaji conceived the plan of impressing not only on the Hindu but on the Muslim and Christian Powers of India as well, that the Marathas were now masters of their legitimate home, that the religious persecution of the past would no longer be tolerated, and that

1 श्रीकृष्णदेव राय द्वारा विपणित अंश

2 The Ceremony.

3 A year of unrest all round.

Victor over every other King on earth
This sovereign has mounted the throne;
He has lanced the Delhi King's heart;
Such alone we call "Lord of Men."
full religious liberty for all was the essence of the new State. The title of the Chhatrapati for the Maratha king was specially borrowed from Sanskrit works to convey this meaning.

At the same time Shivaji by this ceremony dealt a death-blow to the notion that he was a jagirdar of the Bijapur State and as such its bond servant, or that he was a mere robber. There were still some Maratha nobles who could not conceive an independent position and who hugged the idea that they were vassals of Bijapur. Such antiquated notions were to be forever shattered: once an independent kingdom is formally proclaimed, the king could exercise the inherent right of levying taxes, of dealing with other Powers on terms of equality and prove that he was no longer to be looked upon as a mere upstart. There was also a prevalent notion even among his own chieftains that there no longer existed any Kshatriyas of ancient tradition and that there could now be no Kshatriya king after the great Parashuram had annihilated that caste. This palpably absurd social theory required to be knocked on its head by means of a bold stroke. With these various purposes in mind, Shivaji decided upon his own formal coronation and laboured to establish his lineal connection with the Sisodia Kshatriya clan of the north.

By the beginning of 1673 the idea of a public coronation began to materialize, and when preparations were fully completed, the event took place at fort Raigad, on Friday 5 June 1674, the day of the sun's entering the constellation Leo.

The orthodox Brahman opinion was not favourable to Shivaji's claim to be recognised as a Kshatriya by blood, although he had proved this claim by action. More than a thousand years had passed since such a ceremony was last performed, and on that account men's memories had been entirely dimmed. All ancient learning of the Deccan had migrated to Benares after the invasion of Ala-ud-din Khilji and the Muslim conquest of the Deccan. Ancient families noted for hereditary learning like the Deva, the Dharmadhikaris, the Sheshas, the Bhattas, the Maunis, had left their hearths and homes at Paithan, with all their sacred books, and opened their new university of letters on the bank of the holy Ganges. The ignorant unthinking folks of Paithan had now no voice of authority left in them. Benares now began to dominate Hindu
thought and learning. So Shivaji had to negotiate with Gaga Bhatt of Benares, a learned representative of that school of Hindu law-givers. He was invited to Raigad to arrange the details in such a way as to suit the needs of the present moment as much as to conform to the ancient usage.

During the reign of Akbar a learned Brahman of Benares named Krishna Narasinha Shesha wrote a work entitled *Shudrdchdr Shromani* (the head-jewel of the functions of the Shudra caste) wherein a theory was promulgated that there existed no Kshatriya caste in the present Kali age. The soul of Shivaji could not tolerate this humiliating position. The pronouncement of Krishna Shesha must be publicly refuted. So he sent a deputation of some learned Brahmanas, Kesuiah Bhat Purohit, Bhulasandra Bhat, Somanath Katre, to go to Udepur and other centres of Kshatriya tradition in North India and rally their opinion in favour of renovating the Kshatriya caste and declaring that caste being never extinct. The deputation was headed by Balaji Avii, the keeper of Shivaji’s plans and a consummate diplomat. The avowed object of this regenerating movement was to purge society of stupid irrational notions, to put an end to the degradation that ignorance had inflicted in the spheres of the national language, the national religion and national patriotism. The deputation sought out an equally versatile opponent to Krishna Shesha, in the person of Vishveshwar alias Gagg Bhatta, whose ancestor Govind Bhatta, had left Paithn and taken up his residence at Benares early in the 16th century, and who was now ready to display his deep erudition and sharp dialectical powers and beat Krishna Shesha on his own ground. Govind Bhatta’s descendants formed a large school of learning and opinion at Benares and produced numerous works of outstanding merit on religion, law and polity, which are even to-day taken as authoritative in Indian courts.

2. स्वयं-वाक्यावली-वस्तुलक्ष्यामध्ये पर्वत जमल जन्म हुआ।

3. These are under the titles of यथार्थ, प्रवक्त, अनुभवद अथवा अवतारण.

यथार्थ by Nikhilat Bhatt, निर्वक्त by कात्तिक भट्ट, अनुभव by Kamakhush Bhatt, अथवा अवतारण by Dikshat Bhatt. All these works of religious tracts and treatises are all well known to students of Hindu Law.
The Rajput princes respected the Bhatt family so highly that no ceremony could be completed in that part of India without some member of their learned family being present to officiate at the function. Vishveshwar alias Gaga was himself an author of repute and has to his credit an important standard work, \textit{Khyastha Dharma Pradip}, in which the fanciful theories of the Shudradchdr Shiromani have been fully demolished and Kshatriya rites have been granted to the Kayastha caste. At all social and religious conferences of Benares the Bhuttas always received the honour of precedence. The deputation headed by Balaji returned after completing the preliminary arrangements.

Shivaji held consultations with his counsellors and his guru like Ramdas, and having formed his decision sent his agent Govind Bhat Khedkar to escort Gaga Bhatt to Raigad with all honours due to his position. The Bhatt arrived in due course and held consultations with prominent representatives of the various views on the subject of the Raja's coronation. He convinced his opponents about the necessity of looking upon Shivaji as a Heaven-sent warrior of undoubted Kshatriya characteristics and attributes as defined in the Smritis and the Bhagawadgita. In Shivaji, he maintained, the merciful Almighty has once again incarnated himself in order to protect the people persecuted by Aurangzeb. Gaga Bhatt possessed great erudition and persuasive oratory and won over to his views most of the great intellects then living in Maharashtra. He was helped by the clever Balaji Avji under Shivaji's own direction.

Many distinguished guests were invited and brought to Raigad in special Palkis. An immense concourse of Pandits, diplomats, commanders, nobles, friends and relatives gathered at the capital. The coronation meant the performance of all the prescribed ceremonies of a twice born (\textit{Dvija}) which in the case of Shivaji had been neglected and which required grand preparations, water brought in sacred jars from holy rivers, horses and elephants of healthy auspicious signs, skins of deer and tigers, fly-whisks and umbrellas of particular makes, gold jars of varied shapes, and last of all a gorgeous throne of such
shape and size as are enjoined in the scriptures. The construc-
tion of the various edifices and requirements, such as palaces,
temples, tanks, gates, fortifications, guest-houses, offices, 
magazines and stores, was carefully attended to.

Before the ceremonies began, Shivaji paid a visit of in-
spection to the Konkan regions, to Chiplun in particular, 
where he held a military review and issued some drastic orders 
quoted later, for the efficient performance of the various mil-
tary duties. He returned to Raigad and appointed Hambir 
Rao Mohite as Sendpatti in the place of Pratap Rao Gujar re-
cently killed. On the way from Chiplun Shivaji visited Pratap-
gad, worshipped his family deity the Tulja Bhavani, present-
ing her a gold umbrella worth Rs. 56,000. On Jyestha Shuddha 
4 Shuk 1596 corresponding to 29 May 1674 Shivaji had his 
thread ceremony performed with due rites, and two days after, 
on Jyestha Shuddha 6, his marriage with the chief queen was 
rehearsed with Vedic rites. Purnakharnikai, sacrificial fire, 
penances and rites for averting evil (Shnatinis), were all duly 
executed in consonance with Vedic prescription and incanta-
tions of hymns.

\[1/2.\] The Ceremony of his Coronation.—After all these 
preliminary rituals came the principal function, which took 
place an hour before sunrise on Saturday Jyestha Shuddha 
13 corresponding to June 6, 1674, when Shivaji ascended the 
throne and the royal umbrella was held over his head. He 
was dressed in costly clothes and ornaments. His family priest 
Balam Bhutt, son of Prabhakar, acted as the Chiet minister, 
conducting the religious part of the ceremony. Shivaji was 
weighted against gold and other articles which were given away 
in charity. His weight is mentioned to have been 16000 hons, 
which comes to about 140 lbs (1 hon=7/24 tola). English let-
ters give his weight as 150 lbs, which shews that he was not 
at all inclined to obesity. Henry Oxenden, a relative of the Pre-
sident George Oxenden of Surat, who was present at Raigad 
on deputation from the East India Company on that occasion 
by invitation, has left a realistic narrative of what he saw and 
heard personally about this grand ceremony.

5. An elaborate account of these has been recently published in 
Shiva Charitra Sahitya, Vol III, No. 125.
The throne was a raised seat rich and stately, nearly square in shape 13 ft. by 12 ft. with four pillars at the four corners, to hold up the awning made of the cloth of gold. When Shivaji took his seat on it, the eight ministers stood around holding the various insignia of royalty in their hands. Beyond them stood the other officials, vassals, guests and distinguished visitors. Shivaji was sprinkled with holy waters and had sacred rice showered on him by the Brahmins and priests singing Vedic hymns to the accompaniment of offerings and the sweet strains of music. Gifts of money and clothes were distributed. Girli Bhatt the presiding priest getting one lac of cash in addition to costly clothes and ornaments. The subordinate priests received according to their ranks from 5 thousand to 25 Rs. each in cash. Other Brahmins received lesser amounts, no one getting less than 25 Rs. each. Ascetics, mendicants, recluses, hermits and all kinds of poor people that had assembled, received gifts, food and attention in various forms.

About 8 o'clock in the morning as soon as Shivaji became free from the religious performances, he gave an interview from the throne to Henry Oxenden. The latter was accompanied by his assistant and interpreter Nándy Senoy. The ambassador brought in presents, a ring, an English chain, a crest, a pair of wristlets set in jewels and a cluster of three large pearls all totalling to Rs. 3,000 in value. Return presents were given and the whole assembly was treated to pan and attar.

Thereafter Shivaji went on an elephant in procession to the temple of Jagdishwar when flowers made of gold and silver were showered among the throng, shouting victory to Shivaji. How elephants could get up to the fort appears a marvel today.

The cost of the ceremony together with the construction of the throne and the edifices is estimated by Sabhísad at Rs.

6. Note the verse carved there on stone:—

6. Note the verse carved there on stone:—

श्रीस्वामी श्रीस्वामी श्रीस्वामी

श्रीवास्तव श्रीवास्तव श्रीवास्तव

श्रीभवानी श्रीभवानी श्रीभवानी

श्रीभवानी श्रीभवानी श्रीभवानी
5 crores. This probably includes the fortifications and embellishment of the capital also. The ceremony alone is estimated by Sir Jadunath to have cost about 50 lacs of rupees. Old Jija Bai was fortunate enough to have witnessed the coronation ceremony and along with it the fulfilment of her dream of an independent kingdom for her son. She died just 11 days after the grand function, at her residence at Pichhod at the foot of Raigad on 17 June, 1674, "rejoicing to see" as Sir Jadunath writes, "before she closed her eyes that her son had reached the summit of human greatness, as the crowned king of the land of his birth, an irresistible conqueror, a strong defender of the religion, which was the solace of her life. A kind Providence seemed to have prolonged her life just long enough to witness the scene of his coronation." At Pachad the dilapidated remains of her palatial residence with wells and ramparts still remind the curious visitor of that pious lady's devotion.

The coronation ceremony was modelled on the old Aryan traditions. A gold-laced flag accompanying the vermilion coloured national emblem, the grand royal umbrella, the gigantic drum, these were the usual appurtenances of pristine Hindu royalty and were revived on this national occasion. The orange coloured flag, it must be noted, was not newly introduced at the behest of Ramdas. It was the Hindu national flag long before in use, habitually carried about by Maratha bands. The gold-laced costly emblem was meant for parading on ceremonial occasions. The whole plan and varied construction of the capital, can even now be well conceived from the broken remains that exist to-day of the walls, the pinnacles, the grand market street, the gates and ramparts, the Ganga Siagar tank, all in black hard stone.

Sir Jadunath has added many interesting details of this ceremony, which a student will do well to study. A few extracts are given here. "The preparations took many months. The epics and political treatises were ransacked by a syndicate of Pandits and agents sent to learn the modern practice of Udaipur and Jaipur. Invitations were sent to every part of India, Brahmans, nobles, local magistrates of the realm, agents of foreign states, distinguished visitors totalling eleven thou-

7. The ओर्फ़ा हैं and वरकर.
This Coronation Era introduced by Shivaji was in use to the end of the Marathi Raj in 1818. It is wrongly supposed to have been stopped by Nana Fadnis and Sakharam Bapu in 1777. They only prohibited the issue of formal letters in the name of Raja Shau II during the short period that elapsed between his adoption (15 Sept. 1777) and his formal Coronation on 20 Dec. 1777. This is how the note on p. 378 of the Dhadfale chronology can be interpreted.

Apart from the ritual and the spectacular ceremony, the occasion was mainly used for giving a final shape to the constitution of the Maratha Kingdom, parts of which had been already introduced from time to time as necessity arose. Some of the eight ministers were already in existence, and possibly also the title of Chhatrapati itself. The Raja now assumed the formal titles, Maharaja Chhatrapati, Lord of the Throne, Head of the Kshatriya race. Shivaji also started his own era of calculating time, which he called Raj-Shaka commencing from the date of his coronation, on account of which he is rightly called the Shakakarta, “the maker of an Era” or a person who has changed the character of Time. Before him there were in vogue two calculations, the Vikram-Era and the Shaka-Era. As for his official language Shivaji introduced Marathi in preference to Persian and Urdu, which Muslim rulers had imposed as a mark of their rule. Shivaji purposely borrowed Sanskrit phraseology for official purposes for which a special dictionary of court terms called the Rajavyavahar Kosh was prepared and adopted. This fine work was executed under the able direction of Raghunathpant Haramanwale by various learned Pandits among whom one Dhundiraj Lakshman Vyas is specially mentioned. Similarly rules and regulations were framed for the conduct of administrative work, including forms of address, seals for the completion and authenticity of official documents. The most noteworthy features of Shivaji’s constitution was the creation of the eight departments assigned...
to the eight different ministers styled the Ashta Pradhan, borrowed in the main (though not in its present developed form) from Shukraniti and other ancient works on Aryan polity. The names of the ministers and their official designations in Persian and Sanskrit are given below. The following four ministers had their seats on the right side of the throne:—

1. Peshwa—Mukhya Pradhan (the Prime Minister), Moro Trimal Pingle. The salary of the post was fifteen thousand hons a year.
2. Munnadar, Amārya (Revenue Minister), Ramachandra Nilkanth, whose salary was twelve thousand hons a year.
3. Surnis, Sarchie, (Finance Minister), Anaji Datto.
4. Wagensavia, Mentrī, (Personal Adviser, Home Member or Chief Secretary), Dattaji Trimbak.

The following four had seats on the left side of the throne:—

5. Sarnaubat, Sennapati (Commander-in-Chief), Hambir Rāo Mohite.
6. Dabir, Sumant (Foreign Minister), Rāmchandra Trimbak.
8. Panditrī (Minister for Religion), Raghu Nath Pandit. The salary of the last six was ten thousand hons. A hon was equivalent to about 3½ Rs.

It need not be mentioned how much this grand ceremony of Shivaji rejoiced the hearts of the Hindus in general and of the Marathas in particular and impressed the Hindu race with the appearance of a new defender to uphold their religion and liberty, which had suffered oppression under Muslim yoke for centuries past. In contrast the celebration must have as heavily depressed the Emperor. We have no evidence to show what the authorities at Bijapur and Golkonda felt at the news of Shivaji's coronation. They were last hastening to their
ignominious dissolution and they had hardly time to think of anything beyond their own survival from the declared greed of the Emperor.

Although this coronation ceremony established Shivaji as full-fledged Kshatriya, there was certainly a small section which found fault with the ceremonial on the ground that the 6 June of 1674 was under unfavourable stars. One Nischalpuri Godavi, a learned monk versed in the Tantric lore of incantation, boldly came forth to denounce what Shivaji had performed and foreboded evil consequences if a rectification was not immediately effected, citing the deaths of Jija Bai and one of Shivaji's wife soon after the coronation as proof of the allegation. Shivaji was not the man to give cause for any unnecessary irritation in harmless matters like this. He silenced the clamour by acceding to Nischalpuri's demand of having a fresh coronation ceremony held on a smaller scale. For this he invited Nischalpuri to Raigad and performed a supplementary ceremony three months later on the Lalita Panchami day (24 September 1674) the details of which have been published.12

3. A year of unrest all round.—The last six years of Shivaji's short life from coronation to death bear an essentially different character from the previous period. His own health, usually so robust, began to deteriorate with domestic troubles, particularly the evil character which his son Sambhaji began to disclose in an increasing degree, and his anxieties to ensure the permanence of the State he had created by life-long effort. It is a common experience that it is easier to build a fortune than to preserve it. The coronation ceremony put a final seal on all the nation-building efforts Shivaji had put forth in the past. But the Maratha State having thus come into being, had to be sustained and secured from internal conflicts as well as external attacks. Like his ill-behaved son Sambhaji, his stepbrother Ekoji too was by no means a friend to his cause. He inherited a certain prejudice against Shivaji and could not divest himself of a feeling of subordination to and dependence upon the Bijapur Sultan, which itself was then in its last
throes of death. Both Bijapur and Golkonda were dragging on
a precarious existence between Mughal aggression and Shiva­
ji's ambition.

Bahadur Khan had assured the Emperor that he would
do his best to bring the Maratha ruler down to his knees and
neutralise the effect of his coronation ceremony. How could
an Emperor tolerate an independent state in the midst of his
possessions? While the Raja was occupied with his corona­
tion ceremonies at Raigad, reports reached him that Bahadur
Khan was straining every nerve to undo all his work. Shivaji
thereupon decided to strike the first blow. While the strong
monsoon of 1674 was on, Shivaji sent his ambassador with
proposals of peace to Bahadur Khan, to divert his attention.
In the mean time Shivaji carried out a sudden raid upon the
principal Mughal camp at Pedgaon on the Bhima. He divided
his forces into two parties, the smaller one of 2000 troops
sought an open encounter with the Khan, who unwarily ad­
vanced about 50 miles to face the Marathas. When the Khan
had thus been lured away from his base, the other and main
division of the Marathas (more than 7000 strong) suddenly
fell upon the Mughal Camp, set fire to all their tents and
material and carried away more than a crore in plunder, in­
cluding 200 select horses, which had been intended as a present
for the Emperor. This happened in the month of July within
a few weeks of the Coronation at Raigad. The attack was
pressed during the next two months. Shivaji's men carried
fire and sword through the Koli country of Jawhar and Rām­
nagar. About the Dussehra time (October) Shivaji himself led
an expedition through English, Khandesh and Bārār, plunder­
ing the Mughal territory right from Aurangabad northward.
Among other places Shivaji pillaged and burnt the English
factory at Dharangaon near Erandole. The Mughal officer of
the place Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi bravely came forth to
oppose Shivaji, but being routed with a loss of 300 men, he
fled to Aurangabad for refuge. (November 1674).

Bahadur Khan found himself entirely thwarted on every
side in dealing with Shivaji, and gladly entered into negoti­
tions for the peace which Shivaji had been offering for some
time. Shivaji agreed to restore 17 forts to the Emperor and
allow his own son to be entertained as a six-thousand mansab­
der in the Mughal army. The terms were reported to the Emperor, who sent his sanction. But by the time the negotiations came to be concluded, Shivaji assumed a different tone, and dismissed the Mughal ambassadors who had arrived for arranging the terms. The affair fell through with the result that Bahadur Khan was thoroughly lowered in the Emperor's estimation. "Bahadur Khan was like a petted child," said Shivaji. "He received a large bribe secretly from Shivaji, under the cloak of a tribute for his master and concluded a formal peace with the Marathas."  

For two years after Shivaji's coronation Bahadur Khan was left alone in charge of the Mughal interests in the Deccan, the indefatigable Dilir Khan having been recalled by the Emperor to the north, from April 1674 to June 1676. Aurangzeb soon perceived that Bahadur Khan was not equal to the task of subduing Shivaji and looked about for the best way of accomplishing that object. Why he himself did not come against Shivaji it is difficult to say. Possibly he did not like personally to take the lead. He consulted Dilir Khan on the subject and it was found that unless there was some one well acquainted with the geographical situation and the leading men of the Deccan, it would not be possible to subdue Shivaji. Such a man in their opinion was Netaji Pillar who had long ago fallen out with Shivaji and being now a convert to the Muslim faith would, they conceived, support the imperial cause. Netaji alias Muhammad Kuli Khan, was sent for and he readily agreed to do his best in entrapping Shivaji if he was freely supplied with the necessary treasure and materials. The Emperor granted all that Netaji demanded and despatched him and Dilir Khan together for the destruction of Shivaji. They obtained news of Shivaji's movements and came upon him somewhere in the vicinity of Satara. One morning Netaji was suddenly missed from the Mughal Camp. He secretly rode away, came and met Shivaji privately and explained to him all that had happened. He had now been a Muslim convert for some eight years and had left his new family in the north. He solicited Shivaji for a reconversion and was at once admitted into the Hindu fold after performing the prescribed penance (prayaschitta) on 19 June 1676. Thus the Emperor's deep-laid plan of overcoming Shivaji was foiled.
Netaji continued thereafter in Shivaji's service and died an old man during Sambhaji's reign, but nothing is on record about this last phase of his life.

The State of Bijapur was now sinking deeper and deeper into ruin through a succession of ministerial revolutions. The boy Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah was on the throne with Khawas Khan as the principal minister wielding all authority. Aurangzeb urged his generals Baladur Khan and Dilir Khan to subjugate the Adilshahi state now that it was in its weakest condition. Khawas Khan intrigued with Baladur Khan, to whom he paid a personal visit on 19 October 1675 at a place on the banks of the Bhima. This visit was interpreted as a move on Khawan Khan's part to sell away the Adilshahi raj for some paltry selfish gain. Khawas Khan's rival Bahlol Khan got scent of this ruinous move, and at once put Khawas Khan under confinement at Bankapur and himself seized all power, (19 November 1675).

Shivaji was not slow to turn this opportunity to his advantage. The Portuguese of Goa too were equally alert in guarding their own realm, in case Shivaji succeeded in aggrandising his power at the expense of Bijapur, particularly on the coastal regions. Wherever there was any war on hand between some country Power of India, it was the usual practice of these European maritime traders to make huge profits by supplying guns, arms and ammunition to the contending parties. This had attracted Shivaji's attention long since and he was anxious to develop his own naval resources and wrest both power and trade out of European hands. For this purpose he employed the consummate diplomat Pitambar Shenoi, who was well posted in the affairs and rivalries of these European traders and knew how to read and write their language. Through Pitambar's influence Shivaji borrowed the services of a few Portuguese naval and artillery experts from Goa and established his own ship-building yards and arsenals at Malwan. It was Pitambar Shenoi who supplied Shivaji with valuable

12. A letter dated 6 December 1676 mentions that Pitambar was kept under arrest by Shivaji and all his papers and property confiscated. This shows Pitambar fell from Shivaji's favour for a time, but was upon inquiry absolved from blame and restored to office. Pitambar died about 1st September 1678.
details of the levy of the Chauth cess, which the Portuguese and some of the coastal powers were in the habit of paying and receiving. Shivaji adopted the system for his own purpose and developed it into a profitable instrument for the expansion of his swarajya.

From Kolaba to Malwan the west coast was already in Shivaji’s possession with fortified bases at Kolaba, Suvarna­durg, Vijaydurg and Sindudurg. Chaul and Janjira were thorns for Shivaji lying in between. Immediately to the south was the important post of Goa, from which the Portuguese could check Shivaji’s naval enterprises. South of Goa there were two more posts Ponda and Karwar, both strong and suitable, belonging to Bijapur, which Shivaji coveted in order to hold the Portuguese in restraint, and also to control the Siddi of Janjira. For executing his plan Shivaji soon after his coronation deputed Antaji Datto to try and capture Ponda from the Bijapurians. Antaji proceeded on his task in August 1674 and invested the place, which was valiantly defended by the Bijapuri keeper Muhammad Khan. As Antaji found his efforts unavailing, Shivaji started for his support, reached Bijapur on 22 March 1675 and thence despatched 40 vessels full of war material by sea to be used against Ponda. Shivaji himself proceeded against the place by land and besieged it on 8 April. Bahlol Khan ran to the rescue of Ponda, but was stopped on the way by Shivaji’s men. Muhammad Khan soon found his position untenable and surrendered Ponda on 6 May 1675. Shivaji immediately strengthened the defences of the place and provided a strong and picked garrison for its future protection. He thus established his own counterpoise against Goa. His clever foresight could hardly be too much commended. He thereafter marched still southward and captured Karwar as well, with its marine fort called Sadashivgad. He also annexed the neighbouring State of Sondha. This southern move extended Shivaji’s responsibilities which required to be securely looked after. He created a fresh territorial division and appointed to its head an efficient officer Dharmanji Nagnath, just as Raja Someshwar was managing the district from Nijapur to Malvan. These two clever governors proved an effective check upon the Portuguese of Goa.

While in this region Shivaji’s help was solicited by the
Rani of Bednur for bringing to submission her disloyal general Timmanna who had defied her authority. Shivaji readily accepted the mission and extended his principle of Chauth to the Rani's jurisdiction. She agreed to pay the Chauth to Shivaji and purchased his protection. For this purpose he stationed Umaji Pandit at Bednur and completed the arrangements. He returned to Rajapur on 12 June 1675, having at one stroke confirmed his hold on the western coast practically from Ramnagar (near Daman) in the north to Basur (port of Bednur) in the south. Soon after this he arrived at Raipad.

The fort of Satara also belonged to Bijapur and was captured by Shivaji on 11 November 1675. He liked the place very much, and at once took up his residence there, assigning the neighbouring fort of Parli to his Guru Ramdas, for whom he had recently conceived the highest reverence and from whom he received great comfort and solace in the midst of his numerous anxieties, which necessitated frequent mutual communication and exchange of visits. Thus during the year following his coronation Shivaji practically seized all the western territories of Bijapur, at the same time holding at bay Bahadur Khan the Mughal General in the manner already described.

Towards the end of 1675 when Shivaji was residing at Satara, he suddenly fell so seriously ill that reports spread abroad that he had died. A sudden and extreme depression took possession of his mind probably on account of his son Sambhaji's misbehaviour. "Sambhaji fell under disfavour and was kept confined with Umaji Pandit to give him lessons at Shringapur."

Thereafter Sambhaji was for a time put under Rama's care also. But there was no improvement in him. It seems Shivaji recovered his health in the early months of 1676 and stayed for a time at Panhala. "He attacked Khatav, pulled down its old fortifications, and created fresh defences," is an entry for 20 October 1676.13

13. See Prabhakar Shaskarali, Article 58 p. 29 of Prabhakar Bakhar.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1672 April 21</td>
<td>Abdullah Qutb Shah dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ Nov. 24</td>
<td>Ali Adil Shah II dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1675 March 17</td>
<td>Ekoji crowned at Tanjore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1676</td>
<td>Shivaji decides upon his Karnataka expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1677 Jan.</td>
<td>Shivaji’s army moves against Koppal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ „</td>
<td>Shivaji leaves for Haidarabad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ March</td>
<td>The Miana brothers are humbled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ „</td>
<td>Shivaji at Bhagatnagar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ April</td>
<td>Do Visits Shri Shaila.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ May</td>
<td>Do captures Jinji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ „ 23</td>
<td>Do besieges Vellore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ July 5</td>
<td>Do humbles Sher Khan Lodi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ July 3rd week</td>
<td>Do encamps on the Coleroon, receives tribute from Choknarth Nayak &amp; a visit from his brother Ekoji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ „ 27</td>
<td>Do leaves Tanjore territories.</td>
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<tr>
<td>„ Nov. 16</td>
<td>Ekoji routed at Valigandapuram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ „</td>
<td>Shivaji reaches Gadag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678 Feb.</td>
<td>Sher Khan Lodi’s son pays ransom and is released.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678 March 1</td>
<td>Shivaji’s letter to Ekoji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„ July 22</td>
<td>Treaty of peace between the two brothers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1679</td>
<td>Vellore captured by Shivaji’s troops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680 Jan.</td>
<td>Shivaji’s letters to Dina Bai and Raghunath Pant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680 Jan.</td>
<td>Shivaji’s last letter to his brother.</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER X.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH

[1677—1678]

1. Expansion southwards, necessity and opportunity.—

Notwithstanding all the grandeur of his coronation and his assumption of the lofty titles of full sovereignty, Shivaji's actual dominions even now hardly extended beyond about 200 miles in length and far less in breadth, and did not cover even the whole of the Maratha country. The Siddi and the Portuguese were his nearest opponents on the west coast. The kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda remained a constant threat on his eastern flank, and although in themselves innocuous, they could serve as an easy instrument in the hands of the Mughals for attacking him. The Mughal pressure from the north was daily approaching his borders. His own brother too was now like him a crowned king and no less entitled to sovereignty. Digvijay or the conquest of the four quarters thus became a necessity of his situation, and was considered vital by the time-honoured tradition.

Although Shivaji was careful in husbanding his resources in all possible ways by benevolent administration, extension of cultivation and trade and by occasional plunder, his treasury had become empty. Enormous sums had been spent upon the coronation, on the forts, on the naval programme and on raising the huge armies required for his ambitious projects. So money became his immediate need.

As his path in the north was securely blocked by the Mughals Shivaji decided during 1676 to expand his power in the south and prepared for an expedition at a convenient moment by arranging the preliminaries. He was already secure in the possession of the west coast and only the east coast re-
gions offered an outlet. Vellore, Jinji, Tanjore, were rich
places and could, he considered, be easily assimilated in his
Hindu Empire. He found a ready pretext for such a venture
through the astute Golkonda minister Madanna.

Madanna was a respectable Hindu politician, who had recently organized the power and resources of the Kutbshahi kingdom in a satisfactory manner. The fertility of the east coast regions, the wealth of its famous diamond mines, the rich alluvial plains watered by several bountiful rivers, naturally attracted Shivaji towards the eastern belt of the Peninsula. The Muslims in the past had often devastated this soft Hindu land. Srinag Rai, the last prince of the old Vijayanagar dynasty, had long in vain exerted himself to save the old Hindu empire. But no substantial advance had been made in constructing a good orderly government in this part of the country. Shivaji decided to try his hand. The work belonged to the category of Hindu resurgence, which Shivaji had long ago undertaken and in which he now secured the ready help of Madan Pant of Golkonda and Raghunath Narayan Hanumante of Tanjore.

Eknath and his younger brother Madan were two Pandits of a Brahman family of Hanum-Konda in the Warangal district and are known to history as Akanna and Madanna. They first rose to eminence by dint of their innate capacity in the service of Mir-Jumla, the famous minister of the Kutbshahi, who became at last too rich and powerful to obey his master. The Shah found Madanna's services valuable in putting down the rebel, and thereafter employed him in reforming his administration. Madanna served his master for many years with ability, loyalty and devotion. Well-versed in the languages and affairs of the south and likewise in Sanskrit and Persian, he could very ably manage the Kutbshahi State in the midst of the shifting politics of the day.

The year 1672 proved calamitous both to Bijapur and Golkonda. Abdulla the ruler of the latter state died on 21st April and Ali Adilshah of the former on 24th November following, thus facilitating intervention by the Mughals and the Marathas. The situation at both the places became so full of intrigue and confusion that the troubles of the two kingdoms cannot be well analysed without a full grasp of the fast chang-
ing details. Abdulla Kutb Shah had no son, but his eldest son-in-law Saiyad Ahmad tried to secure the throne for himself. Saiyad Munafir, the Chief Commandant of the State forces, however, assisted Abul Hassan, the younger son-in-law of the late Sultan, to gain the throne and himself exercised full powers of Government. But Abul Hassan soon asserted himself with the help of Madan Pant or Madan, overthrew the domineering Saiyad Munafir and raised Madan Pant to the position of Chief Minister. The Shah conferred upon him the title of “Surva Prakâsh”. This gave rise to two factions in the State, the Hindu and the Muslim, but Madan with great sagacity and tact managed to conduct the administration successfully and satisfactorily until the State came to be finally extinguished by Aurangzeb after murdering Madan Pant.

European travellers of the time have recorded their observations on the last days of Bijapur and Golkonda, in which Madan Pant has been represented as a versatile sweet-tempered person, while his elder brother Akanna is described as whimsical and short-tempered. The latter was posted to the management of the Karnatak regions of the Kutb-Shahi State, but when Madan became the principal minister, he for a time appointed Akanna as an ambassador to the Court of Bijapur and later made him the Chief Military Commandant. Both had a large family of cousins and nephews whom Madan employed in various offices in the State as he needed loyal subordinates for faithfully carrying out the reforms he introduced. The natural result of this policy was the preponderance of the Hindus in the Golkonda administration, which raised the jealousy of the Muslim section who obeyed no law and who started intrigue and foul play. This state of things gave Aurangzeb a useful handle to work its ruin.

While Golkonda was thus dragging on its wearisome existence, Shivaji stepped in to work out his policy of expansion. In this undertaking he had to deal with his own step-brother Ekoji who had just captured Tanjore and had himself crowned there on 17 March 1675 (the Hindu New Year’s Day of Shak 1597 Rakshasa Samvatsar), probably in imitation of Shivaji’s similar action in Maharashtra. This development requires a little more elucidation for which we must first study the rela-
tions existing between Ekoji and the Hanumante family who had long and loyally served Shahji in the Karnatak.

Like Dadaji Kondadev in Maharashtra Naro Trimal Hanumante had been in Shahji's employ first under the Nizamshah and had later migrated with him to Bangalore. Soon after Naropant died leaving two able sons Janardan and Raghunath, who in their turn continued to render faithful service to Shahji. Janardan Pant's services were transferred to Shivaji while Raghunath Pant continued to look after Shahji's interests in the Karnatak. After Shahji's death Raghunath Pant served Ekoji with equal zeal and capacity. The principality of Tanjore was a vassal of Bijapur. Ekoji managed to take possession of it in 1675 under the advice and guidance of Raghunath Pant. Whether his coronation connoted a break from the vassalage of Bijapur is a moot point. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that Ekoji's administration under the wise guidance of Raghunath Pant proved highly beneficial to the subjects. The Jesuit Missionary writes in 1676—

"Vyankoji sought to make himself beloved by the people. The justice and wisdom of his government began to close the wounds of the preceding reign and to develop the natural resources of the country. By repairing the canals and tanks he gave fertility to the vast fields which had been left untilled for many years, and the last harvest (of 1676) has surpassed all that was seen before."1

But friction soon arose between Ekoji and his minister of which the cause is not clear. Ekoji must have felt jealous of Shivaji's achievements and did not like to merge his individuality in his brother's experiment, however advisable or alluring that might be to the outside public. Any way the friction between the two soon came to a head; Ekoji could no longer put up with the ways of the overbearing Pandit however wise he might have been. The Pandit threatened the master with resignation adding that he had capacity enough to carve out for himself a useful field of activity elsewhere. Ekoji at once gave him formal leave to depart. He left Tanjore with his whole family, giving out that he was proceeding to Benares to end his days there. On his journey north he

thought out a grand ingenious plan of action having already been well-posted with the state of affairs at Golkonda, Bijapur and Raigad. He learned of Madan Pant’s move to secure Shivaji’s support on behalf of Golkonda; and as no one could then anticipate that the great regenerator of the Hindus was going to die prematurely, he rightly perceived that he could help that hero in his schemes of Maratha expansion in the south. Shivaji’s early death and Aurangzeb’s subsequent invasion of the south should not lead us to under-estimate the possibilities of the course of action adopted by Shivaji three years before his premature end. Having revolved a bold project in his mind, Raghunath Pant first proceeded to Bijapur and having studied the situation of that state, visited Madan Pant at Bhaganagar, whom he did not find it difficult to win over to his views. They meditated together long in private and matured plans of Hindu regeneration. They then took the Kutb-Shah into their confidence and persuaded him for his own safety to work in cooperation for a joint conquest of the south. The Shah agreed to receive a personal visit from Shivaji and pressed the Pandit to bring it about as quickly as possible. Harunante, therefore, immediately repaired to Shivaji’s residence and lucidly unfolded to him the grand plans of Hindu expansion in the south and discussed the pros and cons of the venture.

For a long time, however, Shivaji felt extreme hesitation and to strengthen his own inner voice, he thought it necessary to secure the blessing of some pious saints which in his difficulty he was wont to invoke. A Muslim Fakir named Babu Yaqut lived at Kelsi near Dapoli, whose favour was sought by many a person in distress. Babu Yaqut’s tomb is even now held in veneration and receives from Government a grant for its up-keep and anniversary celebration, which has continued from Shivaji’s time. There was another saint named Mauni Bova at Patgaon, near fort Rangna, now in the Kolhapur State Jurisdiction. He used to be silent and never spoke a word. Shivaji visited both these saints and obtained their blessings for the hazard he was undertaking.

Shivaji’s sanad conferring inani grants on this Mauni Bova is dated 3rd May 1678, that is, soon after his return from the Karnatak expedition.
By the end of 1676 all preparations were complete and the plan was set in motion almost with clock-work regularity. It was given out that Shivaji was going to the south for demanding from his step-brother his legal share of their paternal property and accumulations which the latter had entirely usurped.

2. Koppal seized.—The Hindus of the south who had long been oppressed by the Muslims hailed Shivaji’s expedition with all their heart, eager as they were to transfer their allegiance to Shivaji if he would extend them his protection. The fort of Koppal commanded the Bijapur possessions between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers and was securely held by two Afghan captains in Bijapuri service, Husain Khan Miina and his brother Abdul Rahim Khan. This “gate of the south” as Sabhasad calls it, was of strategic importance for Shivaji’s hold on the Karnatak. The Hindus of the Tungabhadra regions had sent pathetic appeals to Shivaji to put down the atrocities perpetrated upon them by the Miina brothers. So when Shivaji decided to visit Golconda, he thought it necessary to subdue these two Afghan chiefs with a view to preventing them from threatening his rear from Koppal. When he arranged his march southward early in January 1677, he despatched a strong force in two divisions under Hambir Rao Mohite and Dhanaji Jadhav to put down the Miina pathans and secure Koppal. Some stiff actions took place and the Marathas succeeded in inflicting severe defeats upon the Afghans. Abdul Rahim Khan was killed and his brother Husain Khan was taken alive. He surrendered the fort of Koppal to Hambir Raso and was allowed to proceed wherever he liked. Hambir Raso and Dhanaji both joined Shivaji at Bhaganagar in March. The gate of the Eastern Karnatak was firmly secured and its possession opened the last memorable phase of Shivaji’s life.

Shivaji left Raigad on an auspicious day in Magh (end of January 1677), leaving Moropant Pingle and Anaji Datto in charge of the Government of the Deccan, to attend to the Mughals or other enemies, should they commit mischief in his absence. Raghunathpant, Niraji Rajeji, and his son Pratihaid Nairji proceeded to Bhaganagar in advance to arrange the details of Shivaji’s visit and to create a sense of perfect confidence and amity in the minds of the Golconda authorities, who were
3. Grand Visit to Bhaganagar.—From Raigad Shivaji proceeded to Vingorla probably to meet Mauni Bowle, and after receiving his benediction and accompanied by an army of 20 thousand well-equipped troops, made his way towards Bhaganagar. Netaji Pillar, Hambir Naka Mokale, Anand Rao Mulaji, Maraji More, Suryaji Masure, Venaji Kank, Dattaji Waqasavis, the Pingle brothers, Nila Prabhoo Paramnis, Bilihi Avji, Shivaji Naik Funde, these and other trusted and competent associates are mentioned as having accompanied him. Strict instructions were issued to all the Maratha troops and rigidly enforced, that no injury or oppression was to be committed upon the Kutbshahi lands and their people. Shivaji exacted severe discipline in this respect and made some examples of drastic punishment. On arrival near Haidarabad, he was received by Madan Pant at the outskirts of the capital and was taken into the town in a grand procession. His troops and officials were gorgeously dressed. The town of Bhaganagar was specially decorated. The citizens turned out in immense crowds to have a view of Shivaji and his men.

When Shivaji arrived at Qutb Shah's Dad Mahal or Palace of Justice, he left his escort outside and entered the mansion with only five followers. The Shah came to the door of the hall, received Shivaji on terms of equality and led him to his seat by his side on the royal carpet. The minister Madanra sat near them, the rest of the courtiers kept standing. The manly appearance of Shivaji and his men was most striking; the guests were all honoured with presents of dresses and ornaments. This concluded the first or formal visit.

Thereafter the two potentates had many private interviews in which they freely talked of past occurrences and future plans. If the Shah had entertained any fear from Shivaji's presence, it was entirely dispelled after the free conversations they had with mutual benefit and understanding. In the meantime Madan Pant entertained Shivaji at dinner at his own house.

3. The Bahadur Shriwadgijeya is very eloquent on this Kamatak business. Bhaganagar is the ancient name of Haidarabad.
where the minister's mother served Shivaji articles cooked with her own hand. The two brothers Madanna and Akanna sat during dinner by Shivaji's side and entertained him with talks and explanations covering various topics.

After long discussions and conferences a secret agreement was arrived at for the joint conquest of the southern regions of the east coast. The main clauses of the pact were that the Qutb Shah should pay 3,000 hons daily to defray the expenses of the Maratha army; that 5,000 Bhagangar troops should join the Marathas under Mirza Muhammad Amin; the conquered territory should be equally divided between the two parties; that they should jointly resist Mughal advance against either; and for the proper execution of the stipulations an accredited representative of Shivaji should be permanently posted at Bhagangar. In addition Shivaji agreed to pay 6 lakhs of hons by way of a yearly tribute to the Qutb Shah. It need not be mentioned that during the negotiations lasting for several days, mutual hospitality and entertainment went on smoothly all the time at the Kutbshahi capital. A grand expedition was immediately despatched for the southern operations, in which Shivaji nominated his two commandants Baji Sarvarao Jedhe and Vejaji Kanh.

Happily we have a reliable account of Shivaji's work, his aims in the present undertaking, and his general attitude towards contemporary politics, preserved in his own letter addressed to Maloji Ghorpade of Mudhol from Bhagangar in March 1677. It runs thus:—

"You are already aware how my late lamented father left the Nizamshahi State and accepted service under Bijapur during the regime of Ibrahim Adilshah and with what confidence that Shah treated him. My father's uppermost idea at the time was that whatever power he possessed should be utilized in raising the status of those Maratha Jagirdars who were wandering in search of livelihood, that they should attain distinction and confidence in managing the affairs of the State. With this object in view my father brought your father Baji Ghorpade for an interview with the Adilshah and raised him to the status of an imperial commander. I know what great...

It is a matter of sincere regret to me that your father forgetting all the good that my father had done to him, sided with Mustafa Khan in capturing him (my father). It was your father Baji Ghorpade who undertook the hazardous enterprise and gave over my father as a captive in Mustafa's hands, a summation which for years caused bitter enmity between your house and mine, resulting in open fighting and bloodshed on both sides. My people killed your father in a fight. Thus the enmity continued for a number of years; but now the time has arrived for rectifying the mistakes of the past; and with this view I now write this letter to explain the present political situation and advise you how to use it to mutual advantage.

"You are aware that there have been three Muslim states in the south, the Nizam Shahis, the Adil Shahis and the Qutb Shahis. Upon the first being destroyed by the Mughals, its great nobles came into the service of the Adil Shah after personal consultations and conferences. This Adil Shahi State, however, has now been seized by the Pathan Bahlol Khan. The Adil Shah is a minor, being a king only in name, but virtually under the Pathan's restraint; the throne, the umbrella and the fort of Bijapur are in the hands of the Pathan, a matter of evil portent to the interests of the Deccanis. If the Pathan is allowed to become powerful, he will surely ruin one and all the Deccani nobles. In order to obviate this, I have entered into a friendly understanding with the Qutb Shah, with whom I had purposely kept up amicable relations from the beginning, and who recently invited me for a personal visit in an autograph letter impressed with his own palm. I accepted his invitation and have met him. Upon learning that I had already declared myself an independent king, he excused me the usual Muslim ceremonials which he used to exact from one and all, viz., touching the ground with head before him. The Qutb Shah and I met on equal terms, both coming half way for the meeting. He received me most honourably and with sincere greetings. Holding me with his hand he seated me by his side and showed various marks of respect, cementing mutual friendship. After the customary ceremonials, we freely discussed political matters in which the Qutb-Shahi minister Madan Pant and I unitedly made certain proposals which the Shah cordially
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

agreed to. He places such a high confidence in me that I now hold a very favourable position which I can well utilise in promoting the interests of the Marathas and in reducing the power of the Pathans of Bijapur.

"As soon as an agreement was reached on both sides, my most anxious plan was to take into confidence the great Maratha nobles, bring them for an interview with the Kutb Shah, to offer them fresh prospects in office and with their help extend the dominion both of the Shah and the Marathas. You know how keen I have been in consolidating the Maratha power by bringing together all the scattered elements for a united action. Inspired with these motives I have arranged with the Kutb Shah that he should employ you into his service. For this we must at once lay aside our hereditary enmity. You must discard all your suspicion about me. Take my honest word that I am anxious to promote your interests and enclose for your compliance the formal letter of invitation which the Kutb Shah has addressed to you through me. You are born of a high family. You must trust me and immediately on receipt of this letter, you must contrive to get away from the service of the Pathan and meet me at Bhagwanagar by rapid marches. Please do not lose this splendid opportunity: take time by the forelock, send me immediately in advance an envoy of your confidence to arrange details at least four days before you arrive for the actual interview. I am at this moment in such a strong position to promote your interests, that I am sure you will ever afterwards remember my good offices: you, your sons and grand-sons too will remember them with gratitude. Here is a rare opportunity by which you can profit at the hands of the Kutb Shah. Do not hesitate to come, or to give up your loyalty to the Adil Shah, nor should you allow any distrust about me to come in your way. In reality where is the Bijapur State now? It came to an end when Khawas Khan was put to death, when the Pathan took possession of the city and the fort, and when the child king was imprisoned. (The Adilshahi State no longer exists and you have no justification for serving it. You cannot call it your own. The Pathan will offer you inducements, which might prevent you from taking the step I advise. But you must remember that the Pathan will not care for you; and in the meantime the Kutb Shah, the various Maratha
nobles and I, will soon swallow the Pathan up.) You Marathas are my kith and kin. Your interest is dear to my heart. That is why I write so freely. The Kutb Shah and I can give you double of what the Pathan may promise you. Nay, whatever more is possible will surely be done to reward your services. I have renounced all suspicion about you from my mind and sacredly swear having done so, calling my Goddess Bhavani to witness. I will not fail to keep my word. Fling away all suspicion about me, come to me at once and send your trusted envoy in advance with an oath in the name of your family God, that you on your part are as sincere as I am on mine. So let me have a sacred oath from you with your envoy. I shall never fail to advance your interests. What more shall I say?"

This important letter explains as nothing else does, the main object of Shivaji's life-endavour. It was to have Maratha independence established on the principle of cordial co-operation of all the leading Maratha members. Shivaji was not opposed to the Muslim religion as he cordially agreed to support the Kutb Shah on condition of his protecting the interests of the Hindus. He entertained no rancour for his Ghorpade cousins, if they would come in and join in his national work. Evidently as the State of Bijapur was collapsing, he wished to prevent the Mughals from absorbing it. His plan was to share that prize with the Kutb Shah, himself taking the essentially Maratha lands and leaving the Telugu country to the Kutb Shah. This also supplies a clue to Shivaji's move against his brother of Tanjore.

4. Bijapuri Karnatak seized.—Intent on seizing the Bijapuri territories, Shivaji left Bhaganagar about the end of March, and proceeded towards the south where his armies had already preceded him. He himself took this opportunity of visiting the famous shrines and places of pilgrimage on the way. He visited the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra known as the Nivritti or blissful Sangam, and performed acts of charity. His men in the meantime collected 5 lacs Hons by way of Chauth from Kamool and proceeded to Anantapur, while he himself went to Shri Shaila Mallikarjun, a famous shrine in a deep valley of the Krishna, a rare secluded spot lavishly endowed by nature, which so enchanted his devotional instinct, that it was with difficulty that he could be snatch-
ed away from its charms, which engrossed his mind and kept him gripped for over ten days. In the first week of April, he joined his main army at Anantapur.

Thereafter, traveling via Nandyal, Kadappa, Tirupati and Kalahasti, he reached the environs of Madras and despatched a body of 5,000 troops for the capture of Jinji, a fort belonging to Bijapur which was defended by the commandant Nasir Muhammad Khan. The Khan agreed to deliver the fort to Shivaji on receiving a jagir with an annual income of Rupees fifty thousand. Shivaji himself visited Jinji, pulled down its old fortifications and rebuilt the whole for permanent defence. He appointed Rayaji Nalge to the command of the fort and Vithal Pildev Atre to look after the revenue affairs of the whole territory. He also introduced the Maratha system of revenue and accounts, which had proved successful in his Maval jagir. In fact Shivaji made Jinji the principal seat of his Karnatak government, having constructed official and residential buildings both for his civil and military administrators; what we see there today is the survival of Shivaji's construction. All vestiges of Bijapur rule were removed.

This east coast region was very loosely held by Bijapur. It has already been noticed that Jinji was captured for Bijapur by the Vazir Khan Muhammad. That Vazir's son Nasir Muhammad now surrendered it to Shivaji. A Pathan noble of Bijapur named Sher Khan Lodi who resided at Valiganapuram near Trichinopoly, held sway over a considerable territory, practically independent of Bijapur. Another Bijapuri officer Abdulla Khan lived at Vellore. Sher Khan Lodi, ambitious but indolent, and desiring to oppose Shivaji's move, had secured the support of the French of Pondicherry. In the midst of this situation Shivaji took possession of Jinji and then proceeded to Vellore on 23 May, and laid siege to that strong and famous post; but it could not be easily taken. There were two adjoining hills which Shivaji captured and from which he directed an artillery fire against the main rampart. As it seemed that the siege of Vellore would continue long, Shivaji entrusted the task to other hands and himself proceeded to the south against Sher Khan Lodi. Vellore was captured a year later on 23 July 1678, after Shivaji had returned home from his southern conquest.
As Shivaji proceeded to the south Sher Khan opposed him with his forces in the vicinity of Tiruvadi. After repeated skirmishes Sher Khan found it impossible to resist Shivaji and offered to surrender. He came for a personal visit which took place on 5th July 1677, when he paid 20 thousand Hons as expenses, delivered his son as a hostage for the balance of his ransom, and effecting his own release ceded the whole country to Shivaji. The ransom was paid in February 1678 when the son was allowed to join his father. It will thus be seen how easily the whole coastal territory of the Karnatak from the Timgabhadna to the Kaveri came into Shivaji’s possession and how the Adilshahi Government was fast dissolving. Shivaji at once organized a regular system of defence and administration by importing twenty thousand hands from Maharashtra for revenue and military service.

The large admixture of Maratha elements which is noticeable to this day in these far off Tamil and Kanarese lands, has its origin in the systematic efforts which Shivaji then made for the settlement of these fresh additions to his dominion. Traces of that Maratha system are even now visible.

5. The two brothers on their heritage.—After disposing of Sher Khan Lodi, Shivaji proceeded towards Tanjore to meet his step-brother Ekoji and adjust his relations with him. Shivaji encamped at Tirumalwadi on the Cauvery about ten miles north of Tanjore where Ekoji was expected to come on a visit. While at this place Chokkanath Nayak of Madura sent his agents with presents for Shivaji, who had demanded a heavy tribute. After a good deal of hesitation Chokkanath through the mediation of Raghunath Pandit agreed to pay 6 lacs of Hons to Shivaji and the matter was settled.

In the meantime Ekoji arrived at Shivaji’s camp to pay his respects. He was accompanied by his Peshwa Jagannath Pant and a company of troops. The two brothers spent about a week together during the bright fortnight of Shravan (the third week of July). The first formal meeting took place in a
Shiva temple. During the interval they had many talks and dinners together both in public and private. But in the midst of the cordial and frank atmosphere outside, Ekoji evinced a peculiar reserve in his ways and did not disclose what attitude he intended to maintain towards his brother. Shivaji explained to him his own views and plans. Ekoji simply listened and did not signify whether and to what extent he agreed. He evidently felt overawed by Shivaji's great talents and masterful personality. Step-brothers are hardly ever affectionate to each other; their mothers were practically strangers and jealous through life. More than once Ekoji had appeared in open fight against Shivaji on behalf of Bijapur. Thus at this moment he felt altogether confounded in his brother's company. The Jedhe chronology mentions, "the two brothers met in the month of Shravan. Mutual suspicion led to a breach. Ekoji fled to Tanjore without taking his leave. Shivaji, therefore, captured his districts of Jagdevgad, Chidambaram, and Vridhachalam and laid siege to Kolar."

The real position of affairs between the two brothers is nowhere clearly recorded. What exactly Shivaji wanted from his brother has to be gathered from his letters, long but diplomatic, and from stray bits of references in the Bakhshis and elsewhere. Shivaji said in effect:—

"Wemust both equally share our ancestral acquisitions. After our father's death you have alone enjoyed the whole without a single reference to me. I do not ask for a share of what you have earned by your effort. You may make whatever acquisitions you can, and God grant you strength for the same. But I must demand a share in what our father had left. For this you must produce recorded evidence upon which we should base our claims. I am ready to offer you help whenever you need it. You must speak out freely and without reservation what your position is." To this the only reply that Ekoji made was a vague one,—"I submit to your commands."

In this way they lived and talked for a week at the end of which Ekoji, feeling extreme irritation, probably at the pressure which Shivaji was slowly bringing to bear upon him, one night secretly escaped on a floating raft over the Cauvery back to Tanjore. Martin's envoy, an eye-witness writes:—"Shivaji demanded his share of his father's goods. He had written sever-
al times to Ekoji to come and meet him. The latter recoiled. At last he crossed the Coleroon and came to see Shivaji. The first conversation gave evidence of amity and tenderness, but when it came to negotiation, Ekoji discovered that his brother would not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims, and while he offered friendly words, he sought some means of withdrawing himself from such a bad strait. He succeeded therein one night. He had a raft kept ready on the banks of the river under pretext of necessity. He approached the banks of the river, threw himself into the raft and crossed to the other side. On receipt of this information Shivaji caused Ekoji's men who were in his camp to be arrested, among them one Jagannath Pandit, a Brahman, who commanded Ekoji's troops, a man of courage and ability. The brothers did not meet again."

Thereupon Shivaji despatched three clever agents to meet Ekoji in his palace and sent a personal letter to him with them, demanding a half share of his father's property on pain of reprisals. Shivaji gave his brother clearly to understand that no hesitation would be allowed, although in settling the actual amount, Ekoji's wishes would be respected, if he would come to terms. To this Ekoji replied, "Whatever our father Shahji Raje acquired was by means of service to the Bijapur State against whom Shivaji Raje had all along rebelled and been disloyal, thereby causing harm to father. There is no ancestral property as such beyond what was acquired by service. I am even now the Bijapur Shah's loyal servant and as such would be guided by his orders."

Thus instead of conciliating Shivaji, Ekoji decided to put him down if the dispute resulted in a recourse to arms, and he called in the help of Madura and Mysore for that purpose. At the same time he reported the affair to Bijapur, but received no response from the authorities there. That Government was at the time not in a position to break with Shivaji. In this situation as Shivaji could not afford to stay longer in the south, he decided to return himself and left Bahir Rao Mohite, Hamber Rao and Raghunath Pant with the major portion of his troops, to settle matters with Ekoji as they thought best. Shivaji began his return march from the bank of the Coleroon on 27 July. On the way back he seized all the territory of Ekoji on
the north side of the Kaveri including the districts of Arni, Kolar, Hoskote, Bangalore, Balapore and Shira, and appointed his own officers to govern and defend them against any hostile attack. When Shivaji reached Gadag in November, he learned of an action having taken place; Ekoji had attacked Hambir-Rao Mohite, at Valigandapuram on 18th November and sustained a crushing defeat, his illegitimate brothers Pratapji and Bhivji Raje, and his officer Shivaji Dabhar were taken captives. Shivaji learned the details when he arrived in Maharashtra, and with a view to effecting a reconciliation he wrote a long letter of warning to Ekoji, which ranks as a document of rare value. It puts forth Shivaji's aims and policy clearly. This letter is full and authentic and is printed in the facsimile of Balaji Avaji's handwriting being dated 1 March 1678. In this letter, while demanding from his brother a full share of his father's acquisitions, he holds out a threat of severe reprisals, adding he was perfectly ready to adjust matters to his brother's satisfaction, but that he would not allow him to shirk the main demand. What Shivaji resented most was that Ekoji should ally himself with the Turks and Pathans of Bijapur who had been open enemies of the Hindus and whom it was Shivaji's life-mission to humble. Says he:

"Gods and Goddesses have favoured me; through their favour I have been able to beat down the Turks. How could you hope to win against me with the help of these Turks? You should not have gone to the length of standing in open opposition to my armies. You cherished the wicked intention like Duryodhan's and caused unnecessary bloodshed. But what has come to pass cannot be remedied. You have only to take a lesson from what has occurred and give up your obstinacy. For thirteen long years you have usurped all father's property and now I have wrested away my share by force of arms. Please deliver to my officers Arni, Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskote, Shiralec (Shira) and other minor districts including Tanjore; give up also a half share of the cash, ornaments, horses, elephants and other property and make your peace with me. I shall bestow on you a Jagir yielding three lacs annually of districts between the Tungahadari and Pashahar. Or if you do not wish to accept this as a gift from me, I shall request the Kutb Shah to confer on you a similar jagir in his dominion."
Thus I offer you two alternatives, choose whichever you like. Give up your obstinacy and stop this domestic dissension. It is no use sulking. As an elderly person I have always treated you affectionately and again repeat the same sentiments of your welfare. If you have the good sense to accept my advice, I am sure you will be happy and at ease. If not, you will only add to your distress, which it will not then be in my power to relieve."

It is evident from this that Shivaji, already ignoring the existence of the Bijapur State, required his brother to renounce it openly and disclaim all pretense of serving it. But this letter did not soothe Ekoji’s heart. It grieved him all the more. His shrewd wife Dipa Bai came to his rescue and gave his disconsolate mind some sound advice and reconciled him to the inevitable. She managed to dismiss Ekoji’s Muslim evil advisers and urged him to accept Raghunath Pandit’s counsel. Ekoji therupon wrote a respectful letter to the Pandit and called him from Jinji for a personal visit. The Pandit arrived in due course and had a cordial reception. Then the Pandit arranged the terms of an amicable settlement of the dispute between the two brothers. All necessary deeds and papers were prepared and dispatched to Shivaji for approval and ratification.

Shivaji was highly gratified at this amicable settlement of a long-standing dispute and at once ratified the whole agreement. In soothing notes he replied to Ekoji and to his sister-in-law Dipa Bai, who had so cleverly managed to solve these delicate problems. He wrote to Raghunath Pandit, “I cannot too highly commend the wisdom and foresight of my sister-in-law Dipa Bai, who with uncommon zeal and skill induced her husband to come to terms with me and thereby so satisfactorily solved a knotty question. I am supremely gratified at this happy result. In fact I was all along concerned to secure the best interest of my brother. In asking a half share I had his own lasting welfare at my heart. The paltry lucre was not my object. It was for the sake of higher aims, I had to make that stern demand. We must treat our servants and subordinates respectfully and effect lasting good of the State, which it behoves us both to serve with all our powers.” These last lines clearly prove how anxious Shivaji was to raise the Maratha State to the height of glory and independence. Ekoji
was solely guided by Muslim advisers who worked insidiously to undo Shivaji's life-work through Ekoji's instrumentality. These Muslim advisers were dismissed, and Raghunath Pant was restored to his former position of a guardian, so that all cause for friction was finally removed in the course of a year after Shivaji's return from the Karnatak.

6. Agreed division of patrimony.—The agreement contained nineteen articles, the first ten of which unfold the plan for the moral and spiritual good of the Maratha State. The sixth article says, "No one who is wicked and an enemy of the Hindu religion should be harboured in the State. Such persons should be kept away from the power of doing harm." The whole dispute between the brothers and its conclusion unmistakably disclose that Shivaji's highest aim in the Karnatak expedition was to resuscitate and expand the Maratha State and create a lasting shelter for the Hindus in general, who had grown altogether helpless through centuries of ill-treatment.

The 12th article is politically significant and pertinent to the main point of dispute between the brothers. It says, "When a treaty of peace was effected between us (Shivaji and the Adil Shah) through our father's mediation (in 1662), the express stipulation laid down was that neither of us (Shivaji or Ekoji) should serve that State (Bijapur). We should help it whenever necessary not as servants but as well-wishers. We should hereafter strictly observe this understanding. Ekoji, therefore, should not hold himself a servant of that state. He may not hold himself a servant of that state. He may, when called up, help that State with a contingent of 5000 troops. He must exercise his supremacy over all the Poligars and potentates whom he has already subdued." This article makes it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt why Shivaji attacked Ekoji. While Shivaji proclaimed himself an independent monarch, he did not relish the spectacle of his own brother coming to oppose him on behalf of Bijapur on being guided exclusively by Muslim flatterers and holding himself a bond servant of a Muslim State, which he himself had all but conquered. In order to emphasize this aspect of his state policy, Shivaji laid down in the 15th article, "that the districts of Bangalore, Houloote and Shiralkot (Shira;) yielding a revenue of 2 lacks of Hos have already been conquered by
us: when well managed they will soon be worth 5 lacs; we assign these districts as a voluntary present to our sister-in-law Dipa Bai, wife of Ekoji. Ekoji may supervise their management but not lay claim to them. After Dipa Bai they will continue to her daughter or to any one else to whom she assigns them." Here Shivaji gives back practically all of Ekoji’s possessions, redeeming them out of Muslim control. Nothing can be clearer than this final pronouncement of Shivaji’s object in this last undertaking of his life.

Article 16 says, "We have conquered Tanjore and the adjoining districts of Ekoji worth about 7 lacs of Rums. These we hand over of our own free will to Ekoji as his own separate possession." Article 17 says, "We assign territory worth one lac to Raghunath Pant in complete hereditary succession."

Article 19 says, "Ekoji should look after the upkeep of the tomb of our father Shahji Raje." Evidently this filial duty was now assigned to Ekoji.

These articles clearly demonstrate the nature of the dispute between the two brothers and Shivaji’s object in this southern expedition. Ekoji was to be weaned away from his subordination to the Muslim power of Bijapur. In forwarding the treaty Shivaji wrote another affectionate letter to his brother. But Ekoji did not respond in the spirit in which Shivaji’s scheme of a Swarajya was planned; and although the dispute was apparently settled, Ekoji took to heart his loss of independence. He felt sorely grieved to find that Shivaji’s officials took charge of all his possessions and administered them without reference to himself. He gave up all personal pleasures and enjoyment. When in due course this was reported to Shivaji, he wrote another loving letter full of sympathy and pathos about January 1680. Within three months thereafter Shivaji expired.

The death of Shivaji and the rapid changes that it brought about in the politics of the Deccan, involved the fate both of the Maratha and the Tanjore principalities, and although Ekoji survived Shivaji by nearly five years, we have no record to determine the Tanjore Rajah’s aims and activities during that period. So far as Tanjore was concerned, Ekoji proved a wise and considerate ruler. He established his rule at Tanjore on
a sound basis and provided means for its defence. His Ram Dipi Bai coming from the Ingle family, was a wise and influential lady, more or less after Jija Bai's pattern. She gave birth to three good sons Shahji, Sharfoji and Tulajoji, who all ruled at Tanjore in succession and promoted arts and literature as well as the welfare of their subjects.

Whatever results were achieved by Shahji and his son Ekoji in the spheres of politics and society, the credit for them must be equally shared by the Hanumanthe family also, particularly by Raghunath Pant to whom Shivaji says, "I have endeavoured to rear up a number of my own co-workers and helpers; but you belong to a different category. You have served our father and like him possess the power to correct and guide us when we cannot see our way. No other person can exercise such influence in our affairs. We look upon you fully in the place of our revered parent, and cannot too highly estimate your services." Raghunath Pant shared the noble aims of Shivaji and did his best to promote them. It is uncharitable and historically unjust to accuse him of selfish and mischievous motives in inducing Shivaji to undertake the Karnatak expedition for personal pique or love of lucre. Raghunath's brother Janardanpant was also an able administrator working under Shivaji in the Deccan, as his brother did in the Karnatak under Ekoji.
CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER XI

1659 Sept. 5Death of Sambhaji’s mother, Sai Bai.
1676 Jan. 18Khawas Khan put to death.
     JuneBahadar Khan routed near Bijapur.
1677 AugustBahadar Khan resigns office ; Dilir Khan in supreme command.
     Sept. Dilir Khan attacks Golconda.
     23Behlok Khan dies, Siddi Mas’ud takes charge.
1678 AprilShivaji returns to Panhālā from the Karnatak ; Dilir Khan attacks Bijapur.
     Sept. 18Muazzam appointed to the Govt. of the Deccan.
     Dec. 13Sambhaji escapes from Panhālā.
1679 Feb. 25Muazzam reaches Aurangabad.
     April 2Dilir Khan captures Bhupalgad.
     April 3Jazia re-imposed, Shivaji’s letter of remonstrance to Aurangzeb.
     August 18Sambhaji and Dilir Khan besiege Bijapur.
     Novr. 15Dilir Khan raises the siege of Bijapur.
     20Sambhaji leaves Dilir Khan’s camp.
     Dec. 4Do reaches Panhālā ; kept in confinement.
     31Shivaji’s visit to Ramdās.
1680 Feb. 4Shivaji leaves Ramdās and proceeds to Raigad.
     March 7Rajaram married to Pratāp Rao Gujar’s daughter.
     April 3Shivaji dies.
CHAPTER XI

THE MOON SETS

[1678—1680]

1. Results of the Karnatak Campaign.
2. Public Remonstrance against Aurangzeb's intolerance.
3. Sambhaji's desertion.
4. Effort to reclaim Sambhaji's desertion.
5. The End.
6. Family and religious precepts.

1. Results of the Karnatak Campaign.—Netaji Palkar's desertion was a great blow to the aspirations of Dilir Khan and the expectations of the Emperor. The State of Bijapur was now managed by the Pathan minister Bahlol Khan with whom Dilir Khan effected a close friendship; and the two formed fresh plans for the subjugation of both Shivaji and the Kutb Shah. Shivaji entertained a severe hatred for this Pathan who was ruining the old kingdom of Bijapur. Bahlol Khan put to death his Siddi competitor Ichawas Khan on 18 January 1676, which acted as an open signal for a civil war in Bijapur. Bahadur Khan considered this a suitable opportunity for conquering Bijapur and with a large army came suddenly upon it. But he met with strong opposition, and was worsted in many sanguinary actions near Bijapur in June 1676. This sealed Bahadur Khan's fate in the eyes of the Emperor, to whom Dilir Khan had reported the utter incapacity of Bahadur Khan to cope with the situation in the Deccan. The Emperor thereupon recalled Bahadur Khan and entrusted the supreme command to Dilir Khan. Bahadur Khan gave up his office in August 1677 and in September Dilir Khan attacked Golconda to punish Kutb Shah for joining Shivaji.

Shivaji's advance into the Karnatak was a great indirect blow to the Mughal Emperor's dreams of conquest. While Aurangzeb and Dilir Khan were planning finally to extinguish both Bijapur and Golconda, Shivaji stepped in and practically seized the southernmost regions. His alliance with Golconda proved a master-stroke, which upset Dilir Khan beyond calculation. Finding the allied troops of Kutb Shah and Shivaji...
absent in the south, Dilir Khan made a dash for Golconda; but Mâdhavā being fully prepared to meet him, easily turned him back from the way. The news of this move and the Emperor's fresh measures for taking prompt action against Shivaji, compelled the latter to hasten back home leaving the completion of his Karnatak venture to other hands. On the way back Shivaji established a strong line of defensive posts right from Panhala to Tanjore. While returning to his homeland towards the end of 1677, he met a slight opposition at Belvadi near Belgaum from the guardian Desai (i.e. Thanadar) of that post and his heroic wife Savitri Bai. Belvadi was captured after a month's attack by the heroic effort of Dâdâji Râghunâth Prabhû Nadîkar, and the distressed and humiliated lady was taken under protection by Shivaji. He reached Panhala in April 1678 after an absence of nearly fourteen months, having added to his dominions a territory yielding 20 lacs of Rupees and containing a hundred forts.

In this latest exploit of Shivaji one must recognise the full play of his inherent genius. The Maratha kingdom was shaped into a real and compact unit; its scanty resources were strengthened; a band of young earnest men was trained in military and civil administration, so as to ensure the permanency of his achievement. Sântîjî Bhâote, Hambir Râo Mhôhte, Sântîjî Ghorpâde, Jârdîrân Pâst Hâmwanâle, Keshâv Trîmâl Pîngle, Hâjî Mâhâlâk, Dhanâlî Jîthâv and many other youthful energetic soldier-diplomats, who figured in later history so conspicuously, were initiated in state-craft in the fruitful field offered by this Karnatak expedition. Merit was critically tested and amply rewarded. Shivaji well understood the principle that the highest strength of the State lay in its efficient administration. Under his direction everyone felt inspired to do his duty and to sacrifice one's all for the good of the State. A healthy rivalry thus came into being to serve the State and earn the Raja's esteem. This benign policy won the hearts even of the rebellious Poligars and Deshmukhs of the Karnatak, who were indirectly influenced by his benevolent ways in severe contrast to the Muslim policy of the preced-

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1. This memorable episode is well described in Prabhu Ratnamala, p. 82.
ing age and readily submitted to his rule. This healthy change was put to a real test during the difficult days of Sambhaji and Rajaram, when it was the cordial cooperation of the peoples of the south that enabled the Marathas to score phenomenal victories over the Emperor.

During Shivaji's absence in the Karnatak the Pathan Bahadur Khan of Bijapur died on 23 December 1677 and Siddi Mas'ud took up the control of that Government. Dilir Khan at once directed his attack upon Bijapur, when in his sore need Siddi Mas'ud applied to Shivaji for help in a pathetic letter, which ran thus: "We have been neighbours eating out of the same dish. You have doubtless as great a concern for the preservation of this State as I have. Let us join hands and in mutual cooperation destroy our common enemy the Mughals." Shivaji was touched by this appeal and at once prepared for an attack upon the Mughals. It can thus be realized how the two Muslim States were practically coming under Shivaji's heel and would have been easily absorbed by him, if his sudden death had not changed the course of events.

2. Public Remonstrance against Aurangzeb's Intolerance.—With Shivaji's return to his home-land unfortunately began the last chapter of his life. With a view to checking Dilir Khan he despatched some of his commanders to plunder the Mughal territory north of the Godavari up to Aurangabad and tried in vain to recapture Shivner, his birthplace. Aurangzeb felt extremely uneasy at the rising tide of Shivaji's fortune and was utterly perplexed as to the means of overcoming him. He had already employed all his best generals and resources against him. Once again he appointed his son Muazzam to the Government of the Deccan on 18th September 1678, and this Shahzada reached Aurangabad on 25 February in the following year (1679). He was instructed to be guided entirely by Dilir Khan.

About this time there was a great stir in the country over the revival of the Jazia or poll-tax which had long been in abeyance and which the Emperor re-imposed by a fresh order dated 3rd April 1679. Shivaji at once wrote to the Emperor a well reasoned and spirited letter of protest against the measure, which was drafted by Nila Prabhu in eloquent Persian. This famous remonstrance clearly exposed the wrong-headed
policy of Aurangzeb. "In strict justice," says Shivaji, "the Jiaza is not at all lawful. If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing and terrorising the Hindus, you ought first to levy the tax upon Rajsinh who is the head of the Hindus. But to oppress ants and flies is neither valour nor spirit. If you believe in the Koran, God is the Lord of all men and not of the Muhammadans only. Islam and Hinduism are only different pigments used by the Divine Painter to picture the human species. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is to alter the words of the Holy Book. Your officers neglect to tell you of the true state of things and cover a blazing fire with straw."

The appeal fell on deaf ears. The Emperor was obstinate. He at this very juncture declared a war upon the Rajputs and thus flung himself into innumerable difficulties and disasters, which ultimately swallowed him up and ruined his Empire.

While the Raja was engaged in the south, Anaji Datto and Moropant Pingle extended Maratha dominion along the west coast both southwards and northwards. They even went beyond Surat and plundered Broach. But these achievements were more than counterbalanced by the sudden desertion of Sambhaji to the Mughals, a contrivance of the astute Dilir Khan. This disaster dealt such a blow to Shivaji's heart that it may be said to have hastened his end.

3. Sambhaji's desertion—Born in 1657, Sambhaji had lost his mother when he was only two years old. Of fine manly features Sambhaji's appearance was perhaps more commanding than his father's. At the age of 9 he accompanied his father to Agra, and upon his return was for a time stationed at Aurangabad as commandant of the Maratha contingent in Mughal service, when he came in direct contact with the loose life led by the Mughal grandees. It was at this time that he must have contracted the evil habits of addiction to sensual pleasures in severe contrast to the austere life of his father's surroundings. He freely shared the hunting pastimes of Muazzam. He had received the traditional education in reading and writing, accounts and sportsmanship, and in addition became well-versed in Sanskrit also in which Keshan Bhat Purohit and Kavikalash were his tutors. Soon after the coronation ceremony of 1674, complaints reached Shivaji's ears of
his son's evil habits. Shivaji kept him under surveillance at Shringarpore during 1676. He was also placed in the company of Ramdasi for some time. But his ways did not improve.

Upon his return from the Karnataka expedition in 1678, Shivaji noticed a distinct change for the worse in his son, and kept him in practical confinement at Panhala. Sambhaji's high spirit revolted at this rigorous treatment, and in an evil moment he succumbed to the tempting offer made by Dilir Khan through secret spies. On the night of 13 December 1678 the Prince quietly escaped from Panhala with his wife Yesu Bai and proceeded towards the Mughal camp at Bahadurgad to meet Dilir Khan, to whom he had already communicated his intention. The Khan felt immensely elated at the success of his game, and welcomed Sambhaji on the way at Karkam. The Khan immediately reported the affair to the Emperor and requested orders for entertaining Sambhaji with dignity. The Emperor certainly felt happy at the news, but conveyed to Dilir Khan his own grave suspicion that this might be a ruse on Shivaji's part for doing some mischief and warned him to be on his guard. Dilir Khan and Sambhaji then planned to proceed against Bijapur and on the way attacked Bhupalgad where, Sambhaji disclosed, a large amount of treasure and the families of several respectable Maratha nobles had been kept for safety under the trusted commandant Phirangoji Naradla. Phirangoji could have fired his guns against the attackers, but refrained from fear of injuring his master's son and heir. After a severe hand to hand fight Dilir Khan captured the fort on 2nd April 1679, and put to death most of the inmates that fell into his hands. When Shivaji learned of the fall of Bhupalgad, he severely reprimanded Phirangoji for not firing on Sambhaji and putting such a sinner to death. After devastating Maratha territory, Dilir Khan and Sambhaji crossed the Bhima at Dhulkhed on 18 August and marched to the vicinity of Bijapur where Siddi Mas'ud was in power, who in his distress implored Shivaji's help. Shivaji readily agreed and at once marched with two large contingents for the defence of Bijapur. In the mean time Dilir Khan laid siege to Bijapur, and for two months tried his utmost to capture the place. But Shivaji from outside severely handled the besiegers and dexterously supplied the defenders with necessaries and materials, so that
Dilir Khan was compelled to raise the siege and save his forces from destruction by a precipitate retreat on 14 November.

Maloji Ghorpade of Mudhol at this time heroically defended Bijapur fully co-operating with Shivaji.

Thus sorely discomfited before Bijapur, Dilir Khan and Sambhaji turned to the west with a view to taking Panhala. Siddi Mas’ud expressed his gratitude to Shivaji for having rendered timely help, and after honouring him with costly presents and dresses gave him leave to depart. At this time an agreement was effected between the Bijapur Government and Shivaji, by which that Government renounced its right to the principality of Tanjore and confirmed to Shivaji all the territory he had seized between Kopbal and Jinji.

After all, Sambhaji’s desertion did not benefit the Khan much. During their march towards Panhala Dilir committed fearful atrocities upon the innocent populace of the various places on the way. At Tikota a large number of bankers and rich gentry had taken shelter with their hoarded wealth. Dilir Khan’s cupidity was excited; he wantonly plundered the gentry and inflicted untold miseries upon innocent women and children, both Hindu and Muslim, many of whom killed themselves by jumping into wells to save their honour. Several thousand of these hapless people were taken prisoners and heavy ransoms demanded from them. This barbarous procedure chilled Sambhaji’s ardour for Dilir Khan to such a degree that he strongly protested against it. From Tikota they proceeded to Athni, another wealthy mart, where the Khan expected to collect a rich booty. Here he laid violent hands only on the Hindus, who made piteous appeals to Sambhaji in the name of his father to intercede with the Khan for their safety and honour. And now Sambhaji’s conscience was so keenly awakened that a complete estrangement took place between them. Dilir Khan taunted Sambhaji saying, “I am my own master; you have no business to teach me lessons in good conduct.”

During all these months Shivaji had employed various means through secret agents to wean away Sambhaji from his sinister association. Their joint failure before Bijapur was reported to the Emperor who censured Dilir Khan and ordered him to put Sambhaji under arrest at once, and bring him a prisoner to Delhi; and he also replaced Dilir Khan by Bahadur...
Khan in the Government of the Deccan. All this was going on secretly without Sambhaji’s knowledge; but he did not fail to get scent of it and became afraid about his own safety. Mahadaji Nimbalkar to whom Sambhaji’s sister was married, was then a noble in the service of the Emperor under Dilir Khan, and he roused Sambhaji to a sense of the dangerous situation in which he was placed. This remonstrance at once opened Sambhaji’s eyes, and in the night of 20th November 1679 he with Yega Bai in male disguise escaped secretly from Dilir Khan’s camp at Athni with only ten followers and sought shelter with Mas’ud Khan of Bijapur. Dilir Khan on learning that Sambhaji had run away and was at Bijapur, sent his agents to Mas’ud Khan, and offered to pay him a heavy bribe for placing Sambhaji in his own custody. Mortally afraid of these sudden developments, Sambhaji left Bijapur secretly on the night of 30th November, joined a band of troopers whom Shivaji had specially stationed to watch his movements, and by long and strenuous marches rode into Panhala on 4th December, after having been away for nearly one year. With his mother’s death Shivaji’s private life had become clouded with anxiety and unhappiness. His first wife Sai Bai, a gentle affectionate woman had been long dead and the gap was not properly filled up. Her son Sambhaji was growing up into a passionate reckless youth impatient of his father’s control. The next queen-consort Soyra Bai possessed a character far from amiable. She planned, it is said, to supplant Sambhaji with her own son Rajaram, and gave Shivaji little rest by her ceaseless importunities and intrigues, particularly during the period when Sambhaji was away with Dilir Khan. Soyra Bai’s obsession with this purpose disturbed the whole palace and embittered the relations between Shivaji and Sambhaji all the more. The lion-hearted king for once lacked the nerve to handle the delicate domestic situation.

4. Effort to reclaim Sambhaji fails.—While Shivaji was fighting in the environs of Bijapur against Dilir Khan, he devised an ingenious plan of creating a diversion in the Khan’s rear. He divided his force, himself leading one division and sending Anand Rao Maloji to lead the other; they suddenly struck against the Mughal possessions in the vicinity
of Aurangabad. They plundered and devastated Jalandur and obtained enormous booty. Many rich residents of the city had taken shelter in the Dargah of Saiyed Jan Muhammad, a Muslim saint. When Shivaji obtained news of this concealed wealth, he plundered the hermitage and carried away all the hoard deposited therein. Khai Khan says that the saint cursed Shivaji for this act, in consequence of which the Raja soon after died.

The Mughals were quickly on Shivaji’s track. When he was returning with the plunder of Jalna, he was opposed by strong Mughal armies near Sangamner. Sidhoji Nimbalkar and Santaji Ghorpade faced the Mughals, obstructed their advance, and allowed Shivaji time to escape with the plunder to the fort of Patta. In the action that ensued near Sangamner Sidhoji was killed and Santaji after being routed took to flight. Portions of the plunder had to be given up and Shivaji returned to Raigad early in December.

As soon as Shivaji learned that Sambhaji had come back, prompt measures were taken for the defence of Panhala lest Dilir Khan should come and attack it. But the Khan considered it an impossible task to attack Panhala and turned his steps southward towards Kopbal, where he met with a severe reverse at the hands of Janardan Pant Hanumante.

Shivaji lost no time in visiting Sambhaji at Panhala, and spent something like a month in his son’s company, trying to reclaim him to a sense of his duty and responsibility. But the prince showed no repentance or improvement in his ways.

As Sambhaji had received ample experience of life in Dilir Khan’s camp, Shivaji did not purposely use any harsh measures towards him, but treated him with kindness and affectionate consideration. He employed a large staff of officials to prepare complete and detailed lists of the property of the Maratha State, the acquisitions of a life of strenuous labour and achievement. This was meant indirectly to impress Sambhaji with the idea of what one man could achieve and what responsibility rested on his shoulders in his prospective inheritance. These lists are minute and full and include every item trivial or costly, cash, ornaments, valuables, stores, provisions, arms, forts and
Father and son lived together for nearly a month at Panhala, both deeply distressed at heart. But if human minds could be suddenly reclaimed by mere wordy advice or remonstrance, the world would be an entirely different place. "There was no repentance, no change in Sambhaji," says Sabhasad. Shivaji was overtaken by a serious ailment. His future appeared altogether clouded to him, his health rapidly failed. That his own son should join his enemies was too much for the father to bear. He gave hurried orders for Sambhaji being kept in confinement at Panhala and appointed Deroji Farzand, Somaji Naik Bachi, and Vithal Trimak (grand-son of Murar Baji and keeper of the fort) to watch him closely. He also asked Jadhuram Pant to remove himself from Kopbal to Kolhapur, exercise strict supervision upon Sambhaji and prevent him from committing further mischief. Shivaji in a despairing mood started to seek solace at Sajjangad in the company of the saint Ramdas.

The End.—One can only imagine the serious agonies of Shivaji's mind at this time. It was all very well to wage a relentless war against the Emperor and administer him a severe threat in an open letter of remonstrance. But who was to undertake this grand task in his absence? He who could so wonderfully devise his means of escape from Agra was now powerless before his own son. He vividly felt his end approaching and the concern about the future of the Maratha State weighed heavily on his bosom. Shivaji's second son Rajaram was just ten years old; his mother Soyra Bai, the principal queen, was by no means an accommodating lady. Shivaji's ministerial cabinet was in no sense a homogeneous or united body. The two powerful ministers Mope Pant Pingle and Amaji Datto were so openly at loggerheads with each other, that Shivaji himself entertained grave fears that without a competent master to control them, the ministers alone would not be able to carry on the affairs of the State smoothly for a moment. When parting from Sambhaji at Panhala Shivaji told him, "We now proceed to Raigad, where Rajaram's marriage..."
awaits our presence; thereafter we shall soon return here and talk about future plans. You are our eldest son; and we have naturally every reliance on you." The Waquenasi note on Ramdas records "The Maharaja came to visit (Ramdas) on Paush Shukla 9 (December 31) and stayed till Magh Shukla 15 (4 Feb). Every day passed in ceremonial and attention. The Samarth discussed fully matters of State and philosophy of life. For three full days the Maharaja was unconscious in deep contemplation. The Samarth inferred that the Maharaja's end was near." Shivaji left for Raigad on 4 February, where Rajaram's thread ceremony was performed on 7th March 1680, and a week later on 15 March Rajaram was married to Pratap Rao Gujar's daughter Janki Bai. A week later on 23 March Shivaji had an attack of fever, which soon proved fatal. Some officials were called to his bedside. When all hope of life seemed to be lost, messengers were sent to Sambhaji Raja at Panhala, with a proposal for dividing the raj between the two sons. This Sambhaji refused to accept. All inmates of Raigad were overcome with extreme grief. The holy water of the Ganges was administered to the dying Raja. Thus Shivaji expired at midday, on Saturday, Chaitra Sh. 15, Shaka 1680 (3 April 1680), Raudra year, in the presence of Ramchandra Nilakanth, Pralhad Nirgh and Balgiri Avji. Neither the Peshwa Moropant nor the Sachiv Araji Datto was near.

6. Family and religious preceptors.—As Shivaji's gurus the following are mentioned among many others whose blessings he never failed to seek:

(1) Tukaram Bawā.
(2) Samarth Ramdas.
(3) Bābā Yākut of Kelsi.
(4) Maun Bawā of Patgāon.
(5) Nischalapuri Gosvāmi.
(6) Paramanand Bawā of Polipūr.
(7) Jayaram Swāmi of Wadgaon.
(8) Narayan Dev of Chinchwad.
(9) Rangabhair Swāmī of Nigdi.
(10) and his brother Vithal Swāmī.
(11) Bānumatī Bawā, descendant of Eknāth.
The Moon Sets

(12) Anand Murti of Brahmanil.
(13) Bodhle Bawa of Dhamangaon.
(14) Trimbak Narayen of Baramati.

Wives and Children.

1. Sai Bai Nimbalkar—married 17 April 1640, died 5 September 1659; one son and three daughters:
   - Sambhaji born 14 May 1657; Sakhu Bai married to Mahadaji Nimbalkar;
   - Ranu Bai married into the Jadhav family;
   - Ambika Bai married to Harji Raje Mahadik of Tale.

2. Saguna Bai Shirke, married 1641. Had one daughter,
   - Nani Bai alias Rajkuwar married to Jijoji Shirke Malekar.

3. Soyara Bai Shirke married about 1660; died 1681; had one son Rajaram born 14 February 1670 and
   - one daughter Balkubi alias Deji Bai married to Visaji Rao.

4. Putla Bai Mohite, married 1633, became Sati.

5. Lakshmi Bai Vichare married before 1656.

6. Sakwlr Bai Gaikwad, married January 1667; had one daughter Kamaljji Bai married to Jijoji Palkar.

7. Kashi Bai Jadhav married 8 April 1667.

8. Gunavarta Bai Ingle married 15 April 1657.

Shivaji thus had eight wives and eight children, 2 sons and 6 daughters. Besides two illegitimate wives are mentioned. Only three out of these wives were alive at the time of his death. Putla Bai became Sati; Soyara Bai was put to death by Sambhaji, and Saklawr Bai was long kept a prisoner in Aurungzeb's camp in the Deccan with Yesu Bai and Shahu.
CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER XII

1659
Siddhi Khairyat of Janjira overcome.

1672 April
Shivaji’s first visit to consult Râmâdas.

1672
English envoy Ustick visits Shivaji.

1673
English envoy Nicolls visits Shivaji.

1674
Visit of the English envoy, Ozenden.

1675
Visit of the English envoy, Austen.
CHAPTER XII

SHIVAJI'S CHARACTER AND WORK.

1. The Amatya's tribute.
2. Shiva and Ramdas.
3. Shiva and a Hindu Sanraja.
4. The Eight Ministers, and administration.
5. Forts on land and sea.
6. Army organisation.
7. The navy and the Sidi of Janjira.
8. Shivaji's relations with the English.
9. Was Shiva a mere plunderer?
10. Estimates of Shivaji by thinkers and writers.
11. Conclusion.

1. The Amatya's tribute—We cannot see the full height of a gigantic tree when we stand beneath it. So, too, a hero's true greatness is perceived only when he is viewed from a distance in time. It is, therefore, a wonder how Shivaji's character, policy and achievements were so correctly judged by one of his own ministers, Ramchandra Nilakanth. This officer had filled the post of Amatya (or Accountant General) under him for ten years, and afterwards showed signal capacity by successfully organising the national defence and ensuring concerted action between scattered elements during Maharashtra's life-and-death struggle with all the forces of the Mughal Empire, after Sambhaji's tragic death and the flight of Rajaram from the homeland. He wrote a sort of political testament for the guidance of the succeeding kings, which is known as the Ajnapatra.

I shall begin by giving here some extracts from this wonderfully penetrative analysis of Shivaji's character and aims:

2. स्वः सोताराम,
राजा भर बलान जाने, साती जाने रोग पड़ती,
भव बाढ़े अंगार पेंटे, कल्लकेन हरावै ॥

The Saints have said:
The corrupt Muslims have become our Kings,
Everywhere misdeeds have cropped up,
Then He incarnated Himself
To remove the sins of this dark age.

This has recently been translated from the Marathi original into English by Professor S. V. Puntambekar of the Benares Hindu University.
The epoch-maker Chhatrapati was at first a Muslim's dependent but he managed from the age of fifteen to free his small jagir of Poona and based his future greatness on that small beginning, entirely relying on his own effort and initiative.

He judged the capacities of men and created his own henchmen and servants by enabling them to do great things, so that he could succeed in what appeared impossible at the beginning. He welded the scattered elements of his people into a united body and with their help accomplished his main object. He was surrounded at first by three powerful states the Adilshahi, the Kutbshahi and the Nizamshahi, besides the Subahs of the Mughal Emperor, each maintaining a lac of troops. There were besides these the Siddis, the French, the English, the Dutch, with smaller chieftains like Râm nagar, Sondha, Bidar, Mysore, Trichinopoly, and the various local chiefs with chieftains like the Moroys, the Shirkes, the Sidvants, the Nimbalkars, the Ghategs, etc.

All these he encompassed with the extraordinary power of his own ingenuity. He overpowered every enemy, some he openly attacked, some he compelled to accept a fight, some he surprised by means of ingenious contrivance, others he weakened by involving them in mutual dissensions, sometimes secretly fomenting quarrels; others he confounded by sudden raids upon their camps and habitations. Some he boldly met in open combat, some he won over through tempting offers, some he boldly went to visit personally, some were scattered through curious stratagems.

He audaciously built his own forts and shelters in alien jurisdictions; in the case of some who were already strongly entrenched in naval bases, he raised his own rival sea-forts. His navy forcibly entered some inaccessible ports. In this way dealing differently with different opponents, he established an independent kingdom of his own stretching from Salher and Ahwa in West Khandesh to Tirumore on the Kaveri, with an unchallenged supremacy, erecting for its defence hundreds of forts and several sea-bases with extensive market plazas. He created his own regiments of 40 thousand paid troops, in addition to about 70 thousand shilkadars or hired troopers, and an infantry of some two lacs, a treasure which could be counted by crores.
choice jewelry and material provision of every indispensable article. Thus he elevated his Maratha nation consisting of 96 clans to an unheard of dignity, crowning the whole achievement by occupying an exalted throne and assuming the title of Chhatrapati. All this he did for the defence of his religion, for putting Gods and Brahmans in a position enabling them to have their proper functions performed without molestation. Under Shivaji's rule robberies and injustice became unknown, and his commands came to be strictly obeyed by all. He plunged the most powerful Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb into an ocean of grief. Indeed this miracle is a special creation of God Almighty through Shivaji's instrumentality."

So much for the best contemporary estimate of him. We can say that Shivaji's principal service lies in his having quickly transformed the inherent lawlessness of the Maratha people into a national solidarity by his unequalled leadership, enabling them to attain to the foremost place among the various races of India. We know well what a factional, turbulent and riotous life the Maratha clans of the western hills used to lead for centuries before the rise of Shivaji. They had been wasting their energy in internecine disputes, obeying no law, no authority and making life and property hopelessly insecure in the land. Shivaji correctly gauged the situation; he at first heartily joined the mass, and by quickly gaining their confidence established such a complete hold upon their contentious but valiant spirits, that they soon learned to render implicit obedience to him; and under his leadership they put forth a united national effort in defence of their country's liberty. The roving undisciplined bands soon came to realize the value of willing comradeship, and followed their leader in weal and woe. Shivaji succeeded not only in establishing his own independence, but also in bringing about the necessary solidarity among the scattered warring elements of his homeland, so that the Marathas were transformed into a nation and a power of the first rank in Indian politics. He placed before the nation the higher ideal of Sivarajya, of political emancipation from the chains of grinding slavery that held down his country for centuries together. The semi-wild hill tribes of the Sahyadri range, the common peasantry of the Desh country, and the military feudal lords who held the country of foreign Sultans.
he welded into a powerful nation state, that successfully chal­
lenged the might of the Mughal Empire. Shivaji was mani­
festly a highly gifted personality, ready to meet any danger,
always possessing supreme self-confidence, at once stern and
kind-hearted, an ideal king of the type which Kalidas has im­
mortalized in his famous description of Dalip.3

2. Shivaji and Ramdas.—The rank materialism of the
present day has so blinded us that without a special effort and
a particular study of the essential ingredients of the atmos­
phere which Shivaji breathed, we can form no accurate esti­
mate of what he thought, believed and achieved. His aim
life was primarily spiritual rather than political. He severely
resented Muslim interference with the religious practices of the
Hindus, and tried to make his land safe for sincere believers
of every creed. As this could not be done without political
power, he had of necessity to achieve that power.

A large number of papers of his period has lately been
printed, which particularly disclose this phase of Shivaji's en­
deavour. Gods, Brahman, Saints, and Shrines are words ever
present in his mind, as these papers reveal. It is a historical
fact that wherever Shivaji went, be it Agra, Karwar, Tanjore
or elsewhere, his first concern was to find out the celebrated
shrines of the vicinity and the men of saintly character and
learning that congregated at such places. He goes by sea to
Boorur and pays a devout visit to Gokarn Mahalshevar at
Karwar. Later when he went to Bulgaonar and thence pro­
ceded to the south, he spent a long time at Shrakastro Malik-
sharma, getting into a trance from which he could be roused
with difficulty. Saints and sacred places were in those days
the repositories of knowledge, learning, piet, and information
in the various branches of life. Often he used to lose sight of
his objective and suddenly get into a mystic pensive mood,
aft,er having met with some souls of extraordinary spiritual
power. He never undertook a serious task without first consult­
ing his gurus. Shivaji made no distinction in this respect be­
tween a Hindu and a Muslim saint. He honoured all with equal
respect. At his capital Raigad he erected a special mosque for
Muslim devotees in front of his palace in the same way, that he built there the temple of Jagadishvar for his own daily worship.

The famous saint Ramdas was the guru from whom Shivaji received formal initiation and to whose shrine he made grants of land which are found recorded in a sanad in which the royal donor eloquently describes his feelings of reverence and devotion. There are two opposite views on the question of Shivaji’s relations with Ramdas, one school of writers maintaining that this saint was the sole inspirer of Shivaji’s work in the political field as well as in his spiritual life. The other view is that Ramdas had hardly any share in Shivaji’s constructive work as a king. Ramdas certainly appeared in the region round about Satara, just about the time that Dadaji Kondadev and Shivaji took possession of Sinhagad (1644). From this date onward the two persons made Maharashtra their main field of activity for over thirty years; and they must certainly have heard of each other’s work and felt respect for it. Ramdas’ description of the best man (Uttama Pansaka) occurring in his Daksabodha, seems to me to convey a deep inner meaning, pointing to his having just before heard of Shivaji’s suppression of Afzalkhan. So one may justifiably maintain that instead of Ramdas inspiring Shivaji in his political ideals, it was Ramdas who was led to effect a change in his outlook and teaching, after observing a clear demonstration of the hero as King in the person of Shivaji. Thereafter Ramdas began to feel that no religion could stand and thrive without a strong leader of men coming forth to defend it, in other words, that political power was necessary for maintaining religious liberty. The truth appears to be this. Ramdas at first confined his teaching only to the spiritual regeneration of society coupled with practical hints for making life a success. He established a chain of monasteries throughout the land where physical education was imparted with special attention to the formation of bodily strength and character. The presiding deity in these mathas was the athletic demi-god Hanuman. But to look upon these monasteries as secret training centres of Shivaji’s political activity or as institutions for political spying to help him, is mere guess work of twentieth century Indian politics.
When did Shivaji and Ramdas first come together? Both had their field of activity in Maharashtra and must have heard and learnt of each other for a good long time before they had a personal meeting. Such a meeting presupposes that the two may have an intimate contact together, long quiet talks and mutual discussions so as to influence each other's future plans. There is no evidence nor any likelihood that such a purposeful and consultative meeting between Shivaji and Ramdas took place before the known one of April 1672 (Chaitra of Shaka 1594), which is mentioned by Dwarkat Gosavi in his letter. It was after this admittedly first meeting, that their contact began to grow closer and that Shivaji received his formal initiation (Upadesha) from the guru. From 1672 onwards they met frequently and consulted each other; and their mutual respect grew in an increasing degree till the end. Thenceforward Shivaji indeed found great solace in the guru's company.

During the unhappy closing days of Shivaji's life, his vision came to be dismally clouded for various reasons, and he purposely went to seek advice from his guru and spent a month in his company at Sajjangad. The question was, as Shivaji was visibly dying, who should conduct the affairs of the Maratha State, seeing that Sambhaji had proved himself hopelessly unfit. Taking a dispassionate view of the situation as we know it now, Ramdas, if he had had the inclination to handle political matters, should have called together when Shivaji was there on a visit to him, the principal officials and publicly declared some definite scheme of succession for their execution. Such a course would have averted the perilous situation which developed from the absence of a formal declaration of Shivaji's heir. Instead of this Ramdas at that visit of Shivaji merely gave expression to the conventional blissful sentiments of satisfaction at Shivaji's achievements, which we find embodied in that exquisite poem Anand-Vana-Bhuvan, summarizing the hero's life-work.

Shivaji's other gurus have been mentioned elsewhere.

3. Shivaji and a Hindu Samajya.—It is necessary to inquire whether Shivaji ever entertained a desire to found a Hindu empire for the whole of India. There is no knowing
SHIVAJI’S CHARACTER AND WORK

what would have happened if he had been vouchsafed the long life which his opponent Aurangzeb enjoyed, or at least if he had lived ten years longer than he did. His base was certainly broad enough to sustain any expansion of his small Maratha kingdom in the Deccan. He had practically subjected the territories south of the river Godavari. His main object was to win religious freedom and not territory. He certainly would have been foremost to defend the Hindu religion all over India. "Hindavi-Swarajya" was the title he has used for his national scheme in one of his letters (to Dadaji Naras Prabhu in 1645), meaning thereby that he wanted to strive for a Hindu religious autonomy for the whole country. Sambhaji in his Daminapatra calls him Haindava-dharma-dharaka. Shivaji’s famous letter to Aurangzeb breathes such a spirit. Although he died prematurely, his ideals did indeed continue to inspire his successors for more than a hundred years after him, particularly the Peshwas right up to the time of Madaji Sindia, who tried to free the Hindu holy places of north India from Muslim control, and who indeed obtained from the Emperor Shah Alam a firman prohibiting the slaughter of cows throughout the country. Peshwa Balaji Raje in one of his letters boasts of being a true disciple of Shivaji, meaning that he followed the latter’s ideals. Shivaji’s levy of Chauthai and Sardesfimukki was conceived in the spirit of an all-India instrument of expansion. A poet of Mirza Raja Jaysinh’s court credits his patron with the feat of having “subjected kings like Shivaji who aspired to the imperial seat of Delhi.”

Shivaji voluntarily undertook a journey to the court of Aurangzeb, a hazardous venture, which discloses a desire on his part to see for himself how far northern India was prepared for the restoration of a Hindu empire after several hundred years of continuous Muslim rule. The line quoted above discloses a general public desire to depose Aurangzeb as he was.

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the enemy of the Hindu religion. The moment Shivaji escaped from the Emperor's custody, Hindu India hailed him as a heaven-sent deliverer, and thereafter northern scholars, poets, priests and chiefs began to flock to Shivaji's court. Poet Bhushan and Chhatrasal Bundela are instances of this nationwide impulse. Even Gagibhattu was induced to preside at the coronation ceremony, mainly on account of the prevailing sentiment all over north India in favour of Shivaji's uncommon personality.

Similarly one cannot sufficiently admire the method he adopted for the defence of his kingdom by means of land and sea-forts, the four rocky naval bases forming the spinal cord of Marathwada independence, which even the great Mughal Emperors had never thought of. At all these naval bases he established docks for the construction and repair of armed and trading vessels with fresh gun-foundries which excite our admiration even now. This was a provision both for the expansion of trade and security against hostile attacks, of which the famous Maratha Captain Kanhoji Angria and his house took full advantage for more than half a century after Shivaji had passed away.

The Abbé Carre reports that Shivaji had studied geography in minute details with the help of specially prepared charts. Shivaji's ships opened a fresh trade to Arabia and outside, a source of income hardly understood in those days of narrow vision. He removed the time-honoured ban on sea voyage by Hindus, and in opposition to the orthodox practice admitted Muslim converts back into Hindu fold, as the cases of Bajaji Nimbalkar and Netaji Palkar amply prove, as an innovation not then allowed by contemporary Hindu society. Shivaji's new State required a new court language in preference to Persian, which meant a sure sign of slavery; so he adopted Marathi for this purpose and constructed a Sanskrit dictionary of specially coined court terms, known as the Raj-vyavaharkosh. *

5. Bhushan is now supposed to have visited Shahjehan and not Shivaji. But he certainly voiced the sentiments current about Shivaji.

* See foot-note 10, p. 214.
The comprehensive and many-sided arrangements of Shivaji’s coronation ceremony were a revival to strike the popular imagination and remind it of ancient imperial tradition, which had fallen into oblivion ever since the days of the ancient Guptas and Harshavardhan, more than ten centuries before.

But one thing is quite clear that in defending the Hindu religion, Shivaji was in no way actuated by any hatred towards the Muslims as a sect or towards their religion. Full religious liberty for all was his ideal and the practice in his State. He revered Muslim saints like Bādī Yaqūt of Kīti to whose shrine he made a grant which is still being enjoyed. He had many devoted Muslim servants and followers who whole-heartedly co-operated with him. His chief naval commanders were Muslims. Daulat Khan and Siddi Mansur. Madari Mehtar, a jārash (chamberlain) was a servant near his person, who helped him in his flight from Agra. Shivaji’s confidential foreign secretary (Munshi) was one Mulla Hādār, who wrote his Persian correspondence and who was once deputed to Bahadur Khan the Mughal viceroy in the Deccan to negotiate a peace. A considerable portion of the population under Shivaji’s rule was Muslim, but it all lived as contented and free as his Hindu subjects.

4. The Eight Ministers.—The Aryan theory of the state had laid down elaborate schemes from which Shivaji accepted his division of departmental work among eight ministers, a measure admirably suited to the needs of his time, which is still in evidence all over the world. Shivaji clearly laid down definitions of these ministers’ duties and responsibilities. Among the institutions brought into being by Shivaji this departmental division of work among ministers is the most noteworthy. This system was borrowed by Shivaji from the ancient Hindu tradition embodied in Sanskrit works on polity. Under Muhammadan rule there used to be only two main officers, one Diwan or the revenue minister, and the other the Bakshi or the head of the military establishment. The provincial head or Subahdar was vested with full civil and military powers. It must, however, be borne in mind that Shivaji’s ministry of eight depart-
This Mulla Haidar served Shivaji till his death, and thereafter having disagreed with Sambhaji he joined the Emperor's service and in 1700 was the Chief Kazi at Delhi. See p. 215, footnote.

Shivaji assigned no separate independent powers to his ministers. His was merely a convenient system for dividing administrative work; and six out of his eight ministers were bound, in consonance with the needs of the time, to conduct military operations when required, along with their respective duties. It is, therefore, misleading to compare this division of work instituted by Shivaji with the governments of our present times controlled by cabinets responsible to parliaments. Modern cabinets have independent powers and they often overrule the monarch. But Shivaji was a thorough autocrat, and although he freely sought advice from his ministers, he as often overruled their advice and dictated his own measures as he thought best. Of the eight ministers, the Peshwa or Prime minister, was to exercise supervision over the rest and to conduct the government in the absence of his master. The salary of the Prime Minister was 15000 Hons a year, which works out at Rs. 4375 a month at the rate of about 3½ Rs. the exchange value of the Hon, quite a substantial reward for the service rendered, and the more so when we bear in mind the purchasing power of money in those days. The other ministers were (2) the Amātyā (in charge of the revenue), (3) the Sachiv (in charge of finance), (4) the Senapati (commander-in-chief), (5) the Mantri (personal adviser) and the (6) Samant (foreign minister). The Amātyā received a salary of 12,000 Hons yearly or Rs. 3,500 a month. The two remaining ministers (7) the Nyayādhisā (minister of justice) and the Panditras (minister of charities and religion) were not expected to go out on expeditions, but were to have stationary offices at the seat of government. The salaries of these last six were 10 thousand Hons a year or nearly Rs. 3000 a month.

Shivaji as an intensely practical administrator, clearly saw the danger of distributing land in lieu of service. To his ministers and the other servants he always made cash payments. Rāmachandra Pant Amātyā has lucidly described the

6. This Mulla Haidar served Shivaji till his death, and thereafter having disagreed with Sambhaji he joined the Emperor's service and in 1700 was the Chief Kazi at Delhi. See p. 215, footnote.
SHIVAJI’S CHARACTER AND WORK

271

dangers and pitfalls of conferring gifts of land for military and other services under a government. The jagir system Shivaji considered harmful to the interests of the State. He mercilessly confiscated the landed estates of previous regimes and allowed no middlemen as landholders between the cultivators and the Government. Writes the Anmitya, “The king is the supreme owner of all lands. To him the Zamindars do not render proper loyalty. Nor do they remain contented with what they possess. They are unjust to the cultivators of the soil. They erect independent fortifications, defy the master, grasp what does not belong to them, commit robberies outside. Once their position is fairly strengthened, they use it as a base for further expansion. (Did not Shivaji do the same?) If a foreign enemy invades a country, these land-holders often openly join him, secretly convey to him important information. Thus they become a fruitful source of weakness to the State. A jagirdar is rarely honest.”

The creation of ministerial departments was a matter of gradual growth, developing as Shivaji’s work began to grow. They were not all created at the time of his coronation, although formal confirmation and promulgation of their definite duties were effected at the time of that ceremony.

Administration.—The whole dominion of Shivaji was fluctuating and fluid in its area, as he was all along engaged in building up and extending his kingdom. He divided it into three main provinces, the northern division from Poona to Salher, being under his Peshwa Moropant Pingle and including north Konkan also. Southern Konkan up to north Kanara was in the viceroyalty of Anaji Datto, while the southern Desh districts roughly from Satara to Dharwar and Kopbal were under Dattakipant Waghril. The newly conquered districts south of the Tungabhadra, namely, Aros, Vellore, Tirji, &c. were administered by Harji Mahadik, Shivaji’s son-in-law. There were many scattered outlying districts, where specially trusted and competent agents were appointed from time to time. The Mughal territory was to be subjected to the levy of the Chauth contribution. All this territory old and new contained, as contemporary records tell us, 240 forts, of which 111 were newly
built by him. His annual revenue has been calculated at seven crores of Rupees, but possibly it was much less in actual realisation. He collected a large amount of treasure and other valuable articles which it is impossible to calculate even with tolerable accuracy in terms of modern currency. Besides the land revenue there were cesses according to local conditions.

When one comes to examine Shivaji's administration, one can easily detect a few broad principles which he shrewdly brought into force as he proceeded building up his swarajya. They are:

1. The country was to be defended against enemies by means of well garrisoned forts;
2. All services were to be paid in cash and not by grants of land;
3. Servants were employed on the principle of merit and not heredity;
4. Revenue was not to be collected through Zamindars or middlemen but through a well-supervised government agency;
5. The system of farming lands was abolished; in other words, land revenue was never auctioned;
6. All government work was divided among well-defined separate departments;
7. Equal opportunity was offered in the public service to all castes;
8. Expenditure was so budgeted as to lay by some surplus every year.

It will be noticed that all well regulated governments of modern times have adopted these principles in their administration. The first basis of this system was laid down by Diddija Konadeva, who in his turn had copied it from Malik Ambar. Shivaji selected the best points of all previous systems. Justice was mostly entrusted to the village panchayats, so that the task of policing the country became automatically simplified.

7. Vide दिदी जी कांदेव अमर के अनुसार भाजपीय शासन पर स्वास्थ्य के लिए समता ही। नामों के प्रति अस्तित्व रखने, अन्य सरकारों के साथ अलग की जा रही।
Shivaji always gave as much importance to preservation as to acquisition. Some of the ministers on military duty outside were drawing certain advantages which the ministers doing civil duty at headquarters were denied. Once when such a complaint reached Shivaji, he made an important pronouncement and declared that preservation of the raj was a task in no way inferior to fresh acquisition, and that the ministers and servants doing duty at home should be as well rewarded as those who were out on active service.

I may here quote one recorded instance of how strict and impartial Shivaji was about alienating government lands. His son-in-law Pilaji Shirke, husband of his daughter Rajkuwar, had rendered meritorious service in arranging a friendly understanding between Shivaji and Lakhram Savant of Kudhal. In return for his good work Pilaji Shirke demanded from Shivaji the grant of the Deshmukhi Vatan of Dabhhol. In a typical but firm and sweet reply Shivaji wrote to Shirke, "Our Maratha government does not allow grants of land to any body. But recognising your good work for the State and in addition the family relationship we bear with your house, we will think of bestowing the Dabhhol Deshmukhi on the son of our affectionate daughter Rajkuwar, when she gets one."

It was only new personal grants which Shivaji disallowed. But he generously continued old religious grants and even made fresh endowments to both Hindu and Muslim shrines. While Shivaji erected forts of his own, he did not allow any private individuals under his rule to build their own fortifications. He purposely dismantled several old private fortresses which were likely to endanger his position. Writes Anantya in this connection, "Zamindars when threatened by the enemy are apt to join him and cause harm to our State. Such deserters should be traced, captured and punished. In case their capture becomes impracticable, their sons and relations should be apprehended; the womenfolk should be made slaves. Examples should be made of such treasonous practices even by resort to the method of poisoning such offenders."

8. Bai. 8. 10. Shiva-Charitra Satiitya 3.158.
5. **Forts on land and sea.**—Of all measures of defence the most prominent that was devised and persistently developed by Shivaji was his system of forts. These became a necessary adjunct of the guerrilla method which he developed from his father's example. There are three distinct lines of such forts which can be recognised even at the present day, although all these forts were either purposely dismantled during the British regime or fell into decay through neglect, as the method of warfare has now been completely revolutionised.

The main forts are on the tops of the Sahyadri range; there are two more lines of them, one on the eastern and the other on the western spurs of the mountain range. In addition, there are some built by him on difficult rocks on the sea-coast. Some towns in the plains had also been strongly fortified long before Shivaji, such as Ahmadnagar and Sholapur. Sindhudurg of Malvan, Vijaydurg, Saurnadurg and Kolaba were the main naval fortifications which even today inspire awe and admiration for Shivaji's ingenuity. Of all his forts Raigad, his capital, reveals the great importance which Shivaji attached to these forts and the lavishness with which he poured money on their construction. Almost the first fort constructed by him was Pratapgad which was at first intended to be only a seat of the goddess Bhavani whom he installed therein. For grasping the significance of Shivaji's conception of defending his country by means of these forts, an actual visit to some of them today is indeed necessary. Visitors to Poona from all over India and abroad, hardly fail to visit Purandar and Sinhagad in the vicinity of that town.

The construction of these forts is worth noting. Only one difficult passage is kept in the bosom of the fortifications, not to be easily detected. When the principal entrance is securely closed and guarded, no enemy can reach the inside. Guns, ammunition, grain and other requisites used to be stored inside, so that the defenders could hold out for almost any length of time. Raigad is an extensive inside, that large numbers of cattle and men could have their life's requisites for years on end. A plentiful supply of water inside the forts was the first necessity in their construction. There were natural springs upon most of the hills, while elsewhere special tanks were built. Shivaji prepared and circulated minute regulations for
the conduct of the garrison and the defence in case of attack or siege. The classical and sonorous names given to most of these forts, excite one's interest and admiration for the ingenuity of Shivaji's Pandits in coin­ing them.

Most of these forts possess a history of their own, and wonderful reminiscences, which have gathered about them in local tradition, bring to a visitor's mind a picture of those old days. What minute care and observation Shivaji personally bestowed upon the construction of his forts can be understood from the following extract out of an old description of the fort of Malvan which Shivaji named Sindhudurg: "Sindhudurg is a star in the firmament, an ornament of pride to the Maharaja's raj, just as every Hindu house has for its front decoration the tuhi-hasin. The gods obtained only fourteen gems, but Shivaji added this fifteenth to the number. When he came to Rajapur for the first time he minutely examined the various rocks locked in water and dotting the western coast, and was struck with the position of the rock islet opposite Malvan. He at once called together the fishermen of the place and gathered from them all details of that frowning sea-monster. It was difficult of direct approach except with a zig-zag serpentines sea-passage, through which only a small fishing boat could make its way. Large ships could have no access to it. Shivaji rewarded the Kolis liberally and at once employed them as enterprising sailors. He consulted the astrologers and selected an auspicious day to begin the foundation. He ordered five hundred stone-dressers and two hundred iron-smiths, purchased two hundred tons of iron-meatl and started the work of construction. A grand inaugu­ral ceremony was held, sugar was distributed, feasts and dinners were lavishly given amidst music and rejoicing. One hundred Hons were distributed in charity to appease the sea-goddess along with coconuts, dresse, and other offerings. Three thousand skilled artisans, some of whom were specially obtained from the Portuguese government of Goa, were at once engaged for the various jobs. A guard of five thousand Mavlas was set up; a budget of one crore of Hons was sanctioned. All possible measures against damage by the waves or the danger of an enemy were taken. Shivaji appointed Govind Vishva-nath Prabhu as the Chief supervisor of the works and himself
returned to Raigad. Within three years a mighty black spot arose on the fortress and then the Maharaja made his formal ceremonial entry into it with a salvo of guns. He named it Sindhudurg.  

6. Army Organisation.—Little need be said on Shivaji’s army. The forts formed an adjunct to his main fighting forces, of which had only two branches, troopers and foot-soldiers, the latter mostly garrisoning the forts. Shivaji mixed freely with all kinds of men and possessed an intuitive capacity for judging their character and ability. Most of his soldiers were either directly selected by him or guaranteed by those about him who shared his confidence. Small muskets, swords and shields, or small daggers and spears were the weapons then mostly in use. There were two main classes of troopers, Siledars and Bargirs. Siledars were the higher type who brought in their own horses and weapons, and received a larger pay, while the bargirs were direct employees, receiving their accoutrement from government. Large camps of troops were formed at convenient places with thousands of horses and magazines of weapons and stores of provisions. Shivaji was fond of horses and procured select animals of the Arab, the Kathiawadi and other breeds. Bodies of spies were attached to each regiment, whose officers arranged the troop-movements in consonance with the information supplied by the spies. These spies formed the most efficient branch of Shivaji’s army. How minutely Shivaji regulated the affairs of the army can be judged from the following letter which was circulated by him as standing orders to all the revenue and military officers.

“To Jumledars, Havaldars, and Karkuns, in charge of the army stationed at Chipul, 16 April, 1673—

10. Chitra Graha bakhar—pp 132-34. A few names of Shivaji’s forts will interest the reader—Varna, Ghogla, Ganagaon, Panduranga, Tribal, Varanga, Tawang, Talota, Pavagaon, Malwara, Bhuzurg, Lawanga, Khavanga, Varanga. Chapter VII of the ANDHRA'S History is devoted to the subject of forts; the Shivaji Souvenir gives a description of all Shivaji’s forts.
There are yet twenty days of the hot Vaishakh month to pass.\(^1\) The severity of the season now prevents any change in encampment. As provisions are urgently required, I have ordered the officers to collect whatever grain could be had from the various forts and thus provide for men and horses. Now you will ask for any amount of rations of grain and grass; feed recklessly while the supplies are available, and when these are exhausted during the height of the rainy season, you will get nothing. Hence the present supplies must be made to last till the end of the rainy season. You must, therefore, without complaint accept whatever rations the Kulkuns will daily give you and nothing more should be asked; so that all will get tolerably enough to keep men and horses from starving. You must not, therefore, grumble and quarrel with the officers or trouble them for every trifling requirement. No one should enter the store-rooms and make free use of the provisions kept therein. Men and horses must continue to accept whatever is given them and make things going. Some will make fires for cooking purposes in places where there are stacks of hay. Some will take live-coal for smoking pipes and carelessly set fire to the stacks lying about. When one shed takes fire, it will soon extend to the whole encampment and cause incalculable damage. Should a mishap of the kind occur, no amount of punishment of officers and cultivators will replace the loss; not a piece of timber would then be available to construct the sheds and no shed could be constructed at a moment's notice. You must all take note of this situation, keep a watch in the camp and see that nothing untoward happens, while men are cooking food or burning grass. If you keep lights burning at night, mice might carry away the lighted

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\(^1\) So the letter is written about Vaishakh Shudh 10 – 16 April 1673.
wicks and cause mischief. All such accidents must be scrupulously guarded against. You must be particularly careful about fires breaking out. Every precaution should be taken to save the grass and the sheds. Then only can the horses live through the long rainy season. If you fail, there is an end to all horses and stables and food. Then you will begin to rot the people; some will take away the grain of the poor cultivators; some will take away their bread, others grass and wood; some carry away their vegetables and other provisions. When you behave that way, the poor peasants will find life impossible and run away. Some will starve. Then they will think you are worse than the Moghals, who overrun the countryside. Thus all the curses of the peasants and the horses will descend on you. Know this well, whether you are sipahi or a foot-soldier and behave yourselves. Some of you may be staying in different villages in government stables or otherwise.

You have no business to trouble the rayats in any way, no business to stray outside your place. The Sarkar has given you your share from the treasury. Whatever one wants, whether grain, grass for cattle or fuel or vegetables, you should duly buy it, if it comes round for sale; or you should go to the open bazaar and buy it. You must not force anybody or quarrel with anybody. The supplies that have been assigned to the government stables must last for the whole rainy season. The Kirkuns are instructed to give rations with an eye to economy. You must take what you are given, so that you will never be reduced to starvation. You will have some food everyday and the horses will gain strength. You must not lose temper with the Kirkuns or enter the store-rooms violently and seize the articles. The men attached to the stables will make fires, some will make their hearths and cook at wrong places, some will light their smoking pipes without noticing that the hay is lying about. Thus there will suddenly occur an accident. When one room catches fire, the whole place will be burnt down. Therefore, let due warning be given to all. Officers should always be going about to see that everything is safe. Therefore it is, that I write to you in such detail. All the Jamledars, Havaldars and Kirkuns should hear this letter being read to them and act up to it. We shall keep ourselves informed frequently, may every day, and punish those who dis-
obey. Whosoever behaves in contravention of this order will be severely punished and disgraced."

Insistence on order, implicit obedience and the strictest discipline were the rules which distinguished Shivaji as a ruler far in advance of his age, as is illustrated by the manner in which he regulated the behaviour of his troops during their campaigns of conquest or plunder. "A grand Darbar was held on the Dassara day when all the men, their horses and equipment were minutely examined and the regulations clearly explained. No molestation of women, children, Brahmans, husbandmen and cows was allowed during war. All plundered articles were to be delivered upon return to headquarters, when special rewards in money, dresses and titles were bestowed for good work, and severe punishment inflicted upon delinquents, who had kept back or misappropriated articles of plunder. After returning from a plundering expedition, he saw to it that every article seized by his men was properly delivered to his officers. Every member of his army was supplied with a memo of his private belongings when he started on the march, and on return was required to give up whatever he possessed over and above his original list. Honest dealings were handsomely rewarded and the least dereliction punished with severity." Every soldier, before being enlisted in the service had to produce two sureties for good conduct. The relatives of those who had fallen on service or duty were compensated. When Shivaji attacked a town, he was an adept in discovering secret hoards, so that people came to credit him with supernatural powers.

His simple style of life has been highly commended by the French envoy Germain, who visited him at Tiruvadi in July 1677. He wrote, "The camp of Shivaji was without pomp, without women; there were no baggages, only two tents but of simple cloth, coarse and very scanty, one for him and the other for his prime-minister."

7. The navy and the Siddi of Janjira.—Shivaji early in his career saw the necessity of having a strong and inde-
ependent navy of his own, as much for the protection as for the expansion of his resources by means of foreign trade. More than a hundred years before Shivaji, the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar had established his own navy at Janjira and placed in command of it Siddi Yaqut Khan a daring Abyssinian immigrant well-versed in naval art (1490). He was charged with the two-fold function of the supervision of the coastal trade and the safe conveyance of Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. Thus was created the small State of Janjira which has survived centuries of political change.  

When Shivaji attacked Kalyan and seized the Bijapuri portion of north Konkan, he was severely opposed by this Siddi chief with his numerous following of daring sailors. Thus it became necessary for Shivaji to create his own navy in order to check the activities of the Siddis and strengthen his own power on the west coast. In this way there arose a perennial source of rivalry and war between these two powers throughout the Maratha period.

Shivaji's war with the Siddis commenced in 1657 and continued up to his death, having been marked in the interval by some very stiff engagements. In 1659 he sent his Peshwa Moropant Pingle and Vyankoji Datto (brother of Anaji) with a strong naval force to put down the Siddis. Siddi Khairyat was overthrown and compelled to accept terms, by which all the territory of the Siddis was to be handed over to Shivaji except the island fort of Janjira itself. Whilst these operations on the west coast were going on, Shivaji was attacked by Afzal Khan with the result that his hold upon the Siddis was released. By the time Mira Raja Jayadhir appeared on the scene, the Siddis transferred their allegiance to the Moghal Emperor, and under the latter's support increased his power to a considerable extent with an additional base at Surat. Shivaji also laid in the meantime increased his navy, and prepared for a renewal of his contest with the Siddis by building the four strong fortresses of Sindhudurg, Vijaydurg, Suvarnadurg and lastly Kolaba, with adequate naval equipment for each. Then-

14. Janjira is a corruption of the Arabic word Jazira meaning an island. It is situated at the mouth of the Rajpur creek. Yaqut Khan became the hereditary title of the Siddi Chief of Janjira.
15. Students will do well to refer to his letter dated 19th January 1675 addressed to his officer at Prabhavali on naval equipment.—Raj. 8.32.

10

SHIVAJI'S CHARACTER AND WORK

15. Students will do well to refer to his letter dated 19th January 1675 addressed to his officer at Prabhavali on naval equipment.—Raj. 8.32.

8. Shivaji's relations with the English.—This subject has been already treated in so far as the factors of Rajapur were concerned. There was really no conflict of interest between Shivaji and these merchants of the East India Company. The Dutch and the English, unlike the Portuguese, had no intention of making land acquisitions in India and confined their activities to trade, which profited them as much as it did the Indian princes. The island of Bombay had just been acquired by the English from their Portuguese neighbours, and as Surat was constantly under the threat of an attack from Shivaji, the English were planning to shift their headquarters from Surat to Bombay. The incident of Rajapur rankled in their hearts, but no actual collision occurred. After his escape from Agra Shivaji's power rapidly increased, and the English became anxious to secure his good will in order that their trading operations might not suffer. With this object in view the President of Surat sent envoys to Shivaji from time to time, Ustick in 1672, Nicolls in 1673, Henry Oxenden in 1674, and Austen in 1675. Of these the visit of Oxenden to Raigad at the time of Shivaji's coronation is historically noteworthy, as that Englishman has left a full and accurate account of what he saw and heard of that important event in Shivaji's life. Oxenden brought Shivaji presents from the Company along with their congratulations. A treaty of mutual trade and friend-
ship was then arranged between them and their relations re­

mained cordial during Shivaji's life-time.

9. Was Shivaji a mere plunderer?—Shivaji has been

often called a plunderer and a rebel. One must examine his

life minutely to determine what this charge exactly meant.

Every patriot has felt bound to rebel against the existing alien

government, and it would be no wonder if Muslim writers set

Shivaji down as such. Even the Marathi writers exult in call­

ing him a pund (rebel) for having liberated his land from

foreign yoke. As soon as he attained the required power, he

organized a regular government and advanced the interests of

the subjects over whom he ruled. But he cannot be charged

with being a wicked wanton plunderer. He plundered the

towns and territory of the enemy as a legitimate act of war.

There is no instance of his having plundered innocent people

or princes who were not at war with him. Even the Muslim

historian Khafi Khan absolves him from this charge. He never

molested religious places such as musjids. He respected the

holy Koran when obtained in plunder and returned it with

due reverence. It was a strict rule in his army never to molest

women, children or holy men in the course of a raid. Prison­
ers of war were very kindly treated and released after their

wounds had been dressed.

His usual practice when he arrived before a town, was

to call upon the wealthy and leading merchants to make a rea­

sonable contribution towards the expenses of his war, and if

it was willingly paid, he never used force. But when such

willing compliance was refused, he exacted forcibly what he

could collect. In most cases Shivaji's plunder was a war levy,

more or less of the type of that extorted by the present day

governments of the world, who legally impose and exact

money during times of stress in the form of tax or contri­

bution. Shivaji was careful not to harm poor innocent hus­

bandmen by depriving them of their means of livelihood. He

imposed large fines upon well-to-do merchants and seized

their secret hoards; or he carried away enemy treasures while

they were on the way. When an enemy was defeated, he plun­
dered his camp and took away the tents, animals, stores and

whatever else could be obtained. These wise and considerate
methods of Shivaji were mostly adhered to throughout the best days of Maratha government. Shivaji took great pains to acquire correct information about his objectives through his efficient spies and acted upon it with the least molestation possible.

10. Estimate of Shivaji by thinkers and writers.—The opinion of a Maratha on his national hero may be suspected of being tainted by blind adoration or national vanity. I shall therefore give here only estimates of Shivaji's character formed by foreigners, most of them belonging to the race that had fought four sanguinary wars to wrest the overlordship of India from the hands of Shivaji’s successors in office.

(1) Elphinstone in his History aptly summarizes Shivaji's character thus:

"The son of a powerful chief Shivaji had begun life as a daring and artful captain of banditti, had ripened into a skilful general and an able statesman and left a character which has never since been equalled or approached by any of his countrymen... It required a genius like his to avail himself as he did of the mistakes of Aurangzeb by kindling a zeal for religion and through that, a national spirit among the Marathas. It was by these feelings that his government was upheld after it passed into feeble hands and was kept together, in spite of numerous internal disorders until it had established its supremacy over the greater part of India."

(2) Sir Richard Temple writes in his Oriental Experience,

"Raigad according to the sagacious suggestion of Shivaji's father was occupied as the last and the greatest of the Maratha strongholds. There it was that Shivaji established himself finally as sovereign of western India. It was here that Shivaji reigned and here too he died after having rebelled, plundered, fought and ruled for about thirty years. In this fort he collected the wealth and riches of half India, treasures in Spanish dollars, sequins, and the coins from all southern Europe and all Asia.

"Shivaji was not only a bold man but he had the peculiar power of arousing enthusiasm in others and he was the man who raised an abject race from nothingness up to em-"
Besides, Shivaji was a great administrator. He founded many institutions which survived for more than one century."

(3) says Arweath,

"But Shivaji's mere acquisitions constitute an altogether imperfect measure of the power he exercised and evoked. No man perhaps then living had a keener and juster appreciation of his own strength and the weak points of his opponents. He alone among his countrymen thoroughly gauged the sources and direction of both. He saw that the time had come when the Maratha nation might be made anew and he made it. He saw that with all its swelling pretentiousness, its enormous wealth, the vast numbers of its subjects, nothing but the shell of its old energy and power was left to the Muhammadan Dominon, that the vices and the jealousies of autocratic rule had eaten away the heart of it. Shivaji from the first day kept his eye steadily fixed on the vast project of Hindu reconquest, and both as a captain and as a statesman in each of which capacities he was pre-eminently great, his conduct shows an unswerving adherence to certain leading principles of action and administration, which he had prescribed to himself as the adequate and necessary means to an end.

Shivaji's claim to greatness is of course not to be criticized by the ethics of the nineteenth century. Though he was ruthless in attaining his object, he was completely free from the detestable passion for gratuitous cruelty as well as from any disposition to indulge in it as a gratification of temper.

The whole career of Shivaji was one of struggle and stress. It was essential to him to push his projects as secretly, as unostentatiously and in such a way as to attract as little notice as possible. The character of Shivaji far transcends that of his mighty foe Aurangzeb. Religion was a dominant feature in both, but in Aurangzeb it was degraded into pettiest, narrowest and most malignant bigotry. The gaoler of his father, the assassin of his brothers, the suspicious and dreadful tyrant of his sons, too conscious of faithlessness in himself to have faith in others or to inspire it, his statesmanship mere cunning, his energy the peddling industry of a clerk, opposed to such a national and religious upheaval as is without a parallel in the history of India and which was guided by an intellect as
far reaching and profound as his own was limited and shallow, he was born to be the architect of ruin; and if Shivaji was an incarnation of divinity, specially created for Hindu conquest and dominion, Aurangzeb seems equally to have been sent into the world for the express purpose of disintegrating the Muhammadan empire.

"While Shivaji's genius as a captain is universally recognised, scant justice is done to his constructive and administrative abilities and to the permanence of his idea, both of conquest and government."

(4) 

"The success of Marathi poets and saints from Janaswar to Shridhar (1300-1700) in overcoming the prejudices of caste was only partial and temporary. Far more efficacious was the rise of Shivaji to power and his constant association with himself in his task of political and military administration, of men who in many instances were not Brahmins. With Prabhuls acting as his civil and military officials, with Marathas and Bhons in forming the bulk of his land and naval forces, with Kolis or Ramoshis acting as his comrades in hazardous enterprises, and with Mahars and Mangs holding his hill forts, the general mass of the people certainly obtained a clearer and more practical idea of a common nationality and the limitations of an exclusive caste system, than they could ever have obtained, wholly illiterate as they were, from the public repetition of quotations of Tukaram or Nirmal, of Eknath or Ramdas."

(5) 

"This man, Shivaji, is exercising all the powers of an independent sovereign; laugs at the threats both of the Mogul and the King of Vizapur, makes frequent incursions and ravages the country on every side from Surat to the gates of Goa. He distracts the attention of Aurangzeb by his bold and never-ceasing enterprises and affords so much employment to the Indian armies that the Mogul cannot find the opportunity of conquering Vizapur. How to put down Shivaji is become his object of chief importance."
The contemporary English merchants of Surat wrote,—

"Shivaji is the fairest friend, noblest enemy, and the most politique Prince."

"He will continue victorious even to a miracle."

"Shivaji Raja, ambitious to be famed mighty conqueror, marched into Karnatak and with a success as happy as Caesar's in Spain, he came, he saw, and he conquered. He has taken two very strong Ghurs or rocks, being no less dexterous thereof than Alexander the Great and become master of Bijapur. He has vowed to his God never to sheath his sword till he has reached Delhi and shut up Aurangzeb in it. It is too well known that Shivaji is a second Sartorius and comes not short of Hamilcar for stratagems. He loved his country but was not partial to any one. He had many Muslims in his service and the head of his navy was a Muslun. But he could not tolerate the conversion of his Hindu brethren to either Islam or to Christianity. The underlying reason for his vengeance upon Aurangzeb was the religious policy of that monarch."

Khwaft Khan says,—

"Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans, and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and any one who disobeyed them received punishment.

Ske Sir Jadunath Sarkar at the Shivaji birthday celebration in Madras in 1928,—

"Shivaji's political ideals were such that we might accept them even today without any change. He aimed at giving his subjects peace, universal toleration, equal opportunities for all castes and creeds, a beneficent, active and pure system of administration, a navy for promoting trade and a trained militia for guarding the homeland. Above all he sought for national development through action and not by lonely meditation. Every worthy man, not only the natives of Maharashtra but also recruits from other provinces of India who came to Shivaji,
were sure of being given some task, which would call forth his inner capacity and pave the way to his own rise to distinction, while serving the interests of the State. The activities of Shivaji's government spread in many directions and this enabled his people to attain to a full and varied development such as all modern civilized states aim at.

"All this national expansion proceeded from the initial energy of one man. Shivaji was the central power-house of the new Maharashtra. He had the supreme royal gift of quickly judging every man's character and capacity and choosing the best instrument for every task that he wanted to be done. But he was a self-taught man, he never visited any great capital, court or camp. His administrative and military systems perfectly suited to his country and age, were his own creation. Everything proceeded from his own heart and brain. Therefore the historian of Shivaji at the end of a careful study of all the records about him in eight different languages, is bound to admit, that he was not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but also the greatest constructive genius of medieval India. States fall, empires break up, dynasties become extinct, but the memory of a true 'hero as King' like Shivaji, remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race.

The pillar of a people's hope.
The centre of a world's desire,
to animate the heart, to kindle the imagination and to inspire the brain of succeeding ages to the highest endeavours, as saint Ramdas truly said."

17. शिवाजी राणी महाराजां भोजने हौँ बोलिते हैं।

राय पब्रहमन प्रभव भाता प्रभात।

राय परम्पराधिवार भोजने हौँ सुख।

स्वतंत्र जीवन वैतिक पुरातन।

In a similar strain speaks Rashtrasant Ramdas also, when he says

राज विपरीत ग शंकारानी नाम शंकारादिति सरस्वती।

विशेषत राजस्वसन्धिकाभ्यसनात्परीक्षा वर्तरी नकं कुची गर्वापराहान। (Contd. next page.)
II. Conclusion.—Shivaji was a genius far in advance of his times. He conceived and carried out most of the reforms and measures usually associated in our days with a civilized state. While his political activities with reference to an independent Maratha sovereignty have been commonly understood, his reforms in the social, religious and economic spheres of a full national life, have received scant justice. He certainly was a champion of Hinduism, but was no bigot. He treated all religions with equal respect. His modernizing spirit is well exemplified in the significant titles he deliberately adopted at his coronation. He styled himself the pinnacle of the glorious Kshatriya caste, thereby giving a direct lie to the current orthodox view that during the Kali age these survived only the two castes, the highest and the lowest, the Brahman and the Shudra. Another title he assumed gave him the right to deal on equal terms with the existing monarchs of Delhi and Bijapur as well as the Rajput princes of ancient origin. The chief of every Maratha clan used them to be addressed as a raja; but Shivaji to assert his overlordship assumed the title of Maharaja Chhatrapati to suit the ancient vedic conception.

Judged even by the strictest standard Shivaji stands out unmistakably as a unique personality, not only in his own time but in the modern age as a whole. In the midst of the surrounding darkness he shines forth as a brilliant luminary far ahead of his day. The India of Shivaji’s days could not stand comparison with the fast rising west in scientific knowledge and political advancement. Europe had just then emerged out of the dark ages and was rapidly progressing in practical sciences. The discovery of gunpowder, the use of the mariner’s compass, the invention of the art of printing were giving Europe leadership in temporal power and prosperity, and an ascendancy over the backward races of the
world outside. Constantinople had fallen, America had been discovered, Bacon had changed the traditional scholastic learning into new channels of discovery and experiment. Nothing was held sacred or sacrosanct from the inquiring mind. Europe had turned its back on the dead past and was marching on in a hopeful and buoyant mood, while the lights dimmed and ceased to burn in this land of the east, and it sank more and more into the morass of superstitious ignorance and hopeless despair.

It is this gloom which Shivaji's sudden appearance dispelled pointing to a new path of national uplift. All the greater credit is due to Shivaji for it, because he did all this on his own initiative. No Bacon had appeared in India to point out a new way to human advancement. Even his guru Ramdas did not dream of a new path. Shivaji gathered together and trained a large number of followers, exceptionally capable though not comparable to himself, who carried on his work after him with a determination which has become a romance in Maratha history. It is no exaggeration to say that he is the creator of the Maratha nation, or as Sir Jadunath has aptly put it, "the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced. He called the Maratha race to a new life. He raised the Marathas into an independent self-reliant people, conscious of their oneness and high destiny, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his race. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence, protect and promote literature and art, commerce, industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage; that it can put forth new leaves and branches. It can again lift up its head to the skies."
### CHRONOLOGY
#### CHAPTER XIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1670 Feb. 24</td>
<td>Birth of Rajaram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680 April</td>
<td>Rajaram enthroned as Chhatrapati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 18</td>
<td>Sambhaji gets possession of Raigad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 20</td>
<td>Sambhaji confines Rajaram &amp; becomes Chhatrapati.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 23</td>
<td>Sambhaji issues his Dhanapata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octr.</td>
<td>Death of Moropant Pingle: his son made Peshwa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novr.</td>
<td>Sambhaji opens campaign against the Moghuls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681 Jan. 16</td>
<td>Sambhaji crowned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Prince Akbar proclaims himself Emperor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 9</td>
<td>Prince Akbar is defeated near Ajmere &amp; flees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1</td>
<td>Prince Akbar crosses the Narmada for the south.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Prince Akbar informs Sambhaji of his plans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 8</td>
<td>Aurangzeb leaves Ajmir for the Deccan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octr.</td>
<td>Aurangzeb leaves for death by Sambhaji; also Bāljī Avji, Soyla Bai, &amp; others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novr. 13</td>
<td>Aurangzeb arrives at Burhanpur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 16</td>
<td>Sambhaji visits Akbar at Pili.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682 early months</td>
<td>The Siddi of Janjira attacks Maratha territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 22</td>
<td>Aurangzeb reaches Aurangabad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Akbar despatches Shish-uddin Khan to Nasik against Sambhaji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682 May 22</td>
<td>Sambhaji writes letters to Ramnath planning the deposition of Aurangzeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>British envoys meet Sambhaji at Raigad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1683 Dec.</td>
<td>Aurangzeb attacks the Portuguese at Chaul &amp; Goa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aurangzeb deheartened; holds conferences with his commanders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684 Aug.</td>
<td>Sambhaji victorious against the Portuguese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684 Dec.</td>
<td>Sambhaji retires from Goa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684 July 27</td>
<td>Akbar &amp; Kavi Kalash concert measures against Aurangzeb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685 Aug.</td>
<td>Akbar rejects his brother's offer of peace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685 Jan.</td>
<td>Sambhaji devastates Berar, Khandesh and Broach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686 March 27</td>
<td>Aurangzeb invests Bijapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686 Sept. 12</td>
<td>Aurangzeb reduces Bijapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687 Jan. 28</td>
<td>Aurangzeb invests Golkonda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687 Feb.</td>
<td>Akbar left for Persia and Durgadh for Rajputara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688 Jan.</td>
<td>Akbar reaches Ispahan in Iran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kavi Kalash fights the Shirikes and escapes to Visnugad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690 March 11</td>
<td>Sambhaji and Kalash put to death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Durgadh with Akbar's daughter meets Aurangzeb at Brahmapuri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Death of Akbar in Iran.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER XIII

SAMBHAI THE VIOLENT

[1680—1689]

1. Accession.—The great Shivaji had passed away without naming his successor. He left two sons behind; the elder Sambhaji, then twenty-two years old, though brave and intrepid, had misbehaved himself and was, therefore, not trusted by his father, but was kept confined in the fort of Panhala. The younger Rajaram, then just ten years old, having been born on 24 February 1670, was at the end of the mourning period for his father, placed on the throne at Raigad, by his mother Soyara Bai, a woman of vain ambition but wanting in statescraft. She was supported in her course by Shivaji’s confidential secretary Bālaījī Avji, who wrote letters in his own hand to the Killedar of Panhala, explaining the step that was taken, and calling upon him to keep a strict watch on Sambhaji. But the news of Shivaji’s death could not be long concealed from Sambhaji, who killed the Killedar, took possession of Panhala and prepared for a march on Raigad. Senapati Hambir Rao Mohite, who was near Karhād not far from Panhala, and who had received no intimation of Soyara Bai’s plans, went over to Sambhaji. In the mean time two of Shivaji’s prominent ministers, Moropant Pingle and Anālji Dotre, who had supported Soyara Bai’s plans, became confused by the alarming news of Sambhaji’s proceedings, as they were moving towards Panhala under orders to keep him from doing mischief. Sambhaji managed to capture and confine them both at Panhala under a rigorous watch. Determined to put down Soyara Bai and her supporters, Sambhaji marched on Raigad with a force of twenty thousand men and meeting with
no resistance, got possession of the capital on 18 June and for­
mally ascended the throne on 20 July, after putting Rajaram
and Soyara Bai in close confinement. In gratitude for this easy
success, he immediately made a formal grant to his family god­
dess Bhavani of ten thousand gold Horse a year. Matters thus
appeared to move smoothly. Moropant Pingle died in October,
and Sambhaji appointed his son Nilopant to the Peshwaship.
The formal ceremony of coronation was performed on 10 Janu­
ary 1681, Magh Shudh 7. The disturbed atmosphere of Mahá­
rásthra soon assumed its normal peaceful tenor.

2. Akbar’s flight to Sambhaji.—The wanton war which
the Emperor Aurangzeb started against the princes of Raj­
putana in 1679, and which Shivaji had denounced in a vigor­
ous open letter of remonstrance, now brought serious conse­
quences to Sambhaji in a curious manner. Aurangzeb’s son
Akbar, who had been conducting the operations under his
father’s supervision, vainly struggled against the powerful Raj­
pat combination. Of the several sons of Aurangzeb this Shah­
rada Akbar was the most dearly loved one; because by reason
of his having lost his mother in infancy, he was personally
brought up by the father with tender care and affection. He
grew to be the most clever and competent of his brothers and
was frequently employed by his father in state affairs requiring
firm and delicate handling. When Aurangzeb wanted to sup­
press the Ráthod rising, he entrusted the command of his
armies to Akbar and gave him personal instructions how to
conduct the operations. The war proved disastrous, spread like
a contagion, and united the states of Rajputana in a common
desperate opposition. Akbar spent a year vainly struggling
against heavy odds, and suffering terrible losses in the wild and
rugged country in which the operations had to be conducted.
He, therefore, entered into peace talks with the Rajputs, and
proposed to his father that the war should be closed on honour­
able terms which the Rajputs were ready to accept. He held
private consultations with the valiant Ráthod leader Durga-

1. This is an unpublished Sanskrit document bearing the clear
date of 23 August 1680 and signed by Sambhaji and his ministers. It
gives many useful details of his own and his ancestors’ lives.
dias, who made pathetic appeals to Akbar’s generosity in the following terms. “Why is the Emperor so kind to us? We are his loyal servants and shall continue so if we are left in peace and in subordinate alliance to the Emperor, following the policy of the great Akbar. But if relentless war is inflicted upon us, we shall never yield so long as the last drop of Rajput blood remains in our veins.” Akbar saw the position clearly and advised his father to conclude the war. But Aurangzeb was not going to be guided by such sober policy. He scolded Akbar in severe terms. Akbar took the rebuke to heart, and impelled by Durgadās and his valiant bands, he openly revolted against his father and proclaimed himself emperor, just about the time that Sambhājī was celebrating his own coronation at Raigad, early in January 1681. Aurangzeb thus came to face a dangerous situation. He was at Ajmere watching the course of events. As the Rajputs headed by Akbar marched upon him, so delicate became Aurangzeb’s position, that he was at his wits’ end how to extricate himself from the fate which he had once imposed on his own father. Space does not allow a full recitation of the ruse which the ingenious Emperor employed to save himself from falling a prisoner into his son’s hands. He succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon his enemies with the result, that both Akbar and Durgadās had to flee for their lives to the south, and take shelter with king Sambhājī, finding their escape blocked in other directions. They eluded the pursuing armies and crossed the Narmada on 9th May, whence Akbar wrote the following letters to Sambhājī two days after.

"Since his coming to the throne, my father the Emperor Aurangzeb has formed the deliberate resolution of putting down the Hindus. This is the sole cause of his war against the Rajputs. While in the eyes of God all men are His equal children and deserve impartial protection from their ruler, I became convinced that by such extreme measures, my father would lose his hold on the country and decided to oppose him in this disastrous move. I am, therefore, coming to you as a friend, as your kingdom is out of the Emperor’s reach. The valiant Durgadās Rathod accompanies me. Please do not entertain any false suspicions about my intentions. If by the
296  NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

grace of God I succeed in my endeavour to depose my father. I shall remain only the nominal master and shall let you exercise all the power. We shall fully cooperate in putting down the Emperor. More when we meet in person."

Again on 20 May Akbar wrote, "most probably my letter has not reached you, otherwise you would have sent me a reply. It is proper you should not fail in sending letters to me. What more except the desire of meeting you?" Later on similar letters were addressed to Sambhaji by Akbar's Diwan.1

Akbar himself quickly followed this letter and journeying through Khandesh and Baglan via Nasik and Trimbak into north Konkan, arrived on 1st June at Pili near Gothna, 25 miles north of Raigad. Here Sambhaji's men met and accommodated him. This village Pili on account of the Shahzada's residence, came thenceforward to be named Piddhabipur. Immediately on his arrival at this place, the western monsoon made its usual appearance, adding in no small degree to the discomforts of a small hut thatched with hay, with mud walls plastered in cowdung and covered with white cloth. Here the Mughal Prince had now to live, a youth who had been brought up in the splendid palaces of Delhi, where even the carpeted marble floor was never too soft for his feet. Sambhaji at once sent Hiroji Farzand and Netaji Palkar to wait upon the Prince with a present of a pearl necklace, an aigrette and 1000 mohurs. They provided him accommodation and rations only of the barest kind. Netaji Palkar, the only elderly person who had knowledge of the imperial life and manners of the north, was posted to remain with Akbar, charged with the duty of looking after his comforts. Hiroji returned to Raigad to report to the king upon the event.

The contact of these two strange figures, Sambhaji and Akbar, could not under the circumstances be expected to be helpful to either, although at heart they both ardently wished to support each other in their common endeavour to put down the Emperor. But how was Sambhaji to put implicit faith in the professions of a dearly loved son of his father's bitterest enemy? Might he not be a spy specially employed to put the valiant Maratha prince off his guard, and thereby encompass

SAMBHAJI THE VIOLENT

the ruin of the newly established Maratha raj, now that the great Shivaji was no more? Sambhaji's own domestic situation, already difficult and depressing enough, was not calculated to inspire trust in others, much less in a princely guest of Akbar's type. Sambhaji had no friend or confidant to advise and guide him in matters of state. He well knew he was disliked by everybody ever since his father's days, and could expect obedience only at the point of the sword. On the other hand, Akbar's advent into Maharashtra particularly at an inopportune season, without previous notice or expectation, was too much for poor Sambhaji to afford either comfort or convenience to his worthy guest. Possibly they did not know even each other's language wherein they could freely express their sentiments. Sambhaji's minister Kavi Kalash was the only common medium. The four rainy months were utterly wasted in preliminary talks. When they ended, Sambhaji and Akbar had their first formal meeting on 13th November 1681.

Whatever the real cause of the final breach between these two young princes might have been, they both tried their utmost to support each other sincerely through six long years, from June 1681 to February 1687. It is unfortunate that their efforts were not crowned with success.

3. Aurangzeb descends into the Deccan.—Aurangzeb had long dreamt of completing the task of subjugating the whole Indian continent which his worthy ancestors had vainly tried to accomplish; and now that Shivaji was dead, the conquest of the south appeared to him comparatively easy; and when at Ajmere he learnt in June 1681 that Akbar had fled to Sambhaji for shelter, he realised the gravity of his situation and immediately despatched his second son Azam Shah in pursuit, himself following him in September after completing measures of security for his northern Empire. He was accompanied by most of his tried commanders, his sons and grandsons with all the best provision he could make in equipment and finances. Aurangzeb reached Burhanpur on 13 November 1681, and advancing further south took up his residence at Aurangabad on 22 March 1682.

Hiroji Farzand and other thoughtful persons who visited Akbar and Durgadas at Pali, now realized, here was a splendid
opportunity for Sambhaji to complete his father's task of releasing his homeland from the Mughal grasp and organize a spirited resistance to Aurangzeb's aggression. But these officers were sadly disappointed in Sambhaji that he possessed neither the character, nor the capacity required for a task of such immense magnitude and for leading the nation to victory in its hour of trial. Shivaji was an adept in grasping every opportunity that came in his way, but not so Sambhaji, whose impatient and suspicious temperament smelt treason and disloyalty in all his captains and helpmates. The Emperor learnt every detail about the activities of both Sambhaji and Akbar through a net-work of spies and took full advantage of it. He offered inducements to Sambhaji's followers and sowed sedition among them. Sambhaji at the same time came to be involved in dissensions in his own family and government at Raigad, thus weakening his position in an immense measure.

4. Bloody beginning of Sambhaji's reign.—In order to understand Sambhaji's present situation the reports sent by the English and the French merchants prove extremely valuable; and a few points are here extracted from this source. Sambhaji made a good start after having got possession of Raigad without much effort. A report of 20 August 1680 says, "Sambhaji Rajah intends to give Bahadur Khan, the Mughal Subedar, battle in the open field and has sent him word as such." 10 November 1680. "We are alarmed of Maratha forces being abroad. A party of horse and foot is reported to be marching towards Surat, another against Bucharpur and a third to keep Bahadur Khan in play." 10 November 1680. "Although the officers of the Karnatak had recognized Sambhaji Rajah as their sovereign, they nevertheless were in fear on receiving the news that the new king had caused to be arrested and put in fetters many Brahmins among the principal officers of the late Shivaji, among others Janardan Pandit. No good is predicted of the government of Sambhaji from his having arrested officers of such importance and experience. The Killedar of Jinji and other chief officers have..."
received orders from Sambhaji Raja to arrest Raghunath Pandit. But the affair has not yet been pushed forward.”

21 June 1681. “Sultan Akbar is at Pali. He is a white man of middle stature of about 25 years of age. He is lodged in a large house covered with straw. It is lined with white Calico and spread with ordinary carpets. He sits open, with but one man of note Durgadas, a Rajput in great esteem with his master. He has about five hundred horse and but fifty camels. Sambhaji Raja’s men keep guard. Four or five days ago came to him from Sambhaji Raja a person of great esteem, Hiroji Farzand with a letter and presents.”

16 July 1681. “Akbar’s force increases daily. He hath now 1500 horse and five or six thousand more at Trimbak. Sambhaji is daily expected to wait on him and conduct him to Burhanpur. From thence they intend to march for Delhi.”

30 August 1681. “Sambhaji hath been in great danger of his life. He had like to have been dispatched by poison put into a dish of fish. But a boy privy to it prevented his eating it. It was given to one of his servants and a dog. Both died in a few hours. Those that conspired against him were Anaji Pandit, Kesho Pandit, Pralhiad Pandit etc.; all are laden with iron.”

8 September 1681. “The conspirators against Sambhaji, Anaji Pandit, Ramrai’s mother and Hiroji Farzand would have brought Sultan Akbar in, but he would not. He immediately gave Sambhaji notice of it by a messenger.”

12 October 1681. “Sambhaji is not at Rairi. For plotting against his life he has put to death Anaji Pandit, Hiroji Farzand, Baiji Prabhu, Sonaji Datto and five more, bound and put under elephant’s feet. Twenty more are to suffer death. The Raja will march to Burhanpur with Akbar in a few days.”

27 October 1681. “Ramrai’s mother is dead, by report, poisoned by Sambhaji’s contrivance.”

This explains Sambhaji’s situation. Having discovered a plot against his own life, he at once arrested and put to death all those whom he suspected to be involved in the affair, including his step-mother Soyar Bai. She belonged to the Shirke
family, and so Sambhaji's wrath fell upon the Shirkes, as supporters of the lady; several of them were mercilessly slaughtered. These atrocities occurred during the three months from August to October 1681. As Sambhaji was occupied in the investigation of the plot, he could not meet the Shahzada immediately upon his arrival. The harsh punishments which he inflicted upon the offenders, alienated most of his servants. The atmosphere about him became charged with suspicion and hatred for him, and practically continued so till his end. His fury against all those who were rightly or wrongly supposed to be implicated in the plot against him, continued to inflame him throughout his reign. Manaji More, Gangadhar Pant, Vasudev Pant, Raoji Samnabh, Pratihari Nairji and some others were subjected to hardships and confinement at different times.

As Sambhaji grew extremely distrustful of his father's faithful servants, he had none about him to whom he could entrust his affairs. He, therefore, selected an utter foreigner to be his adviser, the famous Kavi Kalash, a Brahman of Kanauj, who had long been a family priest of the Bhosles at Prayag and whose acquaintance Sambhaji had probably made as early as 1665 on his return journey from Agra after escaping from his confinement. Kavi Kalash is a title meaning the prince of poets. He was certainly a versatile scholar and a poet of a high order, who wrote works in Sanskrit and Hindi and received the popular appellation of Kaviji or Kabji. He must have arrived in the Deccan on the occasion of Shivaji's coronation if not earlier, and had been employed to teach Sanskrit and the Puranas to Sambhaji. Some of the pieces composed by him are extant. His name Kavi-Kalash came to be corrupted into Kalusha, now a household word in Maharashtra meaning an instigator of strife. An old chronicle says that one Kesbav Bhat Kabji, a north India Brahman versed in magic and incantation, possessed Sambhaji's mind. This Kesbav Bhat must be the same as this Kalusha. He had a sweet persuasive tongue. His mastery of Hindusthani and foreign breeding probably formed the chief recommendation in the eyes of Sambhaji to secure his confidence in a moment of exasperation and distrust. Recent research proves that Sambhaji was fond of the tantric rites, i.e. effecting results through certain magical processes, so common in that age.
Lacking the towering self-confidence and resourcefulness of his father, Sambhaji searched in vain for overcoming his tremendous difficulties, both domestic and foreign, and clutched at such vain remedies, to which usually a weak and distracted mind is so prone and which certainly proved his ultimate ruin. We have no means of ascertaining how far Kalusha was responsible for introducing Sambhaji into the vices and drug habits, with which report credits him. An excitable temperament like Sambhaji's hardly needs extraneous causes to foster such evil propensities in him. Kalusha's official title was Chhandogamatya, i.e. the minister of Vedic learning.

The motto on Sambhaji's own seal and that adopted by Kalusha are characteristic of their mental attitude and views on life. The ostentatious vein of those seals is obvious.

Popular tradition in Maharashtra charges Kalusha with having been the Emperor's spy, slyly trying to bring about Sambhaji's ruin. There is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation. Sambhaji nominally continued his father's council of eight ministers, but practically entrusted all matters of administration to his favourite Kalusha, for whom he created an additional post of Chhandogamatya.

5. Grand projects.—Sanskrit poems have been discovered whose authorship doubtless goes to Sambhaji, showing that he was well tutored in old Sanskrit learning under the direc—
tion of his father. The Sanskrit dāna-pāha alluded to before, bears his own Sanskrit endorsement. He writes in it that he had it prepared on his own initiative. And now Sanskrit letters have been discovered in the archives of Jaipur, written to Rajah Ram Sinh of Amber, both by Sambhāji and Kavi Kalash, entitling a grand project of dethroning the Emperor Aurangzeb in co-operation with Akbar and Durgādas. These letters were sent by Sambhāji with his special agent Pratap-Sinh, who was authorised to arrange the details personally. Sambhāji offered to lend a large and well equipped army through Gujrat into north India and called upon Ram Sinh to join them with an equal quota of his own Rajput troops for a combined dash upon Delhi and its capture for Akbar, thus taking advantage of the Emperor’s absence in the south. “We cannot”, says Sambhāji, “endure any longer the persecution that this wicked Emperor is inflicting upon the Hindu race and religion, and are prepared to sacrifice everything, our treasure, our land, our forts and even our lives, in an attempt to put him down. With this resolve we have for these two years entertained at our court our honoured guests Akbar and Durgādas, and have waged a ceaseless strife upon Aurangzeb. We have put to death many a brave captain of his, captured several, released some, either after exacting heavy ransoms or out of compassion. Many effected their escape by offering bribes. The moment has now arrived when the Emperor himself can be captured and made prisoner, so that we can carry out our religious functions without molestation. If you muster courage and co-operate with us, what is there to prevent success crowning our endeavours? You well remember how your own son the young Krishna Sinh was treacherously put to death by the Emperor. You are only to follow in the footsteps of your father, the revered Mirza Raja Jai Sinh, who helped Aurangzeb in acquiring for him the throne of Delhi as against his elder brother Dara Shukoh.”

The date wanting in this Sanskrit letter of Sambhāji can fortunately be supplied from a similar letter addressed to the same Ram Sinh of Jaipur on 22 May 1682 by Akbar. It says, “Aurangzeb’s treatment of the Hindus has become manifest and is known to you. As for instance, in the affair of Kumar Krishna Sinh, though it happened owing to his youthfulness,
yet it too was a sign of bigotry on the part of Alamgir which he displays to that community in every way. Therefore, out of my regard for the hereditary servants of our house, who have generation after generation been treated with kindness by our august dynasty, I exalt and cherish you by conferring on you the title of Mirza Raja and the mansab and cash reward of your father and on your son Bishun Sinh that mansab which you held when you were a Kumar.

"I hope for the daily increasing favours of my Imperial Majesty and be ready with your ears alert for the news of my coming. When I march with my victorious army towards Hindustan, you should join my followers and exert yourself greatly in my Imperial service, which will be the cause of your being favoured at court and honoured. The usual jewels and robes of honour are not being sent to you on account of the insecurity of the roads."

These two Sanskrit and Persian letters singularly and independently corroborate each other. The grand project of the two young enthusiasts, one styling himself the Emperor and the other a Chhatrapati, had nothing inherently weak in it. Only it required a genius like that of Shivaji to execute it. Durgadas and Akbar were capable men and with the dashing valour of Sambhaji added, there was in it every promise of success. Writes Sir Jadunath: "For more than a year after his arrival in the Deccan, the Emperor accomplished nothing notable in spite of his immense resources. In truth he was at this time passing through a domestic and mental crisis which has been entirely concealed by the Persian Court-historians. The unexpected rebellion of Akbar, whom he loved most among all his sons, as he in one of his letters calls upon God to witness, had totally shaken his faith in his family, and he did not know whom to trust or where he would be safe. Hence his policy for some time after his arrival in the Deccan, was hesitating, suspicious, watchful and seemingly capricious or self-contradictory."
would specially work their way to the north through northern Konkan and Gujarat, despatched Shihab-ud-din Khan with Dalpat Bundella to take possession of some of the Maratha key forts near Nasik, and thus block the path of the rebels in that direction. In April 1682 Shihab-ud-din laid siege to the fort of Ramsej seven miles north of Nasik. The Maratha killedar so gallantly defended the fort, that the Mughals failed to make any effect upon it, and learning that Rupaji Bhosle and Manaji More were fast coming upon them with a relieving force, the Khan retired from Ramsej after suffering heavy losses. Dalpat Bundella was wounded with a stone. At this dismal failure Aurangzeb felt so heavily grieved that he threw off his pagri and swore never to put it on again till he had driven the enemy out of his country.

6. Aurangzeb’s discomfiture.—The season of 1682 and 83 indeed offered a good chance for a sudden attack either upon the Emperor’s headquarters, as Akbar was persistently suggesting, or for a dash through Gujarat into Rajputana. Why such a move was not made we have no means of knowing. But during that first year of Aurangzeb’s invasion, his position was certainly very precarious, and he got so frightened that during the autumn of 1683 he called to his presence all his army leaders for a personal consultation to determine upon the right plan for a speedy victory. The Emperor was very uneasy even suspecting the loyalty of his eldest surviving son Shah Alam, who was reported to be in collusion with Akbar. He felt imminent danger to his own life in this land of that “satan” Shivaji and his “devilish” comrades. Every Mughal soldier always stood in fear of a sudden premeditated Maratha attack upon their main camp, resulting in terrible havoc to life and property. At the above mentioned conference with his generals, the Emperor gathered that they were all afraid to face the Marathas. He then called upon his eldest son to lead an expedition against Sambhaji. The son replied, “I can do so only if you recall Amir Khan from Afghanistan and appoint him my deputy.” But the removal of that man from the north-western frontier meant the loss of that part of his Empire. A realistic picture of the Emperor’s sore predicament is well revealed in the contemporary writ-
SAMBHAJI THE VIOLENT

ings of the European merchants. A Surat letter reports on 19th June, 1783: "the Mogul is grown very crazy and his mind continually alters. In all likelihood he will not live much longer. Sultan Akbar hath the good will of most." "The king is extraordinarily peelish and uneasy because of Sultan Akbar. Sultan Azam, Begum Jahangir Banu and Dilir Khan are degraded for suspicion of being kind to Akbar." The Emperor felt a suspicion against Prince Azam. He summoned the Prince and Dilir Khan to his presence. They delayed coming. Dilir Khan fell under the Emperor's punishment." He took poison to avoid the Emperor's wrath. Dilir Khan had been the most trusted of Aurangzeb's generals and had served him faithfully in the Deccan for over twenty years. That such a faithful servant should have to commit suicide, shows how perverse the Emperor had then grown.

After a full inquiry into the condition of affairs in the different theatres of the war and receiving correct reports from the various commanders and officers, Aurangzeb arranged a fresh plan of campaign against Sambhaji's dominions and assigned definite duties to each general. The task of simultaneously attacking Sambhaji and the Portuguese, as the latter were reported to be harbouring Akbar, was assigned to Shah Alam, Aurangzeb's eldest son, and was carried out by him, at first with some success. But Shah Alam suffered such dreadful privations in that expedition that the Emperor for the present gave up his attempt against Akbar and Sambhaji, and directed his attention to the subjugation of Bijapur and Golkonda, the two Muslim States from whom Sambhaji received occasional support and who, being both Shias in their faith, had long been objects of particular execration to the fanatic Emperor. He moved his armies to the south early in 1685, invested Bijapur on 27 March and captured it after a heroic resistance on 12 September 1686. Similarly Golkonda was invested on 28 January 1687 and it surrendered to him on 1st October of that year. So during these three years his main attention had been withdrawn from the Maratha country. Abul Hasan Tanashah the king of Golkonda was kept in confinement at Daulatabad.

7. The Portuguese cowed by Sambhaji.—Here we must go back a little and trace Sambhaji's occupations on the west coast. After the first outburst of his vindictive fury, things settled down at Raigad and he moved out to attend to the Siddi of Janjira and the Portuguese of Chaul; these neighbours of Sambhaji having been called upon by the Emperor to join in his war against the Marathi king. The Siddi was the Emperor's admiral and now being urged on to attack Sambhaji, he furiously raided Maratha territory right up to the foot of Raigad towards the end of 1681. Sambhaji at once accepted the challenge and launched his whole naval force of 150 fighting ships and some five thousand select sailors against Janjira and invested the place both by land and sea. Dadji Raghunath Prabhu Mahadkar, Sambhaji's intrepid general, created terrible havoc against the Siddi in the early months of 1682, when Siddi Kasam defended his position with great heroism. But just at this moment the Emperor arrived in the Deccan and Sambhaji was compelled to raise the siege of Janjira in order to meet the fearful attacks that were directed against him by the Mughal forces in several other directions.

The Portuguese were called upon by the Emperor to wage war against Sambhaji. They dared not remain friends with the Marathas in the presence of the Mughal might, now directed particularly against Sambhaji's dominions in the Konkan, as it was there that both Sambhaji and Akbar made their inimical moves against the Emperor. Aurangzeb employed his sons and grandsons and his best generals to secure the forts and passes in north Konkan and capture both his rebel son and the Marathi king by all possible means. The British trading establishments at Surat and Bombay, the Dutch factory at Vengurle, the Portuguese strongholds on the west coast were all cowed into abject submission, thus making Sambhaji's situation all the more precarious. Although thus hemmed in by enemies all round, Sambhaji continued to resist boldly and conduct a heroic war, so that he for a time kept at bay the bravest

7. Dadji Raghunath Prabhu Mahadkar is the same person who subdued Savitri Bai Thanedarin of Belvadi, in Dec. 1677. He also distinguished himself in a war with the Siddi of Janjira in 1682. Nilakanth Pratap Prabhu Mahadkar, the Peshwa of Sambhaji Raja of Kolhapur in 1727, belonged to the Dasa family.
The British at Bombay were called upon both by the Emperor and Rajah Sambhaji to join in, but cleverly managed not to come into scrape with either by sending their envoys to both in order to preserve their neutrality.

During 1683 Sambhaji personally attacked the Portuguese at Chaul and Goa. The Portuguese Governor Tavora felt consternation at being placed between the Mughal 'monster' and the Marathi 'devil', and was reduced to such straits that he found his situation hopeless. This situation is eloquently explained by the Italian Manucci then present at Goa. The heroic fight before Phonda between Sambhaji and the Portuguese during the months of October and November of 1683 and the former's capture of that stronghold, practically annihilated the Governor's hopes of defending Goa. He in his extremity opened the grave of their great protector, St. Xavier, held a congregation in that holy presence of priests and populace and offered prayers in an all night vigil for the rescue of his nation's fortunes. The Saint did indeed work a miracle. As Goa was on the point of surrendering, Sambhaji suddenly retired having received news of a Mughal army threatening his rear. led by Shah Alam the Emperor's eldest son, who came upon Sambhaji's track under pressure from his father. The Maratha king had to beat a hurried retreat in order to save his life and forces from capture. This happened towards the end of November 1683. Goa was thus miraculously saved and the incident marked the decline of the Maratha king's fortunes. The Sawant of Wadi in the immediate neighbourhood of Goa, was also incited by the Emperor to oppose Sambhaji and was severely threatened to be put out of existence if he declined.

These momentous events indeed form an exciting chapter of Maratha history. Sufficient details are available in the Portuguese and Persian languages as regards the constant friction that continued between Sambhaji and Shahzada Akbar and which ultimately disconcerted their plans of a combined stand against the Emperor. The resources of Aurangzeb proved too much for the poor efforts of these two fiery youths. How could the small poor territory of Konkan stand against the might of the magnificent Mughal Empire controlling the vast
Indian continent? That they did hold out even for some years and strike terror into Aurangzeb's heart, is in itself an achievement worthy of great credit. Again and again did Akbar urge upon Sambhaji's attention the advisability of making a sudden sweep upon the Emperor's central camp and effecting a complete rout of his powerful armies. [But such a daring project required a genius like that of Shivaji to execute it. Sambhaji, brave as a lion personally, lacked the patient calculating forethought and vigilance essential for the success of such an extensive and large scale undertaking.]

8. Sad end of Akbar.—Absence of recorded evidence prevents one from knowing, how Sambhaji and his ally Akbar were occupied during the three years that the Emperor was engaged in the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda, and why they did not utilize the opportunity to their own advantage. It seems the two had severe disagreement on several points connected with the conduct of their operations. Akbar probably felt after his close experience during the few years that he was in Maharashtra, that Sambhaji, far from possessing any of his father's great qualities, was decidedly incompetent to handle the grave situation that had arisen for them, or make a proper use of the opportunities that came in their way. Akbar indeed felt the net being tightened closely round him by his father and was terribly frightened for his life, as there was every likelihood of his being discovered and captured by the numerous agents roaming about the land. His sister Zinat-un-Nisa Begum who looked after her father's household, was trying her best to bring about a reconciliation between them. But Akbar well knew what his fate would be if he went back to his father. He became convinced that if he had to save his life, it was no use wasting his time with Sambhaji. The princes of Rajputana repeatedly urged him to come over to their shelter, so that they could together rise against the Emperor and take possession of Delhi. But Akbar's resources were very poor; he had no money, nor men; Sambhaji himself being hard up, could render no help to him. Besides, his way to Rajputana was securely blocked both through Gujarat and Khandesh. Sambhaji's vicious and intemperate habits must also have disgusted the Shahzada, so that a severe estrangement came
about between them. Akbar was fed up with the miserable life of a wandering fugitive in an inhospitable land, with no brighter prospect. For three years in succession rumours of Sambhaji and Akbar going to start on a raid on Surat, struck terror into the hearts of the people of Gujarat. Kaluha and Akbar kept constantly moving between Kothapar, Rajapar, Vengurla and Sangameshwar, as these places repeatedly occurred in the letters of those days. Some disaffected servants and commanders of Aurangzeb continued to help Akbar secretly. A few glimpses of Akbar's life are available in Sir Jadunath's *House of Shivaji*. On 17 February 1683, the following news reached the Emperor through his spies. "The 'rebel' (Akbar) had newly enlisted 2000 horse and two thousand foot. Their salary is paid by the 'wretch' (Sambhaji). The 'rebel' made a Hindu dancing girl Muslim and kept her in his harem and gave her the pearl necklace and other things presented to him (by the Maratha king). When the news of it reached to (the) 'wretch,' he sent to the 'rebel' to say, "I had offered the necklace and other things for your royal use." The 'rebel' replied, "I am an Emperor's son and shall do as I like." Thereupon the 'wretch' sent him a message to send back the troops he had under him. Thus the 'rebel' finding himself helpless, set fire to his house, assumed the guise of a fatjir and started for Goa. Then the 'wretch' wrote to the Portuguese not to let the 'rebel' enter their territory. For this reason they kept him out. So the 'rebel' has turned back and taken his abode at the place where he formerly used to remain."

Akbar to Kavi Kalash, 20 Feb. 1684. "Immediately on receipt of this, set out to see me. God forbid, that through delay the affair should take a different turn. Know the matter to be urgent." Again on 27 July 1684. "Received your letter. As for the envoy of Muhammad Azam, who has arrived there, I do not know why he has come and what agreement you have made with him. You can make peace if you consider it expedient for yourself. I am not myself much inclined towards peace. Do not remain careless relying on peace. You know best what is for your future benefit." Akbar writes to Kavi Kalash on 20 August 1684. "The question of peace is entirely at the discretion of the Raja and yourself. As for the peace with the 'Feringis' in which you have dragged me
as an intermediary. I do not know how the affair has been
concluded. Inform me what agreement has been made with
the envoy of Muhammad Azam. What is the state of the Bijapur
business?"

November 1684. "Received your two letters. You have
fixed 30 November as the date of your interview with us. But
these are the days of Ashura (ten holy days of Muharram).
Inform me after fixing the 11th or 12th of the month for your
interview. On that day my standards will march out of Salhi-
pen and arrive at Malkapur. You ought to come there on
that date and see me. Thereafter you may go to Kolhapur." In
December 1684, Akbar writes, "it is very good you have
come. I too have come to Malkapur. It is proper that the
interview and the business should be quickly concluded. What
more except longing to see you?"

On 18 January 1685 Akbar writes to Sambhaji. "Cream
of grand Rajahs, chief of august princes, devoted follower,
Chhatrapati Rajah Sambhaji. Know that the facts about the
defeat of the Mughals and the firm stand made by Kavi Kalash
have reached me. Kavi Kalash is a very good and faithful
servant of yours. God forbid that he be ruined through jeal-
ousy. You ought to do everything to protect him. It is certain
that the Mughals have gone away and that you have march-
ed towards Kheiri. If you so wish, I will also go and join
you in the campaign."

This correspondence shows that Sambhaji and Akbar were
deliberating upon some grand plan. At the beginning of 1685
Sambhaji did actually invade Bouch and carried away a good
deal of plunder from Gujarat, cutting up the Emperor’s troops
that came to oppose him on his return journey near Nasik. But
this solitary transaction did not materially affect Akbar’s pro-
spects. Ultimately in sheer desperation he managed to engage
a British cargo vessel on which he embarked at Rajapur in
February 1687 and sailing via Vengurla to Muskat, reached
Ispahan in Iran in January 1688 after nearly a year’s journey.
Here he remained for the rest of his life, a wanderer from home
and a constant threat to his father’s northern possessions.
Fortunately for Aurangzeb Akbar’s prolonged stay in Persia
proved as ineffective to his ambition as his six years’ residence
in Mahārashtra. Manucci quotes a long and instruc-
A speculative letter addressed by Akbar to his father a little while before his death in 1704. He died in November of that year, a broken-hearted but spirited soul experiencing the cursed lot of a Mughal prince. Letters often passed between the father and the son and even communication through personal agents was long kept up between them, with eloquent promises of pardon and earnest request for return from the Emperor. But up to the very last Akbar turned a deaf ear to all such entreaties conveyed by his father, sister or friends.

9. The Chivalrous Durgadas.—It is necessary here to complete the story of Durgədəs also, as it materially affects Aurangzeb’s plans and measures. After saying good-bye to Akbar at Rajapur in February 1687, Durgədəs returned to Jodhpur and continued throughout his long life steadfastly to organize the Rajput clans in order to wrest Marwar back from the Emperor’s control. Akbar’s son Buland Akhtar and his daughter Safiat-un-Nisa were in his charge and were brought up by him in Marwar with great care and solicitude for their comfort and breeding. Durgədəs employed a Muslim theologian to instruct them in their own faith. When Aurangzeb learned of Akbar’s flight to Iran, he sent his own trusted agent Ishwardas Nagar to Durgədəs and effected a reconciliation with him. Durgədəs with Akbar’s daughter, then over 16 years of age, came to visit the Emperor at Brahmapuri in 1696. The following memorable dialogue between the grand-father and the grand-daughter is preserved in history:

**Aurangzeb:** As you have passed all your life among non-Muslims, you must be altogether ignorant of our faith. So you must at once start the study of the Koran.

**Safiat:** You are wrong, grand-papa. The revered Durgadas not only provided for all my physical comforts, but also employed a Muslim lady to teach me religion. I know all the Koran by heart.

**Aurangzeb:** Oh, how good of Durgadas. How do you think I should reward him for all his services?

8. *Storia del/io*, Volume IV, pp. 177-177

9. This Ishwardas has written a full history of Aurangzeb’s life in Maharashtra which forms a valuable source of information for that period.
A long and interesting account is given by Sambhaji's followers. A large number of valuable and valuable goods were collected and prepared for distribution among the Marathas. At least seventeen large cities are mentioned as having been completely sacked in
these inroads of Sambhaji. While the Emperor was engaged in his war against Bijapur and Golkonda, Sambhaji took up his residence at Panhala in order to be able to keep an eye upon the former's movements.

The conquest of the two remaining Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan at once increased the Emperor's prestige and resources. He obtained enormous hoards of money, bodies of trained troops and stocks of arms and provisions that had been long accumulated in those two capitals. Aurangzeb could employ all these against the declining fortunes of Sambhaji, who had exhausted all his father's treasure and added little new income during his seven years of misgovernment and war. When he was deserted by Akbar, he had no comrade left to share his misfortunes. Aurangzeb retired from Bijapur and encamped at Akluj on the Bhima near Pandharpur, in order to concentrate all his power and energy against the hapless Sambhaji. One of the Bijapur generals named Sharza Khan, a clever and watchful man conversant with the terrain of the Maratha country, invaded the Satara district. Sambhaji's Senapati Hamblir Rao Mohite came to oppose him. An action was fought between them near Wai towards the end of 1687, in which Hamblir Rao lost his life on the battle-field. He was the last of Sambhaji's supporters and his loss sealed the Raja's fate. A kind of encircling movement was started against him in all directions. Sambhaji was deserted by most of his followers and came to be surrounded by swarms of Mughal parties, occupying the difficult passes and stopping communication between Panhala and Raigad, where Sambhaji was known to be moving.

The hilly regions below the Sahyadri range between Kolhapur and Satara were long held by the Shirkes, who had become Sambhaji's mortal enemies and had out of revenge deserted to the Emperor. They now played their game, watched Sambhaji's movements and communicated them to the Mughal officers. For about a year after Hamblir Rao's death, Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash struggled on as best they could. In November 1688 Kavi Kalash had a severe brush against the Shirkes and being hotly pursued, saved his life by taking shelter on the fort
of Vishalgad. When Sambhají heard this news at Raigad, he at once attacked and put down the Shirkes near Sangameshwar and joined Kalash at Vishalgad. But their situation soon became critical, on account of most of their followers being seduced. The Shirkes reported the secret movements of Sambhají and Kavi Kalash to the Emperor's agents. One Shaikh Nizam, a former officer of Golconda who was posted at Kolhapur with instructions to pounce upon Sambhají at a moment's notice, obtained news of Sambhají's movements. During January 1689 Sambhají and Kalasha organized their party and started from Vishalgad to proceed to Raigad by the Amba Ghat. Shaikh Nizam receiving information that Sambhají and Kavi Kalash were halting at Sangameshwar, suddenly fell upon them on 1st February 1689, and apprehended them with a few of their followers after a light skirmish in which some of Sambhají's men lost their lives and a few escaped to Raigad. Why Sambhají and Kalasha tarried at Sangameshwar it is difficult to say. They had nimble horses, perhaps better than those of their pursuers and could have easily escaped to Raigad even after the arrival of their captors. Maloji Ghorpade whose father Shivaji had killed but who faithfully served Sambhají to the last, sacrificed his own life trying to save that of his master. Shaikh Nizam seated Sambhají on his own elephant and the other captives were accommodated on horses and camels. All immediately afterwards moved back from Sangameshwar towards the Emperor's camp by the Amba Ghat.

11. Tragic death.—The Emperor received the news of Sambhají's capture at Akluj, where it caused a wild outburst of rejoicing. A great terror had been lifted from the hearts of the imperialists. The Emperor felt that this success had put the crown on his recent victories over Bijapur and Golconda, and now afforded him the cherished satisfaction of returning to Delhi in the triumph of a completed task. He at once left Akluj and proceeded to Bahadurgad, where the captives were brought under the guard of Hamid-uddin Khan. By the Emperor's orders the captive Maratha King was made a mark of public ridicule. Four miles outside the encampment Sambhají and Kavi Kalash were dressed as buffoons in long fools' caps with bells fixed on them, mounted on camels and brought
SAMBHAJI THE VIOLENT

to Bahadurgad with drums beating and trumpets pealing. Hundreds of thousands of spectators lined the roads gazing at these unhappy captives, as if they were a kind of wild beasts or demons. Thus degraded they were slowly paraded through the entire camp, extending over miles in length and finally brought to the Emperor, who then sat in full Darbar for the occasion. At the sight of the prisoners Aurangzeb descended from the throne and kneeling down on the carpet bowed his head to the ground in double thankfulness to the Giver of this crowning victory. After he had a quiet look at the prisoners, they were removed to their cell.

Next day, the Emperor sent his trusted personal officer Ruhulla Khan to talk to Sambhaji and make him an offer of his life on condition, that (1) he surrendered all his forts, (2) disclosed all his hidden treasures, and (3) declared the names of those Mughal officers who were in league with him. Fretting with bitterness of soul at having been publicly insulted and driven to desperation, Sambhaji spurned the offer of life with all the vehemence he could gather, loosened his tongue in abuse of the Emperor and his Prophet, giving free vent to his long pent up sentiments against the Muslim faith, and scurrilously asked for one of Aurangzeb’s daughters as the price of his friendship. The envoy dared not report to the Emperor the foul language he had heard, but conveyed only a hint of its purport. For once Sambhaji behaved with a stoic firmness worthy of the great Shivaji, and fully atoned by the manner of death for all the sins he had committed in life.

Aurangzeb lacked the magnanimity of the Greek monarch Alexander. He had not the heart to tolerate the open insult he had received from his worst enemy, who in his eyes had sinned beyond hope of pardon. That very night Sambhaji’s eyes were blinded and the next day the tongue of Kavi Kalash was cut out. Sambhaji stoically bore the tortures heaped upon him in order to extract his secrets. After a fortnight’s torture and insult, the captives were removed with the imperial camp from Bahadurgad to Koregaon on the river Bhima and there put to a cruel and painful death on 11th March 1689, the Ama­vasya day of the month of Falgun, their limbs being hacked off one by one and their flesh thrown to the dogs. Their severed heads were stuffed with straw and exhibited in the chief
cities of the Deccan to the accompaniment of drum and trumpet. These heads were later discovered in a thorny bush at the village of Vadu and secretly cremated by some kindly souls at Tulapur on a spot where the two rivers the Bhima and the Indrayani meet.

writes Ranade, "Aurangzeb's dream, which he cherished throughout his life, had thus been accomplished before he had been six years in the Deccan. The whole country from the Narmada to the Tungabhadra lay at his feet. It seemed as if Shivaji and the men whom he led to victory had lived and died in vain. The great deluge against which Shahji and Shivaji had struggled to protect the country for over sixty years, now swept over the land, carrying everything before it and there seemed no signs of any possible resistance."

Thus perished the second Maratha Chhatrapati, accomplishing by his death, as the sequel will show, the task of destroying Aurangzeb's hopes and conquest, which his own short life in vain tried to bring about. The fearless manner in which he met his end, united and steeled the hearts of the Maratha nation as nothing else would have done, and nerved them to avenge the death of their sovereign.
1689
Feb. 9 Rajaram proclaimed King.
March 25 Zulfiqar Khan besieges Raigad.
April 5 Rajaram escapes from Raigad.
May Matabar Khan overruns North Konkan.
August Santaji raids the Emperor’s camp at Koregaon.
Sept. Rajaram leaves Panhala for Jinji.
Novr. 3 Raigad falls into Mughal hands along with Shahu and Yesu Bai.
15 Rajaram reaches Jinji and forms his court.
30 Zulfiqar Khan moves towards Jinji.
Dec. 18 Aurangzeb leaves Koregaon for Bijapur.

1690
March 2 Rajaram’s inspiring appeal to Baji Surzarao and others.
June Zulfiqar Khan arrives before Jinji and besieges it.

1691
Zulfiqar in great straits before Jinji.
Octr. 4 Aurangzeb despatches Asad Khan and Kambaksh to succour Zulfiqar Khan.
Dec. 16 Asad Khan and Kambaksh arrive before Jinji.

1692
Kambaksh kept under arrest by Asad Khan.

1693
Jan. 1 Ismail Khan Miska defeated by Dhanaji Jadhav.
5 Santaji raids Zulfiqar Khan’s camp at Desur.
23 Mughal forces retire from Jinji to Wandiwash.
1694 Rajārām's queens join him at Jinji.

1695 May Aurangzeb removes his camp to Brahmmapuri.
   Octr. Rāmchandra Pant holds a conference at Vishalgad and plans an offensive.
   Novr. Aurangzeb despatches Khanazad Khan to put down the Marathas in the Karnatak.
   20 Kasim Khan meets his death at Duderi: Khanazad Khan obtains release by ransom.

1696 Jan. 20 Himmat Khan and son killed in battle by Santājī Ghorpade.
   Feb. 26 Santājī defeats Hamid-ud-din Khan.
   April Santājī demands reward for his services.
   June 9 Birth of son Shivaji to Tarabai.
   " Santājī deprived of his office of Senapati.

1696 June Santājī defeats Dhariaji at Aiwargudi and puts to death Amrit Rao Nimbalkar.

1697 March Santājī routed near Bijapur and again near Dushigao.
   June Santājī murdered by Nagoji Mane.
   Dec. Rajārām escapes from Jinji.

1698 Feb. 7 Zulfiqar Khan captures Jinji.
   22 Rajārām reaches Vishalgad.
   May 23 Birth of Sambhājī (second son of Rajārām).

1699 Battle of Talner: Hussain Ali Khan captured by the Marathas.

1700 March 2 Rajārām starts ravaging Mughal territory.
   Dec. 22 Marathas raid the Emperor's camp at Brahmmapuri.

1700 Death of Rajārām at Sinhagad.
CHAPTER XIV

RAJARAM THE QUIESCENT

[1689–1700]

1. Two stars of dazzling brilliancy.
2. Fall of Raigad, and Ramchandra Pant’s leadership.
3. Maratha Trek to Jinji.
4. The Emperor’s movements.
5. Jinji besieged.
6. The Maratha aims.
8. Heroic deeds of Santaji.
9. Sambhaji’s tragic end.
10. Guerilla warfare described.
11. Rajaram escapes, Jinji falls.
12. Rajaram’s death and character.

1. Two stars of dazzling brilliancy.—Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, was at the time of Sambhaji’s death, nineteen years old, having been born on 24 February 1670. The news of Sambhaji’s capture did not take long to reach Raigad. Rajaram was then in nominal confinement in the fort, whose commander, under the advice of the veteran Yesaji Kank, brought him out and proclaimed him king on 9th February, i.e. a week after Sambhaji had been seized. This procedure did not fail to disillusion the Emperor and prove that the Maratha monarchy was not at an end. Pratihād Nirjī, Manjī More and others who had been unjustly confined by Sambhaji, were set at liberty and restored to their offices. In order to nip this revival of the Maratha royal power in the bud, the Emperor at once despatched his able commander Itikad Khan (afterwards surnamed Zulfiqar Khan, Nusrat Jung, son of Aurangzeb’s long standing minister Asad Khan), with orders to invest Raigad and to capture both that fort and the new Maratha king. The Khan arrived before the fort on 25 March 1689 and at once laid siege to it. The inmates were terribly dismayed by this fresh onslaught and held frequent consultations under the direction of Yesu Bai, the widowed queen of Sambhaji, a wise and patient woman intensely devoted to her nation’s cause. She heartened the cowering spirits of the Maratha garrison by her brave words and offered the following sound advice: “Raigad is doubtless a strong fort and can hold out long; but it is hazardous that we
should all remain confined in this one small spot. In order to
distract the Emperor's attention, I should advise you that Raja­
ram with his wives and followers should clear out before the
siege becomes too stringent. I can stay here with my little son
Shahu and defend the capital, fearlessly awaiting the result.
Our principal commanders should carry on their usual harass­
ing operations in all directions against the Mughal forces, and
convince them that the death of their King has made no dif­
ference in our resistance.”

This disinterested and far-sighted counsel touched every
Maratha soul and was at once acted upon. The leaders took
solemn oaths of remaining faithful to Shahu as their Chhatra­
pati and carrying on the warfare in his name till the country
was liberated from the enemy's possession. Accordingly Raja­
rám slipped out of Raigad on 5 April, proceeded to Pratapgad
and despatched his wives and party for safety into the difficult
fortresses of Vishalgad and Rangna. Some of the other leaders,
Râmechandra Part Amatya, Pralhad Nirdhi and Shankaraji
Mahâr Sachiv, also left Raigad and in mutual consultation
from different places commenced an unprecedented campaign
of fire, plunder and brigandage into the Mughal territory, us­
ing a net work of spies to obtain information of the enemy's
movements.

While Zulfiqar Khan was busily engaged in operations be­
fore Raigad, the Emperor captured several other important
Maratha forts such as Salher, Trimbak, Raigad, Rohida, Torna
and Mahuli, which had formed the scenes of the early exploits
of Shivaji. Matabar Khan, a shrewd and circumspect general
with great organizing capacity, was appointed by the Emper­
or to hold and administer the important region of north Kon­
kan, now known as the district of Thana, which contained sever­
al forts of strategic importance. For nearly fifteen years Mata­
bar Khan held this post with valour and skill and supplied
valuable resources to the Mughal captains from his base at
Kalyan, where many buildings still preserve his memory.

But some of Râjârâm’s young helpmates, particularly
Sandâji Ghorpaâde and Dhanâji Jâdhav, made wonderful pro­
gress in the plan that was adopted. They fell upon Mughal
detachments and sometimes routed them so thoroughly that suc­
cours could not reach Zulfiqar Khan in time for his operations.
against Raigad. While Rajaram was cantoning at Pratapad, Santaji Ghorpade and Vitthoji Chavan accomplished an extraordinary feat of valour and dexterity, which struck terror into the Emperor’s heart. With a few selected followers they made their way on a dark night through torrents of rain to the Emperor’s camp at Koregaum. They fell upon his own royal tent, cut down the supporting ropes and the huge cloth edifice came down in a crash, killing the inmates, including, as was at first supposed, the Emperor himself. They carried away the sets of large gold top-balls of the tent and other valuables and presented them to Rajaram at Pratapad. Afterwards it was discovered that Aurangzeb by chance was passing that night in his daughter’s tent and thus escaped death. The incident clearly illustrates the nature of Maratha tactics and gave the Emperor a sure foretaste of what he was to expect in future. “In the long history of his struggle with the Marathas after the sun of Maratha royalty had set in the red cloud of Sambhaji’s blood and the people’s war had begun, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav were the two stars of dazzling brilliancy which filled the Deccan firmament for nearly a decade, and paralyzed the alien invader,” writes Sir Jadunath.

Soon a Mughal force came to Pratapad and Rajaram had to leave it and take up his residence at Panhala. Shaikh Nizam, the captor of Sambhaji, came against Panhala, but was completely routed and put to flight from the foot of that fort, thereby saving Rajaram from a fate similar to that of his brother. In the meanwhile Santaji fell upon Zulfiqar Khan’s besieging army, and brought away five elephants and an amount of valuable plunder. The three Ghorpade brothers, Santaji, Bahirji and Maloji were rewarded by Rajaram with the respective titles of Mamulkat-madar, Hindurao and Amrifilimrao, by which their descendants are still distinguished in the Deccan.

2. Fall of Raigad and Ramchandra Pam’s leadership.—Of all Maratha forts nature has made Raigad so inaccessible to an enemy that it could hold out for years on end. Constructed on a large plateau it can maintain cattle and grow enough food and other necessaries of life required
by a large garrison. After a thorough search Shivaji and his father selected this site and added to its natural defence such fortifications as human ingenuity could devise. But Shivaji's foresight was helpless against human treachery. This very weakness of Maratha character helped Zulfiqar Khan to capture Raigad on 3rd November 1689 after a siege of 8 months. Suryaji Pisal of Wāi, one of the important officers in charge of the defence, opened the gates to the Khan on a promise of getting the Deshmukh Vatan of Wāi which he had long coveted. With the fall of Raigad Yeshu Bai, her young son Shahu and a large number of loyal followers were captured and carried by Zulfiqar Khan in triumph to the Emperor. But his joy at this success was only short-lived. With one voice the Maratha leaders, great and small, pledged themselves to a heroic effort to avenge the national insult of their Chhatrapati having been brutally murdered and his son and wife carried away in captivity. Writes Ranade, "Just when its country's fortune was at the lowest ebb and everything seemed to be lost beyond hope, these very misfortunes served to rouse a band of patriots who had been trained in Shivaji's school, to resolve, resourceless and penniless as they were, to secure their national independence and drive Aurangzeb's armies back into Hindustan."

At the head of this band was Rajaram who was hailed by the nation, as the very spirit of his father, although he possessed none of the latter's capacity or skill in the management of affairs. But he had an amiable docile temperament and a mild liberal disposition, cheerfully accepting what his worthy counsellors suggested in their wisdom. His chief adviser at first was Pralhad Niraj, the son of Shivaji's Minister of Justice Niraj Raoji, and reputed to be the wisest man of his time among the Marathas.

But the credit of organizing the scattered Maratha nation against the Emperor's power goes principally to Ramchandra Nilkanth, ancestor of the present Amatya family of Bawda, who had been trained under Shivaji but had fallen in insignificance during the fitful rule of Sambhaji. The Pant possessed a peculiar genius for recognizing merit in men and harnessing

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1. The bakhar-writer styles him (वर्तमान) of a steady, quiescent nature.
it to promote the national interests. Rajaram thus describes Ramchandra Pant's services. "This Maratha kingdom is a gift from Heaven. Ramchandra Pant saved it in its dreadful crisis by carefully picking up the merits and capacities of men, inspired them with a spirit of service and devotion and employed them in appropriate spheres. With uncommon foresight he employed national resources to the best advantage. He successfully thwarted the heroic efforts of Aurangzeb who with his mighty resources came down upon the Maratha land determined to conquer it. Providence crowned Ramchandra Pant's endeavours with success and frustrated all the cherished desires of the Emperor." Ramchandra Pant was no soldier, and hardly moved from his base on any military expedition. He possessed the rare virtue of keeping his subordinates ever contented and willing to execute his commands. From his base at Vishalgad he kept a vigilant eye upon the doings of the numerous Maratha leaders employed over an extensive field of war stretching from Burhanpur in the north to Jinji in the south.

Out of a number of young spirited chiefs who wholeheartedly executed the projects and commands of Ramchandra Pant, we have space to mention only four, two Brahmins and two Marathas. Parashuram Trimbak Pratinidhi, ancestor of the present chief of Aundh, and Shankaraji Narayan Sachiv (the founder of the present Sachiv family of Bhor), were mainly occupied in defending, holding and recapturing the important forts of Shivaji's homeland. Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav were employed in destroying the enemy's field armies and crippling the material resources of the Mughal generals moving over the vast region of Mahabharata and the Karnataka.

3. Maratha Trek to Jinji.—When Rajaram's position at Panhala was found untenable, it was decided that he with a few followers should save himself by flying to Jinji, a stronghold about 60 miles south-east of Madras and about 40 miles inside from the coast of Pondicherry. "As if he had prescience of coming events, Shivaji by his conquests and alliances formed a new line of defence in southern India in the Kaveri valley to which he could retire in case of necessity." Indeed a continuous line of Maratha possessions from Supa, Sampgaon, Kopbal and Bangalore, to Vellore, Jinji and Tanjore
had since been kept up. Such a necessity now arose and Rājāram secretly escaped from Panhāla to Jinji after undergoing many perils and hair-breadth escapes from the Mughal pursuers on the way. Leaving Panhāla at the end of September 1689, Rājāram reached Vellore in a month, deluding the pursuers with various stratagems, and arrived at Jinji on 15 November. Here he now established his residence having been joined in due course by most of his ministers and commandants, Santāli and Dhanāli supplying the necessary convoy guarding the front and the rear. Indeed, Rājāram owed his life to these two watchful generals and the men serving under them. Keshav Purohit, a priest of Rājāram, long in his employ for explaining the Purānas, accompanied the party from Panhāla to Jinji and has vividly described the Maratha king's journey and its perils in a stirring Sanskrit poem called Rājadhrāma-Charita.

Jinji soon became the centre of Maratha activity, where the whole Court was assembled and formed, reviving the Council of eight ministers with an addition of the ninth called the Pratinidhi now specially created for providing a position for Prabhād Nīrāji, who had rendered extraordinary services. Thanjavur in that vicinity was already a Maratha capital, being at this time ruled by Shahīj, the eldest son of Ekoji and cousin of Rājāram. Writes Keshav Purohit, "the Chiefs of the Karnatak lands hailed Rājāram as an uncommon hero and made his cause their own. They brought him presents of money, provisions and materials, and having been actuated with a spirit of vengeance against Muslims, offered every kind of service to the Maratha king." A few Muslim Chiefs also made common cause with the Marathas under the belief that they were being persecuted without reason. This indeed helped the extension of Maratha influence over the Karnatak regions.

4. The Emperor's movements.—The Maratha tactics quickly upset the Emperor's plans, of which the student must take note. The removal of the Maratha Court to the distant Jinji created fresh problems for him. To watch the affairs of Jinji and concert measures for putting down the growing
Maratha power became his immediate concern. He left his camp of Koregaon on 18 December 1689 and removed to Bijapur and after a few months stay at that place, moved still further south and pitched his camp on the Krishna at Galgale, 34 miles south-west of Bijapur. Here he spent nearly three years visiting Bijapur at intervals. By that time the Maratha pressure had increased in Maharashtra; and the Emperor in 1695 moved his camp back to Brahmapuri on the south bank of the Bhima not far from Pandharpur. This place he renamed Islampuri, and here he stayed for over four years from May 1695 to October 1699. By the end of this time Rājārāma had returned to Maharashtra, the fort of Jinji having fallen to the Mughals; but as the Marathas sheltered in their strong western forts proved practically invincible, the Emperor took the fatal resolve of personally marching against them and demolishing these inaccessible haunts of his enemy.

His officers and soldiers had by then become utterly wearied of camp life, away from their homes now for 17 years, and urged the Emperor to return to Delhi after concluding some kind of peace and understanding with the Marathas. The Emperor felt sorely disappointed at this turn of events, and as he could no longer trust his officers, he himself undertook the arduous campaigns for the reduction of the hill forts of Satara and others. After capturing Satara in 1700, he encamped during the rains at Khawaspur on the river Man. Here he encountered a severe disaster, his whole camp was washed away by unexpected floods. The uproar woke him from sleep and while running out in the dark he slipped and became lame for the rest of his life. During the next three years he fixed his monsoon camp at Poona and other adjacent places. In 1703 he captured Sinhagad and then encamped at Poona, which he named Muhibabad. But the captured forts could not be long held in subjection: they were all recovered by the Marathas by the year 1705.

During all this time the miseries and hardships which the Emperor and his troops had to suffer went on increasing. They had to trudge through knee-deep mud and raging streams, dragging heavy guns, baggage and ammunition to hills and ramparts, thousands of feet high, not for one or two years but conducting such warfare in a foreign land continuously for a quart-
er of a century. This would have proved a feat of uncommon heroism if it had had an element of sentient reason in it. History finds in it only a comic picture of obstinacy with tragic results both to Aurangzeb’s Empire and the humanity of India. Towards the end, the Emperor’s fighting machine broke down; risings became common, which required his attention and once more he moved to the south, into the Raichur Doab against the Badar Chief of Wakhirkhed and Surapdr. After two years of vain struggle in that quarter he realized that his whole life had been entirely wasted and returned north in utter weariness and despair to Ahmednagar, in the midst of severe molestation and mortification caused by Maratha arrogance. Here he finally gave up his ghost on 20 February 1707. It is against the background of these moves of the Emperor, that the Maratha struggle can be properly understood.

5. Jinji besieged.—We must now go back to the year 1689, a year so full of rapid developments in the annals of this Mughal-Maratha struggle, the capture and death of Sambhaji, the fall of Raigad and the flight of Rajaji to Jinji, all occurring within a few months’ time. Immediately on Zafirkhan’s arrival at Koregaon with Shahu and his mother as captives, the Khan was ordered to pursue Rajaji into the eastern Karnatak. He left the Emperor’s camp on 30th November, arrived before Jinji in the following June and at once laid siege to that fort. The siege lasted for nearly 8 years and has for various reasons become memorable in history: and although the place was captured at the end of that long struggle, the Maratha king had already escaped back to Maharashtra, thus adding to the disappointments and misfortunes of the Emperor.

The credit of retrieving the Maratha fortunes goes mainly to two men of uncommon ability, Ramchandra Pant Amatya the consummate planner and Santaji Ghorpade Senapati the adroit executor. Santaji is called the perfect master of guerrilla warfare. Santaji as a boy had served Shahu and possibly Sambhaji also: but there is no evidence on record how he was occupied during the rule of the latter unfortunate monarch. Santaji suddenly emerged from oblivion in the sore need created by the fall of Raigad, when he was called upon to defend his
Chhatrapati and the Maratha raj. Writes Sarkar, "Santaji had an inborn genius for handling large bodies of troops spread over a wide area, changing his tactics so as to take prompt advantage of every change in the enemy's plans and condition and organizing combined movements. The success of his tactics depended on the rapid movement of his troops and on his subordinates carrying out his orders punctually to the minute. He, therefore, insisted on implicit obedience from his officers and enforced the strictest discipline in his army by drastic punishments. As Khafi Khan writes, "Santa used to inflict severe punishments on his followers. For the slightest fault he would cause the offender to be trampled to death by an elephant." "His greatest monument is the abject fear he inspired in the ranks of the Mogul army, which faithfully reflected in the curses and abuses invariably used as the epithet to his name by Persian histories. As will be seen later Santaji's boastful and defiant demeanour made him odious to his master and his harsh ways made him equally disliked by his subordinates. This proved the cause of his ruin."

Dhanaji Jadhav was of a different type. Coming from the same family to which Shivaji's mother Jija Bai belonged, he supported and co-operated with Santaji wherever he was called upon to do so. Equally brave and fearless, Dhanaji possessed a milder temperament and certainly a sweeter tongue. The Mughal troops looked upon Dhanaji with such awe that Khafi Khan narrates how Mughal troops used to ask their horses, when they refused to drink, whether they had seen Dhanaji reflected in the water. Early in their career Dhanaji and Santaji inflicted a severe defeat upon Sharaat Khan, alias Rustam Khan, as he was coming to capture the fort of Satara in May 1690.

6. The Maratha aims.—The aims of the Maratha government in prosecuting the arduous struggle against the Mughals are repeatedly stated in clear terms in the orders and charters issued by their rulers during this period of war. Hanumant Rav Ghorpade and his relation Krishnaji are definitely told on 4 June 1691 that, "Having clearly grasped your
readiness to quit the Mughal service and return to the king's for defending the Maharashtra Dharma, i.e., the cherished desire of the Maratha nation, we are assigning to you for your own personal expenses and those of your troops, an annuity of six lacs Hons (Rs. Twenty-five lacs) the first half of which, viz., three lacs is to be paid as soon as you establish possession over (1) the Raigad district, (2) the district of Bijapur, (3) the district of Bhaganagar (Haiderabad) and (4) the district of Aurangabad, at the rate of 3 \text{ lacs} for each of these items. The other half of the annuity, viz., three lacs more, will be paid as soon as you capture Delhi. You must loyally execute our commands, and our government will then continue their favour towards you.” This is a typical instance out of many, which sets down the Maratha aims as a crusade of a religious character and of an abnormal magnitude. It was a severe and direct attack upon the Maharashtra religion, that their Chhatrapati was put to a cruel death and not allowed even the usual funeral rites. It should be noted that these aims included even the conquest of Delhi, so as to make the whole sub-continent of India safe for the Hindu religion, and no more destruction of temples and idols was to be tolerated. Aurangzeb’s armies were mostly composed of Hindus, that is, the northern Rajputs and the southern Marathas: it was certainly his duty to respect the sentiments of those who served him. Râjâjâ’s Government deliberately weaned away many Maratha Chiefs who had accepted Mughal service. Aurangzeb profusely offered lands, titles and rewards as inducements to Maratha leaders to renounce their king and accept his service. By way of counteraction the Maratha Government adopted the same methods. This religious motive of the present war appears to have been continued as a national demand throughout the later Maratha expansion directed by the Peshwas.

This statement of the Maratha aims is not confined to a few rare documents, but runs through most of the writings detailing the political transactions of the Maratha Government of that period. On 22 March 1690 Râjâ from Jinji assures Baji Sarrav Jedhe Deshmukh of Kari of his support, and inspires him how they should exert themselves in their national cause. “We have enlisted on arrival in the Karnataka forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The
local Palegars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard. Our raj now has a peculiar message for the people, and you as one of them already suffer the agonies of the wrongs inflicted upon it by the Mughals. You must now put forth the sacrifice required on behalf of our religion.

We have despatched Keso Trimal Pingle to Maharashtra with a treasure of a lac of Hons, guarded by an escort of forty thousand armed men with Santaji and Dhanaji at their head. As soon as this party arrives in your part of the country, you must join it with your following with the utmost expedition, in order to overcome the common enemy. In fact the enemy is nothing of himself; it is people like you who have raised him into that importance. If our Marathas had not joined him, he would have been nowhere. You alone possess the nerve to overcome this Aurangzeb. He has wronged you by threatening to convert you to his religion. He has already converted Netaji and Sathij Ghatge and Janaji Raye, in addition to several Brahmins also. He also entertains further deep-rooted motives of a sinister nature against our nation, of which you must beware. The Nimbalkars and the Muses have already deserted him and his ranks are being rapidly thinned. God is helping us. We are sure to succeed." This letter only one among many is in the handwriting of Khando Ballal, Rajaram's Chitnis and shows the depths to which the heart of the Maratha nation was stirred in this heroic crusade.

Without a careful study of such documents no correct judgment can be formed of this phase of Aurangzeb's activities in the south. This opposition was a supreme effort to save the Maratha hearth and home. The Hindu pad sovereignty of the future days was to the Marathas from the beginning a sacred and dear question of preserving their religion, which was found impossible in the absence of political power. Animated by a desire to avenge their wrongs, the Maratha bands spread over the vast territories from Khandesh to the south coast, over Gujarut, Baglan, Godwan, and the Karnatak, devastating Mughal stations, destroying their armies, exacting tribute, plundering Mughal treasures, animals and stocks of camp equipage. The Emperor soon found himself unable to cope with these methods. He could fight any large army in the open field, but the guerrilla tactics, of stealthy secret attacks from
inaccessible places and at awkward unsuspected hours, proved too much even for his vast and splendid resources. The Marathas were inured to all kinds of hardship. They could feed upon the most simple food, stand inclement weather, and so proved veritable ghosts to the average Mughal fighter.

Rambhau Pant took effective measures against the Maratha deserters to the Emperor. If a chief or man was discovered to side with the Mughals, their families and relations, their wives and children were arrested and sternly dealt with. It was become intolerable in Maharashtra for deserters, traitors and renegades. The Pisal Deshmukhs of Wai who had surrendered Raigad to the Mughal force, had to undergo unbearable persecution for years and were reduced to the utmost misery, although they were amply rewarded by the Emperor for having accepted the Muslim faith. The respectable Beg family of Jannar had to suffer similar persecution.

Yesu Bai from her confinement in the Mughal camp did not fail to keep constant contact with the Maratha leaders, and secretly supported them by sending out useful news, and frequent hints through private messengers, who went to and fro between the two camps on various pretexts. On Yesu Bai's advice Rajaram conveyed to Jinji his wives and their retinue. They sailed in a ship from Vengurla on the west coast escorted by the two brothers Lingo Shankar and Visaji Shankar, trusted relatives of Khando Ballal Chitnis. They owned cargo ships plying in the western sea, which conveyed these ladies safely to the south in 1684. The party consisted of Bajirao's three wives, Tana Bai, Rajas Bai and Ambika Bai and their retinue. They disembarked at Honavar and travelling by the land route through the Bednur territory, reached Jinji safely in due course, un molested by the pursuing enemy. While at Jinji Tana Bai gave birth to a son (9 June 1685) and Rajas Bai did the same also two years later (23 May 1687). These two sons, named Shivaji and Sambhaji respectively, figured in the later developments of the Maratha State and originated the Kolhapur branch of the Chhatrapati's house.

5. Visaji Shankar's services are seen rewarded in a document dated 10 October 1694. P. D. 31.60.
7. Besiegers besieged.—The main object of the Maratha administrators and generals at this time was to release their Chhatrapati from Jinji, save him from a fate similar to his brother's, and liberate the Maratha territories from the Mughal control. The Emperor was by no means blind or ignorant on these points. Through obstinacy he pursued rigorous measures of war in preference to some kind of understanding or accommodation for putting an end to the hostilities. If he had taken a reasonable line of action and employed means to end the war on honourable terms, the Maratha rulers would certainly have welcomed that course and even accepted Aurangzeb's suzerainty, remaining content with a small subordinate principality in the Deccan. Several well-wishers of the Emperor did not hesitate to persuade him to this line of conduct. But he stoutly resisted it and suffered the consequences. The Marathas in retaliation managed to raise armies and develop a system of harassment, conquest and expansion, by which they regained not only their Swarajya of Shivaji's days, but also the right to levy Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi over the lands of Maharashtra and the Karnataka. Many of the original leaders died in the attempt, but their half-finished work was continued by the next generation with redoubled devotion and success.

For the first few years of the present phase of the war, Jinji formed the main objective of the Emperor's efforts for putting down the Marathas. Zulfiqar Khan exerted himself to the utmost, but was severely hampered by the hostile surroundings in which he was placed. He realized the hopelessness of subduing the Marathas under the prevailing conditions and tried for a time the policy of conciliating them. Very often the troops of Dhanaji and Santaji pressed him so hard from without, that instead of his besieging Jinji, he often found himself and his host surrounded and starved, so that in his extremity he had to raise the siege and seek replenishment of his forces in the outlying districts, during the summer of 1691.

At the end of 1692 Ali Mardan Khan a daring Mughal officer in charge of Kanchi, boldly came out and encountered Santaji Ghorpade with a view to preventing him from falling upon Zulfiqar Khan. A stiff action was fought on 13 Dec. 1692 in which Ali Mardan Khan was defeated and taken prisoner to Jinji, where he had to pay a large ransom to effect his
release. Ismail Khan Makki, another Mughal general, was similarly dealt with by Dhanaji, (9 Jan. 1693). Thus Zulfiqar Khan found himself in sore straits. His two valiant helpers Daud Khan Panni and Sarfaraz Khan also turned against him, making his situation precarious. His only recourse was to send frequent piteous appeals to the Emperor for reinforcements.

On receipt of such pressing appeal for help and funds, the Emperor sent him fresh contingent under his own son Kam Baksh and his minister Asad Khan, father of Zulfiqar Khan. But the arrival of these two important personages on the scene of Jinji towards the end of 1691, only created fresh complications and did nothing but remove Zulfiqar Khan’s difficulties. Kam Baksh followed the example set earlier by his brother Akbar. Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan charged the Prince with collusion with the Marathas and openly placed him under arrest in Dec 1692. The confusion became worse confounded, when a false report went round that the Emperor had died. The two Khans abandoned their operations before Jinji and being severely pressed by the Marathas retired to Wandiwash under the most distressing circumstances, which are vividly described in Martin’s Memoirs.

Zulfiqar and Asad Khan in utter despair of opposing the Marathas or even of saving themselves and the Emperor’s son Prince Kam Baksh under their care in the siege camp before Jinji, paid a large sum to Rajaram and his minister and were thus permitted to withdraw to Wandiwash without serious opposition. This lame conclusion of their wonderful victories caused a rupture between the Maratha generals and Rajaram. Martin writes: “The commanders who had come to Jinji from Maharashtra in December 1692, were extremely irritated that Ramraja without their participation, by the advice of his minister alone, had made a treaty with the Mughals. They bore a particular grudge against Rajaram’s minister whom they accused of having received a large sum for allowing the Mughals to escape safely, when the Marathas could have held them all at their discretion, i.e., Kam Baksh, the Wazir Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan along with a large number of persons of rank who were in the army. The Maratha commanders represented that they could have extracted large sums as their ransom, besides being able to secure an advantageous
treaty with the Emperor himself by restoring to him men of such importance. Santaji Ghorpade was so incensed by this conduct of Rajaram that he withdrew his troops to some leagues from Jinji. It was believed that Rajaram had acted in gratitude. He well knew that Zulfiqar could have easily taken Jinji. This mutual accommodation between Rajaram and Zulfiqar Khan was the result of a secret understanding, which they had formed in view of the expected death of the Emperor and the inevitable war of succession among his sons, so that Asad Khan and Zulfiqar planned to establish themselves as independent sovereigns in the southern peninsula with the kingdom of Golconda as their share and the kingdom of Bijapur as the share of Rajaram. "Rajaram managed to appease Santaji by paying him a visit and also presents. Such squabbles throw a lurid light on the confused and mismanaged operations of the Mughal-Maratha war extending over the vast regions of Maharashtra and the Karnataka. For a time Santaji became the master of the situation and reaped the utmost advantage. It is easy to understand why the siege of Jinji dragged on so languidly and how much on that account the Emperor became exasperated, when he was apprised of the true state of things at Jinji. To remedy the situation he despatched another competent and trusted general Kasim Khan, posting him midway on the road to Jinji so that he could crush the bands of Santaji and Dhanaji and enable Zulfiqar Khan to prosecute the siege without outside molestation. He instructed Zulfiqar Khan to capture both Jinji and Rajaram at a stroke. Kasim Khan, although an opium-addict as Khafi-Khan records, was indeed a tried and resourceful general, and was enthusiastic in carrying out the heavy task that was entrusted to him. But how he too was over-matched by the superior genius of Santaji has become a dazzling episode in the history of Indian warfare, to which it is now necessary to advert before taking up the story of Jinji.

8. Heroic deeds of Santaji.—On the occasion of the Dasara celebration of October 1695, Ramchandra Pant called

together at Vishalgad most of the responsible Maratha leaders for a conference and a personal consultation, with a view to taking stock of the situation as developed by the various scattered units wanting in cohesion and acting independently of each other, and forconcerting effective measures to conduct a further offensive, as much to meet the danger signified by the Emperor’s appointment of Kasim Khan, as to secure a rapid victory. They planned fresh grand operations: two main parties were formed, one to devastate the northern portions of the Mughal territories, and the other to operate in the region of the Tungabhadra, so as to overcome Kasim Khan and relieve the pressure against the Chhatrapati at Jangi. Santaji agreed to execute the latter portion of the scheme, and Dhanaji was asked to remain in the region of Bijapur keeping an eye on the Emperor’s moves as well as being ready to support Santaji if any danger threatened him. The Emperor was then camping at Brahmapuri, where he was soon apprized of the plans formed by Ramchandra Pant. He immediately dispatched another tried general Himmat Khan to prevent Santaji from committing mischief. The two Mughal generals undertook what may be called a pincer movement to hem in Santaji both from front and behind. Dhanaji got scent of this move and made rapid marches towards the Karnatak to save the situation if it became serious. The Emperor became extremely ill at ease about the fate of his armies before the combined manoeuvres of Santaji and Dhanaji. Kasim Khan also reported to the Emperor how the situation was developing against him and pressed him for more troops and war material. In this crisis Aurangzeb selected another trustworthy young enthusiast, a rising star of his Court, Khanazad Khan, son of the revered Ruhulla Khan and despatched him with all haste to the south with a party of his own select body-guard, and several more tried officers, such as Safshikan Khan and Muhammad Murad Khan.

With such grand arrangements speedily set in motion, the Emperor felt confident that all would go well. These generals marched through the Karnatak regions and joined Kasim Khan at the beginning of November 1695. How Santaji overcame this critical situation is a marvel in the art of war. He was well served by his numerous spies, knew the terrain, as the sequel shows, changed his movements to suit the shifting
situation and managed to win signal success out of what had appeared to be a terrific ordeal.

When Kasim Khan received the report that a noble of the high rank of Khanazad Khan was coming to his help, he thought it necessary to accord him a fitting reception. He ordered from Adoni costly tents, furniture and dining sets of high value, and arranged a gorgeous camp for his honoured guest, not suspecting danger in these open preparations. The Naik of Chitradurg who had been wronged by Kasim Khan, secretly communicated to Santaji all the vulnerable points of the Mughal arrangements and the shrewd Santaji was not slow to take full advantage of it. He arranged his troops in three parties assigning definite tasks to each, so as to fall upon the various Mughal chiefs separately, before they could join. Just before Kasim Khan's arrival at the decorated camp for the reception of Khanazad Khan, Santaji suddenly swooped down upon it in the small hours of the morning and set the whole place on fire. No sooner was the occurrence reported to Kasim Khan than he hurriedly attacked Santaji and was himself shortly after joined by Khanazad Khan. Santaji was quite prepared for such an eventuality and had kept a concealed reserve force near, which suddenly fell upon these attackers and caught them between two opposing bodies. Unable to withstand the withering fire of the Marathas, the two Khans escaped in consternation to a small neighbouring citadel called Duderi, about 22 miles east of Chitaldurg. The imperialists, giving up all plan of fighting took the road to Duderi in confusion, reached the place in extreme difficulty and were invested. Santaji quietly followed and at once closely surrounded the place, which had in it no food or water and which was not prepared to stand a long siege. The Mughals found themselves in extreme peril during three days of want and starvation and exposure to the deadly effect of the Maratha guns. Kasim Khan was addicted to a regular use of opium which he could not now procure and died on 20th November 1695 in agonies consequent on such privation. It was reported that he swallowed poison and put an end to his life for fear of being disgraced by the Emperor. Poor Khanazad Khan appealed to Santaji's...
mercy and surrendered. Santaji was not wanting in magnanimity to a fallen foe. He accepted Rs. 20 lacs by way of ransom in addition to all the belongings of the camp, worth about 30 lacs more, gave his own escort to accompany the noble Khan back to the Emperor’s presence, with a personal message to him to take back this human treasure, as his own worst enemy. Kasim Khan had already paid for his sins.

9. Santaji’s tragic end.—As these developments were being reported to the Emperor, he had already despatched another brave general Hamid-ud-din Khan with a full fighting train to the relief of the first two forces. Another Mughal officer Himmat Khan Bahadur who was not far off, also came in hurriedly to pounce upon the Marathas. Santaji encountered Himmat Khan and his son in a sanguinary action near Baswa-Pattan in which both the father and the son were routed and killed (20 January 1696). Then came Hamid-ud-din Khan who was able with his fresh troops to inflict a defeat upon Santaji and put him to flight (26 February), as his men were already fully exhausted and wearied after months of severe fighting. The story of these wonderful achievements of Santaji reverberated throughout the land causing high admiration in Maratha hearts and extreme depression in those of the Mughals. But Santaji was now to experience a sudden fall. Providence had not provided him with a suave tongue or an agreeable temper. There was only one person whom Santaji respected and obeyed, and that was Ramchandra Pant who was far away in Maharashtra.

A large number of the letters that passed between them during all these years has been published and these clearly show how difficult Ramchandra Pant found the task of handling Santaji. The general is here repeatedly admonished to be sweet and accommodating towards his co-workers and superiors and particularly towards the Chhatrapati. Santaji’s biting tongue and boastful demeanour had more than once disgusted Rajaram. After these unequalled successes over the various Mughal generals, Santaji went straight to Jija (April 1695), and demanded an adequate reward for his services. But Rajaram and Santaji had become gradually so estranged that a severe altercation took place between them, which soon rose to
bitter invective. Both were touched to the quick. Santaji openly charged Rājārām with pusillanimity and disbiudened his mind to some such effect. "Your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake the Chhatrapati." This was too much even for the mild temper of the King. Santaji was at once dismissed from his office of Senapati and Dhanaji appointed in his place.

How could it be expected that a hero of Santaji's calibre, a winner of a hundred battles would meekly submit to such insult, or hand over his office to a successor without striking a blow? The Emperor had already advertised a prize on Santaji's head. It is not necessary to suppose that the Mughals had any hand in bringing about a mortal ill-feeling between Dhanaji and Santaji. From words they came to blows over the question as to which of them should hold the Senapati's office. In June 1696 they fought an action near Aiwargudi on the river Manimukta near Kanchi, in which Dhanaji was worsted and his valiant young partisan Amrit Rao Nimbalkar was taken prisoner, whom Santaji cruelly trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. This Amrit Rao's sister, Radha Bai, was married to Nagoji Māne of Mhaswad near Satara. Nagoji was playing a game of selfish ambition and intrigue with the Emperor for the destruction of Santaji. In this he was encouraged by his wife Radha Bai out of a desire to avenge the death of her brother. The monsoon months of 1696 passed critically for Santaji on the one hand and for Rājārām and Dhanaji on the other. As Santaji was not to be easily overcome, his followers were seduced and won over by secret methods. In this destructive game Nagoji Māne had a principal share. Santaji's ranks came to be slowly thinned and his strength fearfully weakened. Indeed many instances are found recorded of Maratha Sardars constantly plying between the two opposing camps during this long drawn war in which time-serving selfishness and divided loyalties played no small part.

Rājārām ordered Dhanaji to capture Santaji and bring him a prisoner before him. Santaji then fled away, being hotly pursued by Dhanaji from the Karnataka into Maharashtra. During the flight they fought an action near Bijapur in which...
Santaji sustained a severe defeat in March 1697, and to save his life he made his way into the hills of Mahadev east of Satara. He had only a few personal servants left with him in his solitary wanderings. Nagoji Mhane hung on his track. One hot noon in June 1697 as Santaji came to a spring and was having his bath, some armed men suddenly fell upon him, cut off his head and brought it to Nagoji Mhane, who immediately rode with it to the Emperor's camp at Brahmapuri and presented the head to him. In return Nagoji obtained the promised reward and a handsome jagir from the Emperor, who was highly pleased with this end of his mortal enemy. Santaji is now remembered as the past master of guerilla warfare, the highest and best instrument which enabled the Marathas to attain a rapid rise before the development of artillery warfare in India. The death of this unmatched hero was a severe blow to the Maratha fortunes.

10. Guerilla warfare described.—This peculiar form of warfare called by the Marathas Gamini-Kava requires a word of explanation. The Marathas took pride in being called ganims or "plunderers," and developed their peculiar method of fighting which the chronicler Chitnis thus describes. "The Mughal forces are huge in numbers, standing firm only in open ground. The Marathas on the other hand suddenly erupt at one place to-day and tomorrow elsewhere some fifty miles away. Then they come round again and execute unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight, plunder and fly away. They fall upon foraging parties, attack weakly held Mughal posts, capture strategic points and thus inspire confidence among their followers. They devastate Mughal territory from the river Godavari to Bhaganagar, carrying away pack animals, horses and elephants, create confusion among the enemy, and remain concealed in unfrequented thickets widely apart and make a sudden dash upon the Mughal armies proceeding to [14x152]...

8. There are various versions of the circumstances under which Santaji met his tragic death. The exact truth is nowhere recorded. Passions were then running high and gave colour to a variety of tales. Sir Jadhunath has tried his best to evolve a most likely story after consulting the Persian, French and other sources. See his House of Shivaji, pp. 213-238; also his Aurangzeb, Vol. V.
wards Jinji, occasionally engaging in an open encounter and any how preventing them from reaching their destination. The Emperor found himself non-plussed how to overcome these pests. They seemed to be ubiquitous and illusive like the wind. When the attacking Mughal forces had gone back, the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attack as before. If a Mughal officer resisted the Marathas and was defeated and captured by them, he had to provide his own ransom, and the Emperor would often dismiss such unfortunate sufferers on the suspicion of cowardice. Hence it was safer for a Mughal commander to bribe the Marathas than to fight them. Certainly it was cheaper. Worse than these, many imperialists made a contract with the enemy and enriched themselves by robbing the Emperor's own subjects and innocent traders.

"Thus the Marathas held their life as trash and defended their raj. They were rewarded with lands and titles. On the one side stands the Emperor with his whole might, countless forces, immeasurable treasure carried in thousands and thousands of train-carts; on the other side these scanty numbers of the poor Marathas carefully husbanding life and resources but relentlessly acting like packs of wolves against Mughal hordes and creating dearth of comfort in the midst of their own plenty."

Santaji left behind him an inspiring name and a large family of brothers and nephews, who fortunately did not imbibe his spirit of insubordination and irascible temper: nor did they entertain any traces of hatred towards Dhanaji Jadhav, who had been already exalted to the position of the Senapati. They all joined him in continuing the war with full cordial cooperation, and when after the fall of Jinji, Rajaram and his Court returned to Maharashtra, it was the combined effort of all the Ghorpades that conquered and saved the distant Karnataka lands for the Maratha dominion, leaving a precious legacy to one of their distinguished descendants, Murar Rao of Gatti, whose career extending over more than half a century of troublesome times, forms an important part in Maratha history.

tory. Gajendragad, Sandur, Kapsi, and other small principalities in the south are still extant as reminders of the departed glory of the Ghuripades.

11. Rajaram escapes, Jinji falls.—The death of Santaji at once transferred the scene of hostile activities from the Karnatak to Mahârâbhatra. The Emperor was vehemently urging Zulfiqar Khan to make a rapid conclusion of the siege of Jinji and sent him severe reprimands against his dilatory methods. In December 1697 Râjârâm managed to escape from the besieging forces, reached Vellore and returned to Mahârâbhatra, the news of which made the Emperor furious against Zulfiqar Khan, who would certainly have been degraded and punished if the Emperor had been on the spot. The Khan at last reported that Jinji had been captured on 7 February 1698, after allowing the ladies of Râjârâm unmolested exit to their home. They returned to Vishalgad in due course. Pralhad Niraji's son Nâro Pralhad was taken captive and put to death, in order to satisfy the Emperor that some persons were captured as prisoners and put to death. Zulfiqar Khan was rewarded with the title of Nusrat Jung. Historians compare this long siege of Jinji to the siege of Troy of Grecian antiquity. The possession of Jinji did not avail the Mughals much. They transferred their seat of government from Jinji to Arcot.

Râjârâm after escaping from Jinji, proceeded to Vishalgad, (22 Feb. 1698), eluding the Emperor's strong parties on the route. He at this time made some overtures for peace directly to the Emperor, but the latter declined the offer and continued the war relentlessly. As soon as the Chhatrapati arrived in the Maratha land, it became necessary to have a capital from which the Maratha Government could act. Both Raigad and Jinji had been lost. Vishalgad was too inaccessible for purposes of easy communication so necessary in administrative work. The fort of Satara, therefore, was selected as a suitable centre well protected by nature, and here Râjârâm established his seat about the Dassara time of 1698. Satara was, however, soon afterwards captured by Aurangzeb, but retaken by the Marathas in 1704. It again became the seat of Maratha Government after the return of Shahu from the Mughal camp in 1708 and acquired the name of Shahunagar.
Rajaram during 1698 and the next year made an extensive tour of his country, established contact with local officers and the guardians of forts, and cheered up by his personal presence the drooping spirits of his wearied soldiers. During this tour of inspection, he discovered clear evidence of the decline of the Mughal power. The Emperor was already too old to control the extensive and conflicting elements of his government. Every soldier was tired of the war in which the Emperor obstinately persisted and in which no Mughal had any heart. The Emperor’s sons and officers looked more to their personal prospects than to the details of war and thought only of the eventual changes that were sure to follow the Emperor’s death.

Buland Bakht, the Raja of Devgad, who like the Maratha kings, was manfully resisting Mughal aggression in his territory, sent his agents to Rajaram proposing a combined attack upon the northern possessions of the Emperor. Rajaram thereupon deputed Nemaji Sinde with some other chiefs to ravage Khandesh and Berar and exact Chauth from those districts. Early in 1699 Nemaji encountered the Mughal governor of Talner, Hussain Ali Khan, captured him in a sanguinary action and released him after exacting a fine of two lacs from him. This news distressed the Emperor beyond measure.

At the Dasara season of 1699 Rajaram himself set out from Satara accompanied by several young leaders of future fame such as Khanderao Tribhuvan, Parsoji Bhosle, Habanrao Nimbalkar, with Dhaniaji Jadhav at their head. They gave out that they were going to march upon Surat and plunder that rich town. The Emperor in order to ward off this danger, despatched a strong body of his troops against them. Several skirmishes occurred between the Maratha raiders and these Mughal detachments. During November Rajaram himself was stopped from proceeding to the north by Zulfiqar Khan and was compelled to turn back. He came straight to Brahmapuri for raiding the Mughal camp and if possible taking possession of Shahu. Indeed how high the Maratha spirits had risen at this moment is evidenced by Rajaram’s letter addressed to Vithoji Bhabar on 22 December 1699 in which he writes,

“We have arrived at Sinhagad and have launched the full force of our armies against the Emperor. The Senapati Dhanaji, Nemaji Sinde, Parsoji Bhosle and other leaders have led a
furious attack upon the imperial camp of Brahmapuri and captured the Emperor's own daughter along with several prominent families. Thereafter they fell upon a convoy of ten thousand pack animals carrying supplies to the imperial forces which were marching upon Satara. The enemy has lost all courage, and can make no effect against fort Satara. We now take no account of this powerful Emperor whom, God willing, we shall soon put to rout. You must do your best in this joint effort. We are rewarding your services in an ample measure."  


12. Rajaram's death and character.—At this moment of triumph and rising hope, however, the Maratha nation was ordained to suffer a serious loss. Rajaram found the strain of camp life unbearable and his health suddenly gave way. He became ill on the way during his march and had to be carried in a palanquin at a time when Satara was being besieged by the Emperor; so Rājārāman made for Sinhagad where he expired immediately after arrival on 2 March 1700, having just completed 30 years of his life. This untimely death of their Chhatrapati following Santaji's tragic end, was another serious blow to the rising fortunes of his nation. One of his wives Ambilā Bai burnt herself on hearing of her husband's death, but the two other wives Tārā Bai and Rājās Bai, long survived him and played their part in future politics.

Rājārāman's character and capacity have been already described in the preceding pages. He possessed no dash or initiative, nor did he ever evince any personal valour. He was only ten years of age when his father died and had received no education during his detention on the fort of Raigad at the hands of his elder brother. Rājārāman has left no writing behind like the Sanskrit and Hindi compositions of Sambhaji. His mother was put to death and Rājārāman had no congenial company in his boyhood. At the death of Sambhaji, sheer chance brought Rājārāman to his father's throne. He fortunately obtained wise and able counsellors in Rāmchandra Pant and Pralhad Nairi, and equally brave warriors in Santaji and Dhanaji. There is not a single occasion recorded in his life on which Rājārāman showed personal daring or capacity for government.
Rajaram's seal contains a motto which can thus be rendered in English: "Like the King Rama of old, this seal of King Rama shines forth, impelled by the motive of inspiring all people alike with a sense of their national duty."

Just before Rajaram's death the Emperor tried to seduce Ramchandra Pant and Parashuram Pant from allegiance to their master by means of a singular trick. He wrote letters to the two offering inducements, and contrived that the one addressed to Ramchandra Pant should fall into the hands of Parashuram pant and vice versa. The two grew suspicious of each other for a time, but soon learned the real motive of their common enemy.

During the regime of this Chhatrapati Rajaram, one serious departure from Shivaji's policy came about through the force of circumstances, viz. the system of conferring lands on military commanders for their services. Shivaji had strictly prohibited the grant of land on any account for services rendered to the State, which he always paid in cash. But during the confused situation created by the war and the presence in the Deccan of the Emperor, his whole Court and his huge armies, Shivaji's healthy precept had to be given up. The Emperor himself offered gifts of land to the Maratha gentry by way of inducements, and unless similar inducements were offered by the Maratha government, it could not raise the required armies for the conduct of the war. The Maratha leaders and soldiers were openly asked to ravage Mughal territories and conquer lands on promise that these would form their own hereditary possession, when the Maratha raj would come to be fully established. These leaders of Maratha bands had to borrow funds...
from bankers on the mortgage of their prospective conquests, and created personal interests in the lands they laid their hands on. Started indeed as a measure under the stress of war in order to put down the Emperor's sinister designs, this system of jagirs came to be the virtual foundation of the future Maratha rule. In the long run it proved to be a ready instrument both for the rapid expansion and the equally rapid ruin of the Maratha Empire. Masses of published papers confirm this view and supply ample evidence of it.¹³

¹³ See Rājvāde, Vol. 8.52.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Balaji Vishwanath Sar-Subahdar of Poona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>March 2 Death of Raja Ram; Shivaji II crowned by Tarabai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apr. 21 Aurangzeb captures Satara and Parli forts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aug. 17 Shahu reported as ailing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>May 28 Aurangzeb captures Panhala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 4 Aurangzeb captures Vishnagad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ending months Balaji Vishwanath defends Sinhagad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>April 8 Aurangzeb captures Sinhagad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov. Aurangzeb encamps at Poona; orders Shahu's conversion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov. Shahu married and entrusted to Kam Bakish for negotiating his release.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov. Ray-Bhanji Bhosle accepts Emperor's service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Fort Satara recaptured by the Marathas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>April 17 Yesubai's letter of distress in captivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Marathas ravage Mughal territory beyond the Narmada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>Feb. 6 Shahu temporarily released.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707</td>
<td>Feb. 20 Death of Aurangzeb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER XV
RETRIBUTION
(1700—1707)

1. Tarabai opposes the Emperor.
2. Shahaji in captivity.
3. Contact with Balaji Vishwanath.
4. Rayballam Koka.
5. Pitiful appeal of Yesubai.
6. Tragedy of Aurangzeb’s life.
7. Aurangzeb’s death.
8. Tarabai triumphant.

1. Tarabai opposes the Emperor. Râjâjiâm died at Sinhagad on 2 March 1700, a little over a month before his newly established capital Satara followed the fate of Raigad ten years before. Since the return of Râjâjiâm from Jinji, the aged Emperor, sorely disappointed in his hope of overcoming the Marathas and feeling that his commandants did not exert themselves earnestly enough in the tasks assigned to them, had taken upon himself the work of personally leading his forces in the difficult region of the western Ghat. His officers and soldiers became wearied of this continuous camp life and its interminable hardships. Yet the Emperor would not flinch. With the greatest effort in 6 years (1699-1704), he was able to capture only four major forts with a few minor ones of no importance to his strategy. These were Satara (21 April 1700), Pardha (28 May 1701), Vishalgad (4 June 1702) and Sinhagad (8 Apr. 1703). Even these were only nominally secured mainly by payment of money and were quickly recaptured by the Marathas after a year or so, as soon as the Emperor had turned his back upon Maharashtra and proceeded to the Berad country in the south. It is noteworthy that during the siege of Vishalgad Sawai Jaisinh, the young ruler of Jaipur, played a conspicuous part both in the arduous task of fighting and in the subsequent negotiations for its surrender, whereby he established relations of amity with some of the Maratha leaders and the young Shahu, who was then living as a captive in the imperial camp. This early contact proved a
prominent factor in the Mughal-Maratha relations as they afterwards developed in the hands of the first two Peshwas. The conquered forts were all given new names in the Muhammadan style by the Emperor, but those names have not survived in popular use. Satara was renamed Asam-tara, Parali Navrastara, Pelahat Nabishahdurg and so on. But the conquest of Sinhagad in 1703 gave such supreme satisfaction to the Emperor's heart that he gave it the significant name Bakskinda Baksh, "a reward given by the Almighty."

As soon as Ramchandra Pant Amatya learnt of Rajaram's death, he repaired to Sinhagad and immediately issued letters conveying the news to the various captains encouraging and begging them all to continue to perform their duties as before, and to exert themselves even more vigorously, remembering that the destinies of their nation were in their keeping. He also invited some prominent person to attend the funeral rites of the late king, and held deliberations with them on the future plans. In deference to Tarabai's wishes her little son Shivaji, less than four years old at the time, was a few months later crowned Chhatrapati at Vishalgad, although the rightful succession of Shahu was not excluded. Indeed, so far as the war was concerned, Tarabai for a time inspired greater vigour and enthusiasm among the whole Maratha nation than her husband had done. Unfortunately, her hopes and position came soon to be seriously weakened by the discovery that her little son was deficient in mental powers and not competent to manage the concerns of the State. For the present, however, Tarabai exhibited wonderful powers of organization and inspired one and all with a sense of devotion to the national service. Panhala and Vishalgad, both inaccessible strongholds, were selected as the Chhatrapati's residence, and on this account the Emperor doubtless directed his next effort to their capture during the years 1701 and 1702.

2. Shahu in captivity.—In order to follow clearly the Mughal-Maratha struggle in its essentials, it is necessary here

1. For details of Aurangzeb's last effort and struggles, the reader is referred to Sir Jadunath's full account.

2. They mostly resided at Panhala also, but the throne was never removed to Panhala.
to take particular note of the manner Shahu led his life in the Emperor's camp, as he was destined to be the future Chhatrapati of the Marathas. When Raigad was captured by Zulfikar Khan on 3rd November 1689 Sambhaji's Rani Yesubai, then about 30 years of age and her young son Shahu of seven years, two illegitimate sons of Sambhaji named Madan Sinh and Madhav Sinh, Rani Sakwarbai, the sole surviving widow of the great Shivaji, with a following of about 200 men and women were captured and taken to the Emperor's camp. Here they had to spend seventeen years in captivity which dimmed all their hopes in this world; and although ultimately Shahu came out of the bitter trial safe, there was during the interval constantly hanging over his head the sword of an unknown fate, well acquainted as he was with the Emperor's methods of dealing with an opponent, blinding an enemy, converting him to his faith or imprisoning him for life. Those who accuse Shahu of pusillanimity, engendered by the luxuries of a soft palace life, forget that he never had been to Delhi and seen the palace life of that capital. He had constantly to undergo the same privations and hardships as the fighting members of the Emperor's camp, in addition to being a closely watched prisoner, a pawn in the Emperor's game to be utilized as occasion would require.

During the eight months that had elapsed between the death of Sambhaji and the capture of Raigad, the Emperor had a sufficient foretaste of the audacity and toughness of the Maratha nation, which made him wiser in dealing with these fresh captives. He naturally became more cautious and politic than vengeful as in the case of Sambhaji. He abandoned all thought of making short work with these innocent and hapless captives, and ordered that Shahu and his mother should be accommodated in enclosed quarters near his daughter's, and adjoining his own residential tent; and that their servants and followers should have another detached spot assigned to them, certainly within the main enclosure, but at a long distance from each other, in order to prevent easy or frequent communication between the two parties. These servants' quarters came to be known as the "Rani's Bazaar". Sufficient subsistence allowance within the limits of bare existence, was here assigned to each member of the party according to his rank to appease
Maratha sentiment. Towards Shahu himself Aurangzeb deliberately adopted an attitude quite the reverse of that towards his father. He styled Shahu as the legitimate Maratha king and gave him the title of "Raja", with the nominal dignity of a seven-thousand commander.

Throughout the Emperor’s residence in the Deccan, his domestic affairs were looked after by his daughter Zinat-un-Nisa Begam, an intelligent, pains-taking and kind-hearted lady, unmarried, now 47 years old (born on 5 October 1643), to whose care the Emperor entrusted the prisoners Shahu and Yesubai. The Begam was born of the same mother as the Emperor’s rebel son Akbar, and like him entertained a tender feeling for the Marathas, being by nature of a pious philosophical outlook upon life. She, therefore, felt a deep interest and compassion for Yesubai and her son, who on this account developed a sense of filial reverence for her, which endured long after Aurangzeb’s death. This Zinat-un-Nisa built a mosque at Delhi out of her own private money and died in 1721. When, therefore, Balaji Vishwanath led an expedition to Delhi in 1718, Zinat-un-Nisa must have, one may presume, helped Yesubai’s release and return. She was certainly instrumental in letting Shahu go back to the Deccan from the river Narmada in 1707.

Any way this lady’s kind offices doubtless softened the rigours of Shahu’s imprisonment and in a great measure ameliorated the prisoners’ lot. For whatever the wishes or command of the Emperor might be, their immediate execution was in the hands of the Begam. A woman alone could sympathise with the lot of Sambhaji’s widow. Jyotyajji Kesarkar, Bhaktaji Huzra and Banki Gaikwad are mentioned out of the many followers of Shahu, as having kept up close touch between these Maratha inmates in the camp and the warring Marathas outside it.

In her dealings with the Emperor, Yesubai feigned from the beginning an attitude of hostility towards Rajaram and his

3. This is presumably the same lady who is known in popular anecdotes to have pleaded for Shivaji’s life being saved during his visit to Agra in 1666 and whose hand Sambhaji is said to have asked for, just before he was put to death.
Government. She declared that Rājāraṁ saved his own life by escaping, and purposely allowed her to be captured at the fall of Raigad; and that now they all looked to the Emperor's mercy for their safety and comfort. This attitude was long and successfully kept up in order to lull the Emperor's suspicion about her treachery. Shahu's real name was Shīvījī, and on arrival at the camp, Auranţeb called him Shivaji the Sav (honest) in contrast with his wily grand-father. This word Sav is said to have been corrupted into Shahu (Sāhu, Sahu) by which name he thereafter continued to be known. Although to all appearance Auranţeb treated him kindly, his object was to make use of him as circumstances would require in his project of subduing the Maratha country. Once or twice Rājāraṁ tried to effect Shahu's release by means of a sudden and secret attack upon the camp: but these attempts failed. Once, it is recorded, when Shahu came to make his obeisance to the Emperor, the latter asked him, "I am ready to send you back to your uncle, are willing to go?" "No," replied Shahu, "My uncle is my enemy, as he was my father's too. If I go to him, he will keep me in rigorous confinement. I will go back only when Your Majesty puts me firmly on the throne as a legitimate sovereign of the Marathas." What to do with Shahu was thus a source of perennial anxiety to the Emperor. He often thought of converting him to the Muslim faith and making him a vassal-prince ruling the Maratha land. He omitted no occasion for creating disunion in the Maratha nation by asserting Shahu's claim against Tarabai's son. But these attempts did not prove successful in his life-time.

Shahu thus acquired no education to fit him for life. He practised some riding, hunting and swordsmanship within the limits of the camp. He learnt to write Modi characters, and letters are extant in which he has fully and freely expressed his sentiments in that script. He did not know Sanskrit, nor did he have occasion to learn his own religion or the traditional Hindu mythology. On the contrary, placed as he was, he developed respect for the Muslim faith through intimate contact with the orthodox life of the Mughal court pattern. It may truly be said that he knew more of the Muslim religion than of his own. But his mind grew alert, quick and watchful, and tossed as he was in the midst of the turmoils of a raging war, he had
plenty of thrilling experiences and acquired a sturdy common
sense, a discerning faculty to assess correctly the merits and
weaknesses of human character, a mortal fear to do wrong and a
genial philanthropic temperament. The life of the Mughal
camp was sufficiently varied and not altogether monotonous,
and Shahu freely participated in it.

With his advance to manhood Shahu's troubles increased
beyond measure, particularly after 1699, when the Emperor
himself set out on the work of capturing the difficult Maratha
forts. While the news of Rajaram's premature death gladden-
ed the Emperor's heart, it distressed Shahu's so acutely that he
became ill and was for a time confined to bed. The malady af-
fected his mind and body to some extent. It is recorded that
on 26 August 1700, Shahu who was ailing, paid a visit to the
Emperor and made his bow when the latter said, "Raje, you
look very weak and pale." Hafiz Ambar who was standing
by, explained the reason by saying, "The Raja does not touch
dal and rice. He feeds only on sweets: his religion enjoins
that in a state of imprisonment, a Hindu should not eat a full
dinner but must live on light refreshments." Thereupon the
Emperor ordered, "Take him to Hamid-ud-din Khan. He
will cure the ailment." This dyspepsia leading to fever and
jaundice seems to have troubled Shahu long. It is mentioned
that he took the bath of recovery on the 4th June preceding.

Rajaram's death and the accession of Tarabai to power in
the Maratha State considerably changed the state of affairs in
the Deccan. Before this, the Emperor had succeeded in set-
ting up an administration for the conquered territories, parti-
cularly the country between Satara and Aurangabad. Most
of the leading families and the common populace of this region,
chiefs and sardars, bankers and accountants had accepted the
Emperor's service. The papers of various families in this tract
of the country, such as the Purandares, the Bokils, the Atres,
the Joshis, the Gijres, the Devs of Chinchwad, the Brahmes of
Chakan and so on have been printed. The members of
these families were regularly employed by the Emperor
in the various branches of the administration, but at
the same time the Maratha Chhatrapati also claimed
their services and allegiance, so that a kind of double
government continued for some years, the Mughals nul-
4. A manuscript containing 143 pages, the first 16 and the last few missing, exists at the Osmania University, Haiderabad (Dec), which records some interesting details of Shahu's life in captivity. It was during this period of double government that Shahu came to cultivate a more or less intimate contact with some of these local families and their prominent members, particularly money-lenders, who often satisfied his immediate needs of money and did other services to relieve his difficulties. This is quite plain from the various records of his reign, in which he acknowledges these obligations with gratefulness and rewards them by gifts of land and money. He always considered it his pious duty to remember and repay every act of kindness shown to him during this hard period of captivity extending over seventeen years.

3. Contact with Balaji Vishvanath.—One outstanding figure hitherto entirely unknown to the world outside, now appears on the stage of Maratha politics and works in favour of Shahu viz., Balaji Vishvanath Bhat, whom later on Shahu appointed his Peshwa and who was instrumental in changing the entire character of the Maratha Government. When and how Shahu came to know him and why he decided to raise him to the first position in the State, are questions which have not been convincingly solved. He was a hereditary Deshmukh of Shrivardhan on the west coast under the jurisdiction of the Siddis of Janjira, and appears to have migrated to the region of Poona possibly during the last days of Shivaji's reign. Definite evidence is available that he was the Sarabudkar of the Poona division since 1696 and of the Daulatabad division from 1704 onwards, under orders of the Maratha Government. We possess letters issued by Ramchandra Nilkanth Amatya and other ministers to Balaji Vishvanath, calling upon him to ex-
plain certain matters, to execute certain measures and occasion­
ally reprimanding him for dereliction of duty. In 1702 when the
Emperor invested Sinhagad, Balaji Vishvanath, writing on be­
half of the Senapati Dhanaji Jadhav, sent an insistent request
to his co-worker Ambaji Trimbak Purandare for a supply
of gun powder which was urgently needed for the defence of
that fort against Tarbiat Khan the Artillery officer of Aurang­
zeb. To rise to the position of a Sarubahadur in 1696 Balaji
must have served in the lower grades of the Rajah's service for
a long time before. But his antecedents are altogether un­
known. We know that after capturing the fort of Sinhagad in
April 1703, the Emperor cantoned at Poona during the mon­
ssoon months of that year, when it is presumed, the question of
Shahu's conversion and release seriously agitated Aurangzeb's
mind. He issued orders that on a certain day Shahu should
be converted to the Muslim faith, a measure which dreadfully
distressed Shahu and his mother. They gave up eating food,
began to starve themselves and begged the Begam Saheb to in­
tervene in their favour and plead with the Emperor to cancel
his order for his conversion.

But the Emperor was obdurate, and only relented so far
as to concede that Shahu would be spared on condition that
two prominent Maratha youths offered themselves for conver­
sion in his place; his order once issued must have its course.
Shahu then begged Khandoji and Jagjivan, two sons of Shiva­
ji's Senapati Prataprao Gujar, who were his companions in
captivity in the Emperor's camp, to offer themselves for the
sacrifice. They were accordingly converted and renamed Ab­
dur-Rahim and Abdur-Rahman. Shahu later gave these two
men in Inam the village of Salgaum which is near Parli and is
still enjoyed by their descendants,—both the Hindu and the
Muslim branches living in amity and neighbourhood close to
each other.

In the month of November 1703 two suitable brides were
selected for Shahu, one from the Sinde family of Kanerkhed
and the other a daughter of Manaji Rustumrao Jadhav of Srothkhed, and Shahu was married to them with fitting cere­
mony under the Emperor's direction. A third intelligent lady
named Virubai was selected to supervise Shahu's harem and
remained ever after with him as an illegitimate wife.
We may presume that Balaji Vishvanath, as the representative of the Maratha Government at Poona, must have had a private hand in these affairs of Shahu and might even have been consulted. His services must have been laid under requisition by the Mughal officials for supplies of provisions and materials of war. Balaji certainly carried out his duties securely in Poona in the midst of Mughal hosts occupying the country, and formed intimate contacts with several local families and persons of influence. His diplomatic skill and circumspect conduct, on the one hand in guarding the interests of his own nation in the midst of war, and, on the other, in forming friendships with several Mughal officials of high rank, became quite obvious under the delicate circumstances of the double government then prevailing, and must have been closely noticed and appreciated by Shahu who was on the spot. It is also said that Balaji had secret means of approach to Begam Zinat-un-Nisa’s counsels and through her, guarded Shahu’s interests at great risk to his life. The words applied to him by Shahu viz. “a servant of incomparable ability,” convey indeed a testimony involving personal experience.

4. Raybhanji Kaka.—Shivaji’s father Shahji had several illegitimate sons, one of whom by name Raybhanji managed to get into the Mughal employment about 1703 and helped Shahu to the best of his power. He was then popularly known as Bhanji Kaka. The Emperor created him a commander of six thousand and often employed him as a medium of communication with the Maratha Government. After 1703 the Emperor began to entertain serious ideas of closing the war on honourable terms and returning to Delhi. It was in this connection that he found Raybhanji serviceable, as his close personal association with men and affairs of the Deccan during the last several years gave him a unique position. Raybhanji lived to see Shahu properly crowned at Satara at a later date.

To all appearances the Emperor showed deep interest and great concern in the well-being of Shahu, and thought it the best means of closing the war to release him and send him to claim from his aunt his paternal right to the Maratha throne.
The Emperor's anxiety at this time was two-fold, to ensure the peaceful succession to his throne after his own death, and to conciliate the Marathas by offering them such terms as they could accept but as would not damage his prestige. On these points he took serious counsel with his best advisers and entrusted the affairs of the Deccan to his beloved son Kam Baksh with Zulfiqar Khan as his guide, leaving northern India to be shared by the other two sons. Such a division of his Empire between his three sons was long contemplated by him. On 27 November 1703 the Emperor called up Shahu and entrusted his person to Kam Baksh with instructions to open negotiations with Dhanaji Jadhav about the release of Shahu. Thereupon Dhanaji was consulted and he offered to close the war on condition that the Maratha King should have the right to levy 

Chauth and Sardeshmukhi dues upon the six subhas of the Deccan, in lieu of which the Marathas would protect the country. Dhanaji also agreed to take charge of Shahu and swear allegiance to the Emperor, provided the prominent leaders of Maratha bands were received by him in open Darbar and honoured with dresses, so that all might feel that the Maratha kingdom of Shivaji's days had been restored to Shahu as a recognised feudatory of the supreme Mughal authority. These terms were agreed to and invitations were sent round to the chiefs of the Maratha army. Soon these leaders assembled in Dhanaji's camp close to the Emperor's, each with his full quota of troops. When the Emperor saw this huge Maratha assemblage, his suspicious nature became alarmed; he feared that this was a Maratha trick, an intentional ruse to capture his own person. He forthwith broke up the intended negotiations, to the great joy of the Marathas who were unwilling to accept Mughal suzerainty after all the sacrifices of years of war. It appears evident that Dhanaji and Shahu had open conferences at this time, in the presence of Kam Baksh and Zulfiqar Khan, and possibly Balaji Vishwanath was then a confidential adviser of Dhanaji. This accounts for Dhanaji's respect for Shahu just before the battle of Khed in 1707 and his quick desertion of Tarabai's cause.

After 1703 a year or two passed in such wrangling without any definite move by the Emperor about Shahu's future, when one more unsuccessful effort was made by the Emperor.
on his return journey from Surapur to Ahmadnagar in 1706. He made Shahu write personal letters to some of the Maratha leaders inviting them to join him, gave Shahu a *khilat* of farewell leave, actually released him from his own camp, and ordered him to go and rule his kingdom in obedience to Kam Baksh. Shahu's residential tents were removed and pitched in Zulfiqar Khan's quarters on February 6, 1706. But no Maratha Chief came to join Shahu. It was evident to the Maratha leaders that this would prove a clear device for dividing Maratha ranks and starting a civil war among them. Though Shahu was at large, he would not care to escape and incur the risk of either creating strife in the Maratha nation or being captured again by the Emperor, as Zulfiqar Khan was secretly instructed to watch his movements.

5. Piteous appeal of Yesubai—The last years of Aurangzeb's life, as the student knows, were fearfully clouded with darkness about the future of the Deccan or of the vast Empire outside. Extreme misery and want prevailed in the Mughal camp, where not a single bright face could be seen. For years the Mughal soldiery had received no pay; and utter hopelessness overcame them all. We can thus imagine to what sorry straits Shahu and his mother with their followers had been reduced in these last two years of the Emperor's life. A Marathi letter addressed by Yesubai to the head of the shrine of Moraya Dev of Chinchwad, begging for a loan, eloquently explains the situation and deserves reproduction here. It is dated 19 April 1705 from Ahmadnagar, and runs thus: After compliments, "My son Daji has accompanied the Emperor and we were sent here along with the Zanana some five months ago. We are here experiencing a dreadful predicament caused by want of provisions and cash. Our assigned allowances have not long been paid to us, all cash was either plundered by the Marathas or appropriated by the Muslim officials. For a long time past we have had to live on loans, but now no banker hazards a loan to us. My debt already amounts to seven thousand and we are heavily pressed for its repayment. It is indeed providential unkindness that such extreme misery should befall the great Shivaji's daughter-in-law. Every passing moment adds to our trouble. In this extremity we approach your
Holiness as our last resort, and beseech you to relieve our sufferings. If you can kindly send me a loan of seven thousand rupees with the bearer Rayaji Jadhav, we can pay back our debt to the bankers here and obtain further sums from them. The bearer will fully explain our situation. I will pay back this loan to your Holiness as soon as better days return. I am a poor, ignorant, illiterate woman of the Chhatrapati's house and am reduced to such misery. Your Holiness must not reject my prayer out of memory of what my worthy father-in-law might have done for your Holiness' shrine. Trusting you will not disappoint me &c.

6. Tragedy of Aurangzeb's Life.—The Emperor's last three years in the Deccan were the darkest in his long reign. The Marathas constantly hovered round the Mughal camp and carried away everything they could lay their hands on. Even when they surrendered their forts to the Emperor, they hardly left anything valuable in them, so that these captured forts proved mere dry rocks and stones difficult to be protected and replenished. They could be held only by those who were used to the hard and rugged life of Maharashtra and not by the heavily-armoured Mughal soldiers. The keenly observant Manucci's pen has given graphic accounts of these last years of Aurangzeb's life. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes, "The wastage of the Deccan war, which raged intensely for over twenty years, was a hundred thousand lives of soldiers and followers and three times that number of animals, elephants, horses, camels and oxen, for each of those years. In the imperial camp pestilence was always present and the daily mortality was heavy from the immense number of men crowded together, the accumulation of filth and flies and the unbearable stench. His soldiers and camp followers suffered unspeakable hardships in marching over flooded rivers, muddy roads, and broken hilly tracks. Posters disappeared, transport beasts died of hunger and overwork, scarcity of grain was ever present in the camp. His officers were awfully wearied. Aurangzeb burst into wrath at any suggestion of return to north India and taunted the unlucky counsellor with cowardice and love of ease. One by one the old, able and independent officers of his earlier years passed away, and he was now surrounded only by timid cyophants
and upstart nobles of his own creation, who would never venture to contradict him in his errors, nor give him honest counsel. The mutual jealousies of his generals ruined his affairs, so that the Emperor had to conduct every operation in person and nothing would be done. The Marathas find their raids of late immensely beneficial. As soon as they arrive into a district, the Mughal officer in charge of it sends his agents to the Maratha leaders and negotiates the amounts to be paid. If they don’t get the stipulated sum, plunder and fire are the result. The Maratha king is now all powerful. He has a hundred thousand well trained fighting men in his charge: so he is not afraid of giving an open fight to the Emperor. It is now the Maratha Raja’s turn to inspire the same terror among the Mughals which Aurangzeb in his earlier days used to do among the Marathas.  

The last words of the above description doubtless refer to Tarabai and her son. The Emperor’s return from Devapur to Ahmadnagar appeared like a mourning procession. The Marathas hoveed round his army like vultures and created a havoc. During these last years, the Marathas started distant expeditions into Malwa and Gujarat. They ravaged Burhanpur, Surat, Broach and other wealthy towns. Hindurao Ghorpade and his sons and relatives extended their sway southward over the Karnatak.

Things were equally bad in north India, where the people were up in arms. The Bundelas under Chhatrasal asserted their independence. The Rajputs were all combined in revolt. The Jats and the Sikhs rose in rebellion. The disruption of the Empire had already begun. These were the results of Aurangzeb’s war in the Deccan. The Marathas had their revival in these chaotic conditions and practically swept all India during the next century.

7. Aurangzeb’s death—The last few months of Aurangzeb’s life witnessed the final break-down. He had no money: no funds reached him from outside. The Marathas became aggressive. The Emperor’s own wives and daughters

came to the point of starving. With a united voice they all piteously pleaded for a return to Agra. They said, "It is now thirty years since we have been wandering in foreign land, suffering the hardships of camp life all the while. We were then young and full of youth. Now we have grown old and decrepit. Let us go back to Agra and die peacefully in our homes, without the fear of these vultures tearing us. Let us have peace at least in death." The Emperor replied, "Don't fear, I have made every provision for your future." His sole companions were now, his daughter Zinat-un-Nisa, already an old maid and his last wife Udepuri Begam, a low animal type of a partner, whose son Kam Baksh broke his father's heart by freaks of insane folly and passion. These last years of the Emperor's life were darkened by domestic bereavements. His best loved daughter-in-law Jahanzeb-Begam died in Gujarat in March 1705. His rebel son Aftab had died in Iran in 1704 but the authentic news of his death reached the Emperor in 1705. His gifted daughter Zeb-un-Nisa ended her days in prison at Delhi. His eldest surviving and capable son was a closely watched prisoner for over ten years and now his youngest sister Gauhar-Ara Begam died in 1706. In May of the same year his daughter Mihar-un-Nisa and her husband both died together in Delhi and the next month died Buland Akhtar, the son of Akbar. Asam Shah, the Emperor's second son tried to murder Kam Baksh. So Aurungzeb sent both these sons away from his death-bed. Four days after sending away Asam Shah from his side, the aged and worn out figure now left in utter loneliness was seized with a severe fever: for three days he insisted on coming to the court-room and saying the five daily prayers in full congregation. On Thursday 19th February, Hamid-un-din by the advice of astrologers, submitted a petition for giving away an elephant worth Rs. 4000 in charity for averting evil stars. The dying man wrote across the petition, "the giving away of an elephant in charity is a custom of the Hindus and star-worshippers. Give instead Rs. 4000 to the Chief Kazi for distribution among the poor. Convey quickly to the first station and consign to dust this heap of dust (his own body)." During these last days he dictated two pathetic letters to his sons Asam Shah and Kam Baksh entreating them to be friendly and loving. He also prepared a will and placed
it under his pillow, proposing a peaceful partition of his Empire among his three surviving sons. On the morning of Friday 20 February Aurangzeb came out of his bed-room, went through his morning prayer. Gradually unconsciousness crept on, his fingers continuing to move over the beads of his rosary and his lips to gasp out the Kalimah till about 8 o'clock, when all was over. Thus perished one of the mightiest and most remarkable figures in the world's history. His son Azam Shah arrived two days after and performed the burial of his father's body at Khuldabad, now called Roza, in a low simple tomb without any marble platform.

8. Tarabai triumphant.—After the death of Rajaram Tara Bai's voice became supreme in Maharashtra, as she managed affairs in the name of her son. Unfortunately she had serious differences of policy with the veteran Ramchandra Pant, who with Dhanaji Jadhav kept up his contact with Shahu and tried to bring him back as their next Chhatrapati. As this move was violently opposed by Tara Bai, Ramchandra Pant remained a mere apathetic onlooker and ceased to take the same active part in her government that he had done during Rajahm's life. The published papers make hardly any mention of Ramchandra Pant hereafter. Tara Bai, mainly with the support of Parashuram Trimbak, Dhanaji and Shankaraji Narayan, prosecuted the war with singular zeal and success, inflicting terrible hardships upon the Mughals as described above. She deserves all the credit for the Maratha nation's emerging successfully out of the dreadful war with power to control the destinies of India during the eighteenth century. The great ability of Tara Bai is attested to even by Muslim writers. She constantly moved from fort to fort directing operations and inspiring her followers. Girjoji Yadav, the guardian of the fort of Panhala, was her personal and confidential agent through whom her commands were communicated outside. This Girjoji belonged to the large Yadav family of Karhad. Although Satara was recaptured by the Marathas, in 1704, Tara Bai made Panhala her central station from which she issued her commands in the name of her young son.

5. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Volume V.
A contemporary Maratha poet thus sings the achievements of Tara Bai:

"Our goddess Tulja is blessing us,
The Emperor's power has come into our hands;
Victory is girdling young Shivaji's neck.
Delhi is humbled:
The Lord of Delhi has lost his lustre,
Tara Bai the Rani of Rama is terribly angered.
Remember, you folk, God Shankar commands all this.
He has delivered into the hands of the great Destroyer
All the armies of the Lord of Delhi.
Indra's court is now laughing
At the misery of Delhi's Lord.
The Queen of Rama ranges in frown on the battlefield;
Take care oh Mughals,
The final end is near,
The jewelled crest of the Bhoslas,
The giver of good fortune, Raja Shiva,
Now shines on the throne."

The rise of Shahu synchronizes with that of the Peshwās and involves the eclipse of Ramchandra Pant Amatya, the great regenerator of the Maratha nation. That this connecting link between the old order and the new, became extinct was indeed a national loss. This chapter can be fittingly concluded by quoting the eloquent passage in which Ranade has stressed the importance of this Maratha war of independence.

"If all these dangers were averted and a new force communicated to the people, the credit of it must be ascribed to Aurangzeb's ambition. The twenty years war was brought to a happy termination. Aurangzeb stirred the people of Maharashtra to their inmost depths and it was the hard discipline of this war which cemented the national and patriotic instincts of their leaders, and during the next three generations carried them as conquerors to the farthest part of India. Without

revenues, without armies and without resources of any kind, they managed to raise armies, retake forts and develop a system of conquest by which they regained not only the Swaraj but also the right to levy Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi all over the Deccan and the Karnatak. "Merc free-booters and plunderers never could have obtained success in such a war. It was a higher moral force which brought out all the virtues of the best men of the nation, daring heroism, noble endurance, administrative skill, hope which rose higher with every disappointment, an unshakable faith, devotion to high ideals, a sense of brotherhood, a spirit of self-sacrifice, and a trust in the final success of their cause. It is as a school for such discipline that this War of Independence will always remain the most glorious period of Maratha history."
INDEX

ABAJI SONDEO, GOVERNOR OF KALYAN—reprimanded 116, 118.
ABDULLA QUTBSHAH OF GOLKONDA—dies 226.
ABU HASAN QUTB SHAH, (Tana­shah of Golkonda) 227, receives Shivaji's visit 231—233, treaty with Shivaji 232, 305.
ACWORTH—translates Atzalkhan Ballad, 129; estimate of Shivaji 284.
AFZALKHAN, Bijapur General—treacherously murders Kasturi Ranga Nayak 72, 81; appointed Subahdar of Wai 112; expedition against Shivaji 123—130; desecrates Hindu temples 124; arranges visit to Shivaji 125; killed 129; his trading vessels 140.
AHMADNAGAR, 30, 43.
AJITSHAH, King of Jodhpur 312.
AKANNA (Eknath) Golkonda Minis­ter—226.
AKBAR EMPEROR—31; conquers Ahmadnagar 43.
AKBAR—son of Aurangzeb—his flight to Sambhaji 294; letters to Sambhaji 295; distress and end 308—310.
ALI ADIL SHAH—Conciliates Shahji 81; seizes power 149; goes to Bankapur 157; dies 201, Sikan­dar Shah succeeds.
ALI MAJDAH KHAN, Mughal Gen­eral—taken prisoner 331.
AMBHAJI THIMBRAB PURANDARE 354.
AMBRAMI, Rajaram's wife—330, becomes sati 342.
AMITRAO NIMBALKAR—put to death 337.

ANAJI DATTO SUMIA—118, 138, 215; captures Ponda 220, 229, 255, 293; put to death 299.
ASAD KHAN, Aurangzeb's Minister, father of Zulfiqar Khan—at Jijji 322.
ASAD KHAN, Bijapuri Captain—76, 77.
ASHOKA 17.
AURANGABAD—44, 49, 114.
AURANGZEB—appointed to the Dec­can 63, 81; career in the Deccan 114; Aurangabad city named 114; aggression against Bijapur and Golkonda 119; seizes the throne 120; his reception of Shi­vaji at Agra 159—173; confines Shivaji 176—178; mortification at Shivaji's escape 178—180; orders demolition of Hindu temples, Kashihiwewshar pulled down 188; fighting Salher 197—198; reintroduces Jaziya 249; defeats Akbar 295; descends into Deccan 297; embrazements and conferences 303—305; captures Bijapur and Golkonda 305; his movements and difficulties 324—326; discomfited 329; captures difficult forts 327, 348; treatment given to Shahu 331; last days 358; death 359.
AZAM SHAH (Aurangzeb's son) 305, 360.
BABA YAKUT, Muslim Saint—229; 360.
BAI(S) MAHESA, Dowager Queen of Bi­japur 122, 130; retires to Mecca 149.
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

BAHADUR KHAN, Koka, Mughal grandee—195; builds Bahadurgad
200; attacked by Shivaji 217; attacks Golkonda 247.

BAHADUR SHAH of Ahmadnagar—43.

BAHADUR KHAN, Mughal grandee—195; builds Bahadurgad
200; attacked by Shivaji 217; attacks Golkonda 247.

BAHADUR SHAH of Ahmadnagar—43.

BAHADUR SHAH of Ahmadnagar—43.

BAHADUR SHAH of Ahmadnagar—43.

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BAHADUR SHAH of Ahmadnagar—43.

BAHADUR SHAH of Ahmadnagar—43.
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

Janardan Hanamante, Shivaji’s minister—81, 228, 248, 254, 298.


Jayaram Pandit, court poet—63, 74.

Jula Bai, Shivaji’s mother—82; captured, six sons 53, 61, 75, 84; 92; character 48-49, 128; her death 213.

Jinji—conquest by Bijapur and captured by Shivaji 78, 236, 323; siege 326; falls to Zulfiqar Khan 340.

Jyaneswar Maratha Saint—15, 16, 24, 32, 89.

Kadamhas—17.

Kalachuris—17.

Kamakkhish—proceeds to Jinji, is arrested 332, 356, 360.

Kaviraj Angre, Maratha Naval Officer—358.

Kashmir Jende—63, 65, 78; released 80; sent against Morays 112, 127, 130.

Kartalb Khan—leads an expedition against Shivaji 137-139.

Kasm Khan, Aurangzeb’s General 303, 364; dies 385.

Kasturi Ranga Navak of Shirav—treacherously killed 72, 124.

Kavi Kalyani, Sanbhaji’s Minister—297; antecedents 300; appointed principal adviser 301, 309; last struggle 313-314; captured 314; put to death 315.


Keshari Sinh, Captain of Prabalgad, killed 117.

Keshav Prabhut, Rajaram’s Purohit—324.

Keshav Thimal Pingle, Brother of Moropant—deputed to Karnataka 248, 320.

Khapi Khan, Historian—266, 327.

Khan Ahmad, Bijapur Captain—78.

Khanzad Khan, son of Ruhulla Khan—defeated by Santaji 334, 335.

Khanzade Daikhade—341.

Khadco Ballali Chitnis—329; takes Rajaram’s wives to Jinji 530.

Khandoji Gujaree—converted to Islam 354.

Khandoji Khopde, Deshmukh—opposes Shivaji 127.

Khan Jahan Loo—50, 51; revenge 56; killed 58.

Khan Khannum—43, 48, 50.

Khan Zaman—63.

Khasw Khan, Bijapur General—proceeds against Shivaji 151; defeated 155; confined 219; put to death 247.

Kisat Singh—son of Jasind 155, 159, 166.

Kishan Singh, Ram Singh’s son—put to death 262.

Kondaji Rawalkekar, Shivaji’s trusted Captain—captures Panhala 201.

Krishnabho Yadav—19.

Krishnaji Bhaskar, Kulikarni of Wai, Shah Khan’s agent to Shivaji—125-130.

Krishnaji Bhaskar Pandit, Shivaji’s ambassador—120.

Krishnaji Moray—112.

Krishna, Rashtrakuta—12.

Lukhi Jadhav Rao—47, 48; deports to the Mughals 49, 50, 52; murdered 56, 130.

Mahan Sinh—349.

Maddana, Golconda Minister—226, 248.

Madda Mehta, Shivaji’s personal servant—167, 178.

Mahavashayya Vidyaranya—28.

Maharaj Khan, Aurangzeb’s General—disgraced and dies 197.
INDEX

MAHABAT KHAN, Shah Jahan’s General—captures Daulatabad 60;
commits suicide 61.
MALADRO YADAV, King of Dungri
—19.
MAHALDHAR KHAN—61.
MAHARASHTRA—extent and definition 12-13; political background
16; saints and writers 29; famine 58.
MAHARASHTRI—14, 15.
MALIK AMBAR, Minister of Ahmadnagar—battle of Roshangaon
47, 49, 50, 54; dies 55.
MALIK KAFUR—25, 28.
MALIYI BHOSLE—45, 47, 52, 54.
MALOJI BHOPADE, brother of Santaji, Amir-ul-umrah—
321.
MALOJI BHOPADE, son of Baji—installed at Modho 152; joins Bijapur against Mughals 161; addressed
by Shivaji 232-235; killed 314.
MANABHAV SECT 16; rise 19, 20; literature 21; writers 22, 23.
MANAJI MORAY, Shivaji’s Sardar
231; imprisoned 300, 304, 319.
MANOJI DHATONDE, Sambarat—
118.
MANOJIR DWAS, Mughal Officer—
192.
MANUCCI, NICHOLAS, Italian traveler—accompanies Mirza Raja Jai
Sinh 155; meets Shivaji 161.
MARATHAS—origins 11; old marka
caves 13; peculiarities of the race 34; character 25; race 35; pre-
sent day Marathas 36; country described 37; political importance
38; aims in the Mughal war 297.
MARATHI LANGUAGE—13; oldest writings 15, 16, 22, 33.
MARTIN, French Governor of Pondicherry—Sends envoy to Shivaji
238, 239.
MAHABIR KHAN—Mughal Governor
of Kalyan—320.
MAUJNI BAWA of Patgara, Hindu
Saint—respected by Shivaji 238, 296.
MIGNHAM, English factor—132, 146.
MR JUMLA, Golkonda noble—77; 220.
MIRAYS OF JAVLI—111-113.
MOROPEI Tingle, Shivaji’s Peshwa—113; fights Bijapur army
120; 250, 255; death 294.
MUJAZZAM SHAHEZADA (Shah Alam), Aurangzeb’s eldest son—ap-
pointed Governor of Deccan 150; replaced by Mirza Raja 154, 183;
at loggerheads with Dilir Khan 187-189; dissolute life in the Mughal
army 196, 304.
MUHAMMAD ADEL SHAH—61, 63, 70, 75, 81; ill 99, 101; dies 115.
MUHAMMAD KHAN, Bijapur Vazir—
78, 81, 130.
MUHAMMAD TUGHHLAK—26, 27, 28, 29.
MUKUND RAJ, Marathi Poet—16, 31.
MULLA AHMAD, Governor of Kalyan—115, 116.
MULLA Haidar (see Qazi Haidar), MUMTAZ MAHAL, Shah Jahan’s wife
—death 59.
MURAR BAJI PRABHU—killed at Pa-
randar 156.
MURAD BAKSH—99, 114.
MURAR JAGDEV, Bijapur Minister—
60, 69, 70, 92, 130.
MUTRUKA, NIZAM SHAH—44, 59.
MUSA KHAN, Bijapur Captain—killed 103.
MUSTOFA KHAN—31, 70, 75, 77.
NAOJI MAZE, Maratha Captain—
plans Santaji’s murder 339.
NAMDEV SAINT—32.
NAPIER Richard, English factor—
141.
NABO TRIMAL HANSANTEE—in Bho-
she’s service 228.
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

NASIR MUHAMMAD, son of Bijapuri Minister—230.

NEMAJI SHINDE, Maratha General—executed Chauth in Khandesh 341.

NISCHCHALPURI GOSAVI—condemns Shivaji’s coronation 216.

NILAMURAD, Asaf Jah—312.

NUR JAHAN—50.

OXENDEN HENRY, English envoy—visits Raigad 211.

PANHALA—Shivaji besieged in 130; restored to Adil Shah, 133; taken by Shivaji 201, 348.

PARSHURAM TRIMBAK Pratinidhi—323, 361.

PITAMBAR SHENVI—negotiates agreement between Shivaji and the Savant of Wadi 123, 154; dies 218.


PRASHAD NIKAJI—imprisoned 300, 319, 320; dies 343.

PRATAPRAO GUJR, Shivaji’s General—167, 184, 187; plunders Bencar 194; defeats Bahlol Khan 202; reprimanded 203; sacrifices himself 203.

PRATAPRAO MORAY—112.

PRAPANJUMA OF WADNAGAR—25, 27.

PURANDAR fort—reduced by Shivaji 103.

QAZI HAJAR, Shivaji’s envoy 199, 270.

RAJANDRA KAHAN, keeper of Aga—171.

RAJHAR AHMAL, wife of Nagoji Mane—encompasses Santaji’s murder 257.

RAGHUNATH BALLAL, Aile, Shivaji’s officer—96.

RAGHUNATH BALLAL KORDE, Shivaji’s Captain—96; sent against Morays 112, 167, 183.

RAGHUNATH NARAYAN Hanmantte—81; author of Rajavvadhari Kosha 214, 228; arranges Shivaji’s visit to Golkonda 229, 237, 239, 243-244, 295.

RAGHUNATH Pandit, Shivaji’s envoy—visits Jaihind 158.

RAGHUNATH Panditram, Shivaji’s Minister—215.

RAI BAGAN of the Udaram family of Mahur—extricates Kartalb Khan 138; submits to Shivaji 194.

RAIJHAN KAN, son of Shahji 255.

RAIGAD 274, 265; falls to Zulfiqar Khan 319-321.

RAJBAH temple—Shivaji’s oaths of Swarajya 100.

RAI BHIL—selected for Raigad 83.

RAJARAM Shivaji’s son—255; enthroned 319; leaves Raigad 320; proceeds to Jinji 325; Maratha dies 327-329; his wives arrive at
INDEX

Jinji 339; escapes from Jinji and establishes capital at Satara 340; attacks Emperor's camp 341; death and character 342-344; introduces Jagir system 343.

Rajaram, Rajaram's wife—330; son Sambhaji born 342.

Ramchandra Nilekanta Amatya—215, 320; his bold lead 322-323; measures against deserters 330; forms a new plan 334; introduces Jagir system 343; continues war 348; crowns Shivaji 353.

Ramdass—29, 31; settles at Parli 221; last visit from Shivaji; contact with Shivaji explained 264-266.

Ramchandra Trimbak Sumant 215.

Rayaji Nalge—appointed guardian of Jinji—236.

Revinston, English factor—132, 140, 146.

Roe, Sr. Thomas—50

Rupa Ji Bhosle, Maratha Captain—304.

Rustum-i-Zaman, Bijapuri General—121, 152, 158.

Saffat-un-Nisa, daughter of Akbar 311.

Sairin, Shivaji's wife—married 52; death and children 257.

Saijan Singh, ancestor of Bhosale—46.

Sakho Krishna Lohare—115.

Sambhaji Mhute of Supa—surprised 103.

Sambhaji, Rajaram's son, founder of Kolhapur—born 330.

Sambhaji, Shivaji's elder brother 53, 73, 79; killed 81.

Sambhaji, Shivaji's son—in Mughal service 159; escapes 178, 180; serves at Aurangabad 183, 187; under father's disfavour 221; joins Dilir Khan 250; attacks Bhogalpad 251; falls out with Dilir Khan 252; returns to Pan-Soyrabai, officers and Shirkes 299, crowned 291; suspicion of his surroundings 297; puts to death Soyrabai, officers and Shirkes 299, 300; issues Danapatra 302; his project explained to Ramsinh 302; war against Portuguese 306-307; attack on Janjira 306; last struggle 313-314; captured 314; heroic death 315.

Santaji Ghorpade, Shivaji's Captain—248, 254; raids the Emperor's camp 321, 326; his character contrasted with Dhanaji's 327; overcomes Ali Mardan Khan 331; incensed against Rajaram 333; heroic deeds 334-336; offends the Chhatrapati 337; puts down Dhanaji and kills Ambaji Rao Nimbalkar 337; killed 338; character 339; Guerilla warfare 338-339; family branches 340.

Sattavahan—17.

Satyashraya Pulakeshi—12, 17.

Savitribai, Thanedar of Belavdi—submits to Shivaji 248.

Savannahary—28.

Shah Alam (Aurangzeb's eldest son)—See Muazzam.

Shah Jahan—54; in hiding 55; marches into Deccan 58; famine and death of his wife 58-59; returns north 60; reduces the Ni-
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

zam Shahi 62-63; comparison with Shahji 65.

SHALJI BHOSLE—29, 39; marriage 81, 83; battle of Bhatavdi 54; reverts to Nizam Shahi 63-64; comparison with Shahjahan 65; marches upon Sikkeri 71; second expedition 72; captures Bangalore 72-73; calls his wife and son for a visit 74, 90; disgraced 75-76, 98; arrested 78; released 80; visits Shivaji 82; selects Rairi for Shivaji's capital. dies 83-84; children and character 84; life in Vijnaghar region 85; exonerated 183.

SHAH NAWAZ KHAN, Mughal General—48, 50.

SHAHU—322, life in captivity 349-353; origin of his name 351; ill-health 352; contact with Balaji Vishvanath 353-355; attempted conversion 354; married 354; assigned to Kam Baksh 356.

SHAIKH NIZAM, Mughal Officer—captures Sambhaji 314, 321.

SHAISTA KHAN, Mughal General—114; appointed to the Deccan 121; arrives 132; despatches Kartalb Khan against Shivaji 137; surprise by Shivaji 142-144.

SHAKA-ERA—17.

SHAMJI AVJI Chitnis, brother of Balaji Avji—119.

SHAMRAJ NILAKANTH, Shivaji's Peshwa 96, 115.

SHANKARACHARYA—20, 21.

SHANKARAJI MALHAR SACHIV—320.

SHANKARAJI NARAYAN SACHIV—323, 361.

SHARIFJI, Shahji's brother—55.

SHANTA KHAN—313.

SHIR KHAN LODI, Bijapuri Officer in Karnatak—submits to Shivaji 236.

SHIVAMOREN, Aurangzeb's Officer, father of Nizam-ul-Mulk—304.

SHIVAJI—29; sources 33; inherits two traditions 39, 51; visited by father 74, 83, 94; birth 55, 87; wild surroundings 89; his art of disguise 89; training 90-93; homage to Bijapur 96; improvement of the Mawal country 98; persuasive tongue 97; Muslin persecution 97; changes peoples' ideology 98; reduces Sindhgar 98; vow before Raireshwar 99; seizes forts 100; establishes independence 102; reduces Parandar 103; seizes Sambhaji Mokhtie 103; his seal 105; title Chhatrapati, appointment of ministers 106; builds Vijayadurga 106; defeats the Morars of Javali 111-113; builds Pratagad 113; situation in 1657, 114; seizes south Konkan 115; releases Mulla Ahmad's daughter-in-law 116; captures Prabalgad 117; administrative measures 117-118; raids Juinmar and Ahmadnagar 120; wins over Savant of Kudat and obtains the Bhawani Sword 122; Afzal Khan's affair 123-129; builds naval fortresses 122; encounters Afzal Khan 128; escapes from Panhal 133; overcomes Kartalb Khan at Umabkhind 137; expedition to Dabol and Rajapur, plunder English factory 140-142; night raid on Shahista Khan 142-144; plunder Surat 144-146; estimate of plunder 148; writes a strong letter to Mughal officers 150; captures Ponda 152; beginning of the navy 153; builds Sindhudurga 152, 153, 275; visits Jaisinh 157; submission to the Emperor 159; letter to Jaisinh 159; meets Manucci 161; joins
Mughals against Bijapur 161; visit to Agra 165-180; pros and cons 165, 167; journey to Agra 167; exhibits temper 169; appearance described 172; escapes 175-180; gains from Agra visit 181; peace with the Emperor 183; treaty with Adil Shah 182; levies Chauth upon Golkonda and Bijapur 184; recovers Sinhagad 190-192; recovers forts and raids Mughal territory 192; second raid of Surat 192-194; battle of Vani-Dindori 193; plunders Karanja; levies Chauth 194, 200; subjuga­tes north Konkan and captures Panhala 201; his coronation 207-214; defends Kshatriya rites against orthodoxy 209; ceremony 211; national flag and titles 208, 214, 216; appointment of Ministers 215; dictionary of terms 214; supplementary ceremony 216; attacks Dasaragona 217; naval bases 122, 133, 275; captures Satara 221; brings Ramdas to Sajjangad 221; captures Ponda 220; seriously ill 221; necessity of the Karnatak expedition 228; his visit to saints 229; seizes Kopbal 231; visit to Bhanga­nar 231-233; treaty with Qutb­Shah 232; explains his objectives to Maloji Ghorpade 232; his spi­ritual trance 235; captures Jinji 236; his triumphs in south Karnatak 237; Ekoji's visit 237-239; letter to his brother 240-241; division of patrimony 242; remon­strance to Aurangzeb 249; dis­trusted at his son's misbehaviour 253; plunders Juna 254; list of his life's acquisitions 254; dies 256; preceptors, wives and children 256-257; character, Amatyay's tribute 261; first visit to Ramdas 264-266; ideal of Hindu sovereignty 266-269; tolerant attitude to­wards Muslims 269; Rajayavara­har Kosh 214, 268; eight Minis­ters and their functions 269-271; administration and its principles 271-272; prohibits land alienations in gift 270, 273; forts on land and sea 274; army and its organisa­tion 276; his navy 279; relations with the English 281; meaning of his plunder 282; estimate of char­acter by Elphinstone and Temple 283; by Acwortfi 284; Edwardes and Bernier 285; Khafi Khan 286; Sir Jadunath 286; his great­ness 288.

SHIVAJI NAIR PUNDE, Shivaji's Treasurer—231.

SHIVAJI, son of Rajaram and Tara­bai 330; crowned 348.

SHIVAPPA NAYAK of Ikkeri—75.

SHIIBHA KRISHNA, ancestor of the Bhosics—46.

SIDDI HILAL, Mughal Officer—joins Shivaji 194.

SIDDI JAUHAR alias Salabat Khan, Bijapuri chief—invests Panhala 131, 133.

SIDDI MAS'UD—assumes power at Bi­japur and seeks Shivaji's aid 249.

SIDDI NIMBALKAR, Shivaji's Cap­tain—254.

SKANDAR ABDUL SHAH—219.

SINDHUDEOG, fort of Malvan 122, 153, 273.

SINGHANA YADAV, King of Devgiri 19.

SINHAGAD 77; danger spot 78; cap­tured by Shivaji 98, 346.

SOMAJI DATTO due to death by Sam­bhaji 296.

SOMAJI NAIK BANKI, Shivaji's Cap­tain—255.

SONOPANT DARSE, Shivaji's Officer—96; admonishes Shivaji 102; proceeds to Aurangzeb 129; meets Shaista Khan 132.
NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

SOTYABA, Shivaji's wife—139, 233, 255, 257, 293; death 299.

SIRMANGARAI, last of the Vijayanagar Kings—70, 75, 226.

SITABAI, first raid by Shivaji 144, 148; second raid 192-194.

SIVAJI MALUSARE, brother of Tanaji—191, 231.

SIVAJI PISAL, Deshmukh of Wai—treacherously admits the Mughals into Raigad 322.

SONYA RAO KADKE, Shivaji's officer—killed at Salher 196.

SONYA RAO SURVE of Shringarpur—139.

TALIKOT—battle of 29, 70.

TANAJI MALUSARE—Shivaji's Captain—97; stationed at Chiplun 138, 167; captures Sinhgad 191.

TARABAI, Rajaram's wife—330; son Shivaji born 330, 342, 359; grand triumph 361.

TARBIAT KHAN, Mughal Officer of artillery—354.

TAYLOR RANDOLF, English factor—141.

TAYLOR RICHARD, English factor—141.

THEVENOT, French traveller—describes Shivaji's raid on Surat 147; his account of Shivaji's escape 175.

TRIMBAK BHASKAR, Shivaji's Officer in Konkan—139.

TRIMBAK SONDO DABIR—167, 180.

TUKARAM—Vithoba and Pandharpur movement 29, 31, 32, 91; death 105.

UDARAM OF MAHIH—48, 50; Raigad 191.

UDAY BHAN RATHOD, Mughal Commander—killed at Sinhgad 191.

UDIPURI BEGAM, Aurangzeb's wife—360.

UMAJI PANDIT—supervises Sambhaji—221.

VACIOJJI SHERE—Shivaji's father-in-law 139.

VAM-DENDORE—battle of 193, 194.

VJAYADURGA FORT—built 106, 274.

VYAKANAGAR—29, 31, 39, 80; rulers 70.

VIJNANISHWAR—18.

VIRHERATITTA CHAUDUKYA—18.

VISHNADRA NAYAK—71.

VIRBAI, Shahu's mistress—354.

VISHWAS RAO NANAJI, Shivaji's trusted spy—127.

VITAL PHILIP AXE, Shivaji's Officer—236.

VITAL THIRISKAR, grandson of Nana Sahib—235.

VITHUJI BHOSLE—46, 47, 54.

VITHUJI CHAVAN—321.

VYANKOJI—See under Ekbal.

WAKATKAS—17.

WANANGAL—25, 27.

YADAVAS—18.

YASHAWANT RAO MORAY—112.

YESAJI KANK, Shivaji's Captain—97, 167, 233, 319.

YESUBAI, Sambhaji's wife—233, 319; her heroic lead 320, 330; in captivity 349-353; piteous appeal 357.

YUAN CHWANG, Chinese traveller—17, description of the Maratha people 36.

ZINAT-UNNISA BEGAM, daughter of Aurangzeb—308, 359.

ZULKIFIL KHAN, Aurangzeb's General—invests Raigad 319; captures Raigad 322; besieges Jinji 333; his difficulties in the siege 333; captures Jinji 340.