

NEW HISTORY
OF
THE MARATHAS
VOLUME I
SHIVAJI & HIS LINE
[1600-1707]

GOVIND SAKHARAM SARDESAI, B. A.



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To the Memory of

Sayaji Rao Gaekwad
Sena-Khaskhel 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 Sindia, contrasted with the vices and follies of Raghunath Rao Dada 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 travellers. 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 Samshodhak 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 uncalendared (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 (*Kaishat*) 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-

cussed 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

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CORRECTION

Page 27, line 3 bottom	read समा	for मसा
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, " Bijapuri 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 267, line 5	read subjugated	for subjected
Page 269, foot note 6 is given on next page.		

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

(Most of the dates are merely approximate.)

B.C.	73 — A.D. 218	Sātavāhanas rule over Mahārāshtra : Bhaja, Karla and other caves excavated.
A.C.	550 — 753	Early Chālukya dynasty.
	608 — 642	Chālukya ruler Satyāshraya Pulakeshi.
	634	The country of Mahārāshtra officially defined.
	750 — 975	Rāshtrakuta rule.
	800 — 1000	Early Marathi writers.
	884 — 959	Rājasbekhar, great poet in Mahārāshtri.
	975 — 1189	Later Chālukyas.
	1187 — 1294	The dynasty of the Yādavas.
	1153 — 1276	Chakradhar, founder of the Mānabhāv sect.
	1276	Chakradhar and Hemādri meet their death.
	1290	Saint Jnaneshwar wrote his great work.
	1310	Muslim subjugation of peninsular India completed.
	1323	Pratāparudra of Warangal captured by Md. Tughlak.
	1325	Muhammad Tughlak makes Deogiri his capital.
	1336 April 18	Harihar crowned King of Vijayanagar.
	1347	Ala-ud-din Hasan Shah founds the Bahmani kingdom.
	1350	Saint Nāmdev flourishes.
	1565 Jan. 22	Battle of Talikot ; Vijaynagar destroyed.
	1548 — 1599	Saint Eknāth.
	1600	Rise of the Bhosles to prominence.
	1607 — 1650	Saint Tukārām.

CHAPTER I

EARLY BEGINNINGS

[Up to 1600 A.C.]

1. Origin of the Marathas.
2. The Marathi language.
3. Political Background of Maharashtra.
4. Rise of the Manabhav sect.
5. Manabhav literature.
6. Deaths of Chakradhar and Hemadri.
7. Successful revolt against Muslims.
8. Saints and writers of Maharashtra.
9. Maratha character.
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 Marāthi-speaking population of India, and most of them inhabit that portion of the country which has been known by the ancient name Mahārāshtra, '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 *Mahārāshtra*, *Mahārāshtrika* and *Mahārāshtri* (the last being the name of one of the Prakrit languages) occur in copious frequency. *Mahārāthi* (masculine) and *Mahārāthinī* (feminine) are words in the Karla cave and other inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period. Varāhamihira, a famous astronomer of the sixth century, uses the word Mahārāshtras, which later came to be corrupted into Mahrāttā or Marāthā. Rājashekhar, a Sanskrit author of the 9th century, uses the word Marahatti in the feminine gender. The word occurs in various forms in all subsequent literatures of India.¹

Mahārāshtra, as its plain meaning shows, is a great Rāshtra or nation formed by a race of men who in ancient times were probably known as Ratthas, some of whom came to be styled Mahārattas or great Ratthas. 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*.

country of great men. Their language too was first known as Mahārāshtri, a Prakrit dialect whose range was originally much wider than that of the present Marāthi, its later derivative. The large tract of western India known to this day as Mahārāshtra, 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 Marātha-vādā.

The land south of the river Narmada was called by the Aryan settlers as Dakshināpatha and included the Dandakāranya 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 Mahārāshtra consisted of three distinct portions, *viz.* the first, Vidarbha or Berar ; the second, Asmaka or the Godavari basin (later known as Seuna Desh) ; and the third Kuntala, that is the valley of the river Krishnā. It also embraced the western coastal region known as Aparānta 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 Mahārāshtra country in which first the Prakrit Mahārāshtri 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.²

Thus Mahārāshtra 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

2. The Aihole inscription of the famous Chalukya monarch Satyāshraya Pulakeshi dated the Christian year 634 (556 Shaka), accurately mentions the extent of Mahārāshtra, as containing three portions, altogether comprising 99,000 villages. The three parts probably are Vidarbha (including Asmaka), Kuntala, and Aparanta. अगमदधिपतिव्यं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां, नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

Subsequent to the date of this inscription ample testimony is available confirming this description of Mahārāshtra, but the exact number of villages in it and its accurate demarcation are still open questions.

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 Narmada is indeed a border land of essentially Mahārāshtrian character. In the daily religious rites of the Maratha people this demarcation of Mahārāshtra is still being commonly repeated.³

The people of this land were known in early ages as Ratthas, Mahārattas or Rāshtrakutas, who had long since earned great distinction for wealth, valour and political power. An image of a Mahā-rattha warrior is to be seen to this day in the Nane-Ghat caves near Junnar, 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 *Mahārāshtri*, the language of Mahārāshtra.

These ancient Ratthas came to be divided into and known by the names of several sub-tribes or families, such as the Sātavāhanas, the Bhojas, the Mauryas, the Kadambas, the Silāharas, the Yādavas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakutas, 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 Mahārāshtra so fully abounds. These Ratthas or Mahārattas 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-

3. “गोदावर्याः उत्तरे or दक्षिणे तीरे or कृष्णादेव्योः उत्तरे तीरे”

nal 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. Mahārāshtri, Pāli or Māgadhi, Ardha-Māgadhi, Sauraseni and Paisachi, not to speak of Tamil and other primary Dravidian tongues which prevailed in the southern peninsula. Of all these mediæval languages, Mahārāshtri 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 Pāli and Jain literature in Ardha-Māgadhi, while Sauraseni prevailed in the region round about Mathura, the land of the Saurasenas, and Paisachi 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 Mahārāshtri in which there exists a copious literature, consisting of several well-known works of high merit, such as *Sapta-Shati*, *Setu-bandha*, *Gauda Vaho* 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 Sātavāhana dynasty, who flourished about the first century after Christ. This *Sapta-Shati* contains the names of mountains, rivers and towns of Mahārāshtra, many of which are still extant. Grammarians specifying rules for the various Prakrits mainly depend upon Mahārāshtri for their illustrations. The word Mahārāshtri came to be corrupted into Marhati or as it was latterly called, Marathi. Rajashekhar, a learned Mahārāshtra

poet, who is known to have lived from 884 to 959 A.C., has written several Sanskrit and Prakrit works, *Ramayana*, *Bala-Bharata*, *Viddha-Shala-Bhanjika*, *Karpura-Manjari*, etc., and his Prakrit works in point of style mark the borderland between the outgoing Mahārāshtri 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.; Mahārāshtri 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. *Bhāvārtha-Dīpika*, a commentary on the *Bhagavadgita* by the first great writer in Marathi, Jnaneshwar, is the earliest celebrated work in Marathi, having been completed in the year 1290 A.C. during the reign of King Ramachandra Yadav of Devgiri, only four years before he was attacked and his kingdom destroyed by the Muslim conqueror Ala-ud-din Khilji. Jnaneshwar concludes his work with these words, "I have thus decorated the Goddess of *Gita* 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 writing⁵ 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 Palasdev (1157 A.C.), Ter (1184 A.C.), Parel (A.C. 1180), another at Patan in Khandesh (A.C. 1206) and one at Pandharpur (A.C. 1273). Some stray pages of *Panchatantra* translated from Sanskrit into old Marathi and

4. शके वाराशे वारोत्तरे । तै टीका केली ज्ञानेश्वरें ।
केलें ज्ञानदेवें गीते । देशीकार लेणें ।

5. श्रीचामुंडराणं करवियले = "Executed by Chamund Rai" is an inscription near the left-foot of the statue of Gomateshwar at Sravana-Bel-gola about 60 miles north-west of Mysore.

an astronomical treatise by Shripati called *Ratnamālā* are known to be the earliest extant compositions in Marathi. Mukundrāja preceded Jnaneshwar by about a hundred years and wrote his work *Viveka-Sindhu* in Marathi, although the present manuscripts give a modernized form of it. The Mahanubhav 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 Jnaneshwar 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 Chandra-

6. तेथ यदुवंश विलास । जो सकल कला निवास !

न्यायाते पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥

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—

मूल ग्रंथीचि श संस्कृता— । वरी मराठी नीट पाहतां ।

अभिप्राय मानिलिया चित्ता । कवण भूमि ते न जोजवे ॥

माझा मन्हाटाचि बोल कौतुके । परी अमृताते ही पैजा जिंके ।

ऐसीं अक्षरेंचि रसिके । मेळवीन ॥

gupta Maurya, an Indian warrior contemporary with Alexander the Great, who had established his sway over Mahārāshtra. Chandragupta's grandson Ashoka took the cue from his grandfather and extended his Empire to the east and the south. Throughout this Indian continent his numerous edicts have been discovered, which prove that great monarch'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, Mahārāshtra was ruled for about 300 years (B.C. 73 to A.C. 218) by a dynasty of rulers known as Āndhra or Sātavāhana whose capital city was Pratisthān 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 Sātavāhana rulers, after whom the present Shaka era has been named. The Sātavāhanas attained a high degree of civilization which is disclosed by the wonderful caves of Nasik, Karla, Bhaja, and Kanheri, as well as by a number of coins and inscriptions which have been discovered, belonging to that dynasty.

The several clans of the ancient Ratthās, among whom may be included the Rāshtrakutas, the Bānas, etc., exercised influence at different places under the Sātavāhanas, 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 Deccan such as the Vakatakas, Kalachuris and Kadambas, but it is doubtful if the Guptas actually ruled over any portions of these Deccan lands. At the beginning of the sixth century, however, a new dynasty of the Chālukyas 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. Satyāshraya pulakeshi, the most famous ruler of this Chālukya dynasty,⁷ who reigned from 608—642 A.C., successfully repelled an attack of the Emperor Harsha and strongly guarded the northern boundary of Mahārāshtra 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 Chālukyas worshipped the God Shiva and assumed grand titles significant of their power and fame.

The Chālukyas were succeeded by another powerful dynasty, the Rāshtrakutas, who ruled Mahārāshtra 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 Mahārāshtra 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 Rāshtrakuta 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 Rāshtrakuta 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 Mānyakhēt (Malkhed) with minor capitals, such as Chandrapur (Chandwad), Lattatur (Latur), etc. at different times. However clever and valiant might have been these Rāshtrakuta 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 Chālukyas again who gave a death-blow to the Rāshtrakuta power and ruled Mahārāshtra for some two hundred years from 975 to 1189 A.C. from their capitals of Mānyakhēt and Kalyani near Bidar. They produced some ten brilliant rulers of outstanding merit. Tribhuvanmalla Vikramāditya VI was the greatest monarch of this dynasty, and he founded an era named after himself. His prime minister Vijnaneshwar, the author of the *Mitāksharā*, is still held in high esteem as an eminent jurist of Hindu Law.

After the later Chālukyas, Mahārāshtra came to be ruled by another powerful dynasty, the Yādavas, 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 Chālukyas and ruled for over a hundred years from 1187 to 1294 from their famous capital Deogiri, which the Muslims later named Daulatabad. Four eminent Yādava rulers, Singhana, Krishnadeva, Mahādeva and Rāmadeva 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 Bhāskarācharya, the Yādava minister Hemādri, a versatile writer and inventor of many practical arts, and Hemādri's right-hand helpmate the scholarly Bopadeva, are all names among many others, still cherished in Maratha memory with peculiar reverence.

Hemādri holds an important place in the history of Mahārāshtra. He was in many respects far ahead of his times. He was not only a learned scholar, but also a minister (*Shrikanadhīpa*) of the Yādava rulers possessing great powers of organization and a wide outlook directed to the many-sided improvement of the people inhabiting the Yādava dominion. With the help of a number of scholars he promulgated a huge compendium of religious observances, entitled *Chaturvarga-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 Devnāgarī script so as to suit a fast running hand by joining the letters, a mode which is known as Modī and which has long been current in Mahārāshtra.⁸ 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 Hemādri and came to be widely adopted throughout Mahārāshtra. The grain Bajri as a cheap food-stuff of plentiful yield, is said to have been first introduced by Hemādri. To his great work *Chaturvarga-Chintamani* he has added an illuminating supplement entitled *Yādav-Prashasti* in which he has immortalized the history of the Yādava rulers ending with Mahādeva Yādava.

4. Rise of the Manabhav sect.—With the changes of dynasties, Mahārāshtra 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 Hemādri.

north. Here foreign conquest was never dreamt of and no provision against it was considered necessary. About 1000 A.C. 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 Mahārāshtra from Delhi. During the last quarter of the thirteenth century between about 1270 and 1295 when Jnaneshwar was penning the eulogy of Rāmachandra Yādava, a sudden collapse came, which requires 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 *Mahānubhāva*, 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 Shankarāchārya. Indeed, from about the eleventh century onwards, as in earlier times, there has been a peculiar upheaval in Indian religion and society, giving rise from time to time to a number of divergent sects, such as the Vaishnavas, the Shaivas, the Lingayats, the Nath-panthis and Warkaries of the Pandharpur movement. During the thirteenth century a learned Nagar Brahman from the district of Broach in Gujarat named Haripāldev migrated to Ridhpur near Amraoti 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 Haripāldev, newly named Chakradhar by his guru, toured through Mahārāshtra 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 Upanishads and other old philosophical works, exposing the incon-

gruities 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.C., 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 Mahārāshtra 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 Shankarāchārya and adopted for centuries by the common masses and rulers of the Yādava 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 Shāktas and Tāntrikas. The Mānabhāvs have two distinct orders, the householders and the recluses. The latter admit even women to the status of religious celibates; the former live much the same social life as the common mass 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 Mānabhāvs 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 Mahārāshtra 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 *Aksaragana* and the *Mātrāgana* systems. The Mānabhāv scholars were the first to write elegant Marathi prose, unlike the Sanskrit writers who preferred the metrical form. This Mānabhāv prose is of the blank verse type.

Chakradhar himself never wrote any work of his own. He had a large number of gifted disciples all passionately devoted to him and whole-heartedly co-operating 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-path*⁹ and has become the sacred book of the sect which the followers read and recite. The other, recording his acts and incidents, is called *Līlācharitra*.¹⁰ 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 Mānabhāv sect and are the compositions of Mahindra Bhatt 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 Mānabhāv works we find today the very words, phrases and forms of the day of their composition, without the modernization which has

9. सिद्धान्तसूत्रपाठ.

10. लीलाचरित्र.

vitiated the contents and form of the writings of our other Mahārāshtra saints like Jnaneshwar and Eknāth.

Other works of high literary merit came to be written in quick succession by Mānabhāv 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. *Shishupāla Vadha* and *Uddhav-gita* by Bhāskar-bhatt ;
4. *Vatsālā-Harana* by Dāmodar Pandit ;
- 5 to 7. *Riddhipur Varnan*, *Jnana-bodh* and *Sahyādri-Varnan* 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 *ovi* metre and can take a high rank for their literary merit. Not a few women have figured among their authors. These Mānabhāv 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 Hemādri.—The propagation of the Mānabhāv doctrines appears to have had an intimate relation with and was certainly a contributory cause of the sudden fall of the Yādavas 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 Hemādri, the *Shrikaranādhīpa* of the powerful king Mahādeva Yādava (A.C. 1260-1271), so that Hemādri and Chakradhar are found acting on the stage of mediæval 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 Hemādri purposely promulgated his comprehensive code of religious observances (the *Chaturvarga-Chintamani*) consisting of four large books or parts, (1) the *Vratakhanda* or vows, (2) the

Dāna-khanda or charities, (3) the *Tirtha-khanda* or pilgrimages, and (4) the *Moksha-khanda* or salvation, with several supplements (*Parishesha-khanda*) emphasizing the worship of various deities, of the manes and ancestors, the daily and seasonal duties with penances for failure. Hemādri completed this work during the regime of Mahādeva Yādava, who was succeeded by his nephew Rāmachandra in 1271. Rāmachandra obtained the crown by cruelly putting to death Mahādev's son Aman, and confirmed Hemādri in his post. It is well-known that these Yādava rulers traced their descent from Shrikrishna and were his ardent devotees, just as were Chakradhar 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 Hemādri highly resented and opposed with all the powers he possessed.

Recent research based on the evidence of the Mānabhāv writings throws a lurid light on the manner in which both Chakradhar and Hemādri met with their deaths.¹¹ A certain manuscript of the *Lilā-Charitra*, written shortly after 1276 (and not yet published) mentions that Hemādri with the help of his own priests and those of the Yādava rulers discovered the whereabouts of Chakradhar, sent his troops after him and had him killed in 1276 at Khokargaon (near Pāthardi, District Ahmadnagar). When this event came to be reported to Rāmdev, he was filled with wrath against Hemādri and soon after put him to a cruel death in retaliation for Chakradhar's death. This conclusion is indirectly corroborated by some verses in the *Mahikāvati bakhār* published by Rajawade.¹²

This story may be true or false, but the reason of the sudden fall of king Rāmachandra Yādava 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 Hemādri, but there is no mention how he came by his death. See K. A. Padhye's *Life of Hemādri*, 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 Journal*, 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 Mānabhāv agents imparting secret information to the conqueror about the weakness of Yādava 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 Himālayas 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 Rāmdev Rao into submission. Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-din's Lieutenant, overran and destroyed the Kākatiya kingdom of Warangal¹³ in 1309, and the Hoysala kingdom of Dwārasamudra 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

13. Old name *Ekashīla-Nagari* or *Varnakula*, hence the present name.

India appeared to be complete by the year 1326. In this way all the work of the great builders from Chandragupta Maurya to Rāmdēv Rao of Deogiri and of Pratāprudra 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 Kāpālīka and Shaiva sects, the Mānabhāvas and the Lingayats inhabiting the lands of Kampli, 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 Pratāprudra 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. Pratāprudra 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.¹⁴

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 Kāmnāth, 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

14. For this and the following narrative N. Venkataramanayya's *The Early Muslim Expansion In South India* (Madras Univ. Publication, 1942), is the main authority. On p. 188 occurs this evidence on the foundation of Vijayanagar.—

स एव खलु माधवो वसुमतीं चतुःसगरी-
मसाकलितमेखलां नयति बुक्कराजं युधः ।
तमन्वजनि सायणस्तमनु भोजनाथश्रुता-
बुभावुदयमाश्रितावचलमत्र विधेश्वरं ॥

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, Harihar and Bukka, who had formerly served as ministers at Kampli and helped Pratāprudra 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 Yādavas 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 Kapayyā Nāyak of Warangal and another Somdevrāj 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 Harihar 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 wide-spread and bitter was the Hindu feeling of revolt at this time can be gathered from the conspicuous part which the Shankarāchārya Mādhav Vidyāranya, the learned and influential head of the Shringeri Math, played by taking the lead in politics for putting down Muslim aggression. Mādhavācharya and his two equally competent brothers, Sāyannā and Bhojanāth held deliberations with the two heroes Harihar 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 Mādhavācharya 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, this 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 Shankarāchārya. It is well known, that Shivaji closely followed this model and revered his gurus Tukārām and Rāmdās. 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. Mahārāshtra 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-uddin 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 Golkonda became fairly powerful after absorbing the other two of Bidar and Berar. These three have become known to 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 southernly 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 thereabout, were in the hands of Maratha captains, who were nominally dependent upon these Muhammadan sovereigns." Indeed, if Muhammad Adilshah of Bijapur, who came to the throne in 1627 and who completely reversed the tolerant policy of his father Ibrahim Adilshah, 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 Adilshah promulgated fresh regulations¹⁵ 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 Ghaznivides 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 Yādavās of Deogiri; from the time of Mukundraj and Jnaneshwar to that of Tukārām and Rāmdās, the whole range of Marathi literature accurately reflects the workings of the

15. See Regulations of Md. Adilshah, Nos. 21, 44, 48, 51 and 53 in Parasnis' *Itihas-Sangraha, Aitihāsik Sphuta Lekh* 2-7.

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 Nāmdev (13th and 14th centuries), the second Eknāth and Tukārām (15th and 16th centuries), and the third of Rāmdās (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 Dāmāji Pant, a revenue collector of the Bedar district, is a typical instance in which he miraculously escaped the wrath of his master for having distributed gratis government stores of corn, 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 Rāma and Rahim, of Vithobā and Allāh. The warring sects of the Hindus themselves, the Shaivas and the Vaishnavas were reconciled in a symbolized installation of Vithobā at Pandharpur.¹⁷ Tukārām

16. The story refers to a devastating famine which occurred in Mahārāshtra for seven long years from 1396 A.C., which is still remembered as Durgādi.

17. "It cannot be doubted," writes S. M. Edwardes, "that the remarkable movement which centres so largely about the God Vithobā and Pandharpur, embraced persons of various castes and elevated to sainthood

represented the Pandharpur 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."¹⁸

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, Eknāth'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 Mahārāshtrian life. They consist of early *bakhars* and *prashastis* (introductions) attached to Sanskrit works. Most of the *bakhars* of Shivaji, Hanmante's introduction to the *Rājavyavahār Kosh*, Gāgābhatt's foreword to the *Kāyastha-Dharma-Pradīp* composed by him, and the *Bhatta-Vaṅsha-Kāvya*, the elaborate exposition of Parmānand's *Shiva-Bhārat* (two long chapters), some of the Hindī works of poets Bhushan and Lal Kavi, an anonymous poem purporting to be Shivaji's letter to Jaya-Sinh, 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 Brahmā, who in his turn appeals to Shankar, Vishnu or the goddess Bhavāni, 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

representatives of even the lowest castes in Mahārāshtra" (Intr. Grant Duff's *History*, p. lxxiii).

18. Introduction to *Maratha Ballads* by Acworth.

of the rise of Shivaji recorded before the days of the present epoch of historical research.¹⁹

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.²⁰ 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 Ghat 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

19. For instance I may quote a few lines —

देवदेव रिपवो वसुधरां । पीडयन्ति यवना भृशतुरं । तत्कुम्भ्व जगतीसमीहितं ।
म्लेच्छवर्गमधुना शृणीहि तं ॥ त्वं शाहपृथ्वीपतिवीरपत्न्या । अस्यां समासाद्य मनुष्यजन्म ।
म्लेच्छापहत्या सुखमारचम्य । भूमेः पुनः स्थापय वर्णधर्मान् ॥ औरंगजेबयवनाधिपभीत-
विप्रप्राणाय यः परिगृहीतनवावतारः ॥

Trans.—Sire, these Mustims, the enemies of the gods, are severely oppressing the Earth; therefore you must rescue her from her agony by killing them at once. You must take your birth in a human form from this lady (Jija Bai), the wife of the brave Shahji, and bring about the happiness of the earth, by killing the Mlechhas and restoring the spiritual bliss of the people.

So the god Vishnu took a fresh incarnation in order to protect the Brahmans who had been terrorized by the Yavan Emperor Aurangzeb.

20. *Oriental Experience*, p. 339.

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 Sindhis 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 Mauriyas to the Yādavas there stretched a period of fifteen centuries, during which many great races and families came, settled and ruled in Mahārāshtra, 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 Kolhapur, 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 Sendrakas, 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 Rāshtrakutas, the Chālukyas and the Yādavas, 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 Ghatges, the Manes, the Dasles, 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 Yādavas 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 *āguana* (*i.e.* Ghorpad). The several Deshmukhs of the Maval valleys such as the Jedhes, the Bandals, the Khopdes, 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,²¹ "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 organising 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

21. *Oriental Experience*, p. 345.

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 resort 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 formed 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 Mahārāshtra and its people that it was never completely subjugated by the Muslim conquerors. The prevalent system of village autonomy ensured the peoples’ 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 its people, were entirely different from those of the other parts of India. The people of Mahārāshtra 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

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 Yādav 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 Mahārāshtra, over, for instance, Karhad, Sangameshwar, Prabhavali and other places is still preserved in the anecdotes of Dado Narsinh and the colonization effected by the black and the white Khojas.²² Shivaji's father performed his life's work in the old Vijayanagar territories as the sequel will show.

22. 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-Sahitya*, Vol. I, No. 2; the *Sardesai Bakhar* in the history of that family, vol. 1, pages 49-53; Raj. vol. 8, letters 1 and 2; Rajwade Introduction, p. 418; *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 33, etc.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER II

1552	Maloji Bhosle born.
1592	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—1631	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.
1605 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. 16	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.

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

CHAPTER II

SHAHJI THE RISING SUN

(From Roshangaon to Mahuli—1614-1636)

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| 1. Survey of the situation. | 2. The family of the Bhosles. |
| 3. Battle of Roshangaon. | 4. Shahji's marriage, Shivaji born. |
| 5. Battle of Bhatavadi. | 6. Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi. |
| 7. Shah Jahan's march against Nizam Shah. | 9. Moral of the two figures. |
| 8. Shahji's bold stand. | |

1. Survey of the situation, 1605.—The political situation of Mahārāshtra 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 heroically 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.¹ 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, generalissimos of armies, admirals of fleets, viceroys of provinces.

Undaunted by the loss of Ahmadnagar, Malik Ambar selected Pareda, 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.

1. *Akbar* by Vincent Smith, p. 277.

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 Daulatabad 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 Bhārat*, 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 Shahazadas 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 guerilla 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 Mahārāshtra, 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 Ranās, named Sajjan Sinh or Sujān 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 Karna Sinh and Shubha Krishna. Karna Sinh's son Bhimsinh received from the Bahmani Sultan the title of "Raja 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 Mahārāshtra. Shubha Krishna's descendants are known as Bhosles and form a younger branch of the original family.²

A grandson of this Shubha Krishna was one Bābāji Bhosle who died in 1597. Babaji had two sons, Māloji (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 Bhīma and maintained themselves by managing their landed property and by military service under the Nizam-

2. The descent of the Bhosle family from the Ranās of Udepur has not been authentically proved. It is supported by copies (not originals) of some Persian firmans in the possession of the Rāja 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 Hoysal, a family which ruled at Dwara Samudra. But these Hoysals 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.

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.³

Māloji 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 Lukhji Jādhavrao the baron of Sindkhed, in the vicinity of Daulatabad which became the capital of the Nizamshahi State after Ahmadnagar had been lost. Lukhji, a descendant of the dethroned 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 Lukhji 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 Mughal advance and the Maratha resistance.

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

3. In contemporary writing their names are mentioned not singly but with the honourable word "Rāje" added after them, as Maloji Raje, Khelaji 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 Rāje 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 Fath 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 Brahman 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, Bābāji 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.⁴ 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 Bhoale 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 Lakhji Jadhav and other officials from the Deccan came and paid their homage to the Emperor at Mandu. Convinced that the Deccan had been finally subjugated, the Emperor proceeded to Ahmedabad.⁵

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 Burhanpur 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. Excesses 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 travelled 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 piteous appeals was to once more request Shah Jahan to go to the Deccan and put down Malik Ambar's rebellion.⁶

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 (1628-1636), 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 Lakhji 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 Māloji Bhosle took service under Lakhji Jadhav and used to stand guard at the gate of his palace. Once during the spring festival (*holi*) Jadhavrao invited Māloji and other subordinates for the usual ceremony of playing with red powder and dye. Māloji took with him his little son Shahji to the assemblage. Lakhji Jadhav 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?" Māloji 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 Māloji'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 Māloji 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. Māloji was doubtless a man of resourceful and independent spirit.⁷ He succeeded in

7. Highly eulogistic accounts appear to have been recorded in Sanskrit about the exploits of Māloji and Shahji, after Shivaji's reputation

winning over the Nizam Shah probably through Malik Ambar, to sanction the match which Jadhavrao had spurned 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 Lakhji 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. Parmananda, 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.⁸ 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 *dan-patta*. Paramananda follows in the same strain in his *Shiva-Bharat*.

8. तस्य तस्यामजायन्त पुत्राः षट् शुभदशैः ।
तेषां मध्ये शंभुशिवौ द्वावेवान्वयवधेनौ ॥

When Māloji 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.⁹ 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 guerilla warfare managed to inflict a crushing defeat upon the combined force of the imperialists and the Adil Shah at the famous field of Bhatavdi, 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 manoeuvring 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. The full and

⁹ 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.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 ablest 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 1627,¹¹ 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

10. About 20 names of Muslim generals and of more than a dozen Maratha captains are given by Parmanand in *Sh. Bh.* chap. 4 and most of the former are also mentioned by Fazuni 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.

11. Jedhe gives Shivaji's birth-date as 19th February 1630.

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-

tion 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 Narmada 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 Bijapuri contingents were commanded by Ranadulla Khan and Kanhoji Jedhe, Maratha Deshmukh of Kari. 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 measures 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.¹² 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. Lakhji Jadhav had long ago deserted to the Mughals with all his family and troops. He was a powerful and trained

12. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. 7, p. 24; *Shiva Bharat* 8.53-55; Moreland, "From Akbar to Aurangzeb", p. 212; Thompson and Carratt, *Rise and Fulfilment*, p. 18.

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 selfish ends 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 child-birth 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 falling 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 Husain 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 Pengiri 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 guerilla 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.”¹³

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 1636.

13. *Rise of the Maratha Power*, pp. 43-44.

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 Shivaji'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 Golkonda 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 Trimbak 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 Golkonda 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 vermilion 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 Golkonda 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 Ranadulla 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 Pengiri 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."¹⁴

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 exert-

14. Shivaji Souvenir, pp. 115-6; *Jedhe Karina* in *Shiva Charitra-Pradip*, p. 39.

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 Ranadulla 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 Hindi¹⁵ lines :—

15. जगदीश विरंचिकु पुछत है कहे शिष्ट रची रखे कोन कहाँ ।
 कर जोरि कही जयराम विरंच्ये तिरलोक जहां के तहां ॥
 ससि वो रवि पूरब पश्चिम लो तुम सोय रहो सिरसिधु महा ।
 अरु उत्तर दखन रखन को इत साहजु है उत साहिजर्हा ॥
 रा० मा० वि० चंपू—पृष्ठ २८०

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 Roshangaon 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

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

CHAPTER III

SHAHJI'S LATER CAREER.

(1636-1664.)

1. Shahji's work in Karnatak.
2. Shahji possesses Bangalore.
3. Shahji under disfavour.
4. Shahji's two sons in action.
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 Shak 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 Dādāji 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). Dādāji brought in cultivators to settle on the land and made it rent-free for the first five years. Shahji Raje left for Bijapur."¹ 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 Vijaynagar 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 Randaula 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 Kongu near Coimbatore, Jagdev Rai at Kaveripattan, Kanthi Rav Naras Wodiyar at Shirangapattan, Vijay Raghav at Tanjore, Tirumal Nayak at Madura, and Venkata Nayak at Jinji. 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 Mahārāshtra, 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 Laksmeshvar 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 Hons 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 fire-arms 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 Kemp 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

erected in Bijapur, such as the Dad-Mahal, the Gol-Gombaz and others.²

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 Mahārāshtra and trained them as hereditary officials loyal to his cause. He introduced Marathi as the Court language into the Karnatak regions, and along with it the Mahārāshtra 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 Mahārāshtra 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

² Vide Sarkar's *House of Shivaji*, p. 27; Dr. Saletore's paper on the fall of Ikkeri, H. R. C. 1939; Govind Vaidya's *Kanthi Rav Naras Charitra*, half yearly Journal, Mysore Univ. 1930, etc.

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 Maharashtra and was slowly building up his character in the independent surroundings of the western hills, untrammelled 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 Dādāji 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 enterprizes 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

3. A statement in a Peshwa's *bakhar* deserves to be noted and runs

Jija Bai during this visit to Bangalore possibly could not find ease and comfort in the surroundings of her husband's residence and contrived to spend most of her time in pilgrimages to the numerous famous Hindu shrines in the south. The Adil Shah was curious to know how matters were developing and invited Shahji with his whole family to Bijapur some time about 1643. In the summer of this year Shahji's friend and patron Randaula Khan died with the result that Shahji was left without a supporter at the Court.

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 to 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 *Pharman* of 1st August 1644 says that Shahji had been disgraced.⁴

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

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.

4. Shiv Ch. Sahitya, IV, p. 21.

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 Shahs 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 Afzul 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

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. Srirang 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.⁵

A similar position was already developing in Mahārāshtra also, so that both Sinbgad 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 Jinji, 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 factious 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 Jinji, for which the duties were severally assigned. In this connection Mustafa Khan had a fracas with Shahji upon some point of honour. Shahji thereupon 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 Ghorpade 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 Karnatak except Bangalore. Srirang Rai, 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,⁶ 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 *Shiva-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 Karnatak 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 Karnatak 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 Karnatak 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 Jinji 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 Shakavali. 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 Raghunath. These are known to have played an important part in Shivaji's history. Appa Khan the Palegar of Kanakgiri 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.⁸

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 ;

8. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 115 ; *House of Shivaji*, p. 87.

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 Mahārāshtra, 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.⁹ 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

9. Letters quoted in *Shivadigvijay*, p. 330.

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 Rangna 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 Shaista Khan at Poona followed by the daring raid upon Surat, 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 Bednur who had rebelled.¹⁰ After accomplishing his commission within a few months, he started for Bangalore. While halting at Basavapattan 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

10. English Records on Shivaji No. 67 of 20 July, 1663

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 Mahārāshtrian families, of the Brahman, Maratha, and artizan 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 imbibed 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.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER IV

1627 April 6	Birth of Shivaji (on 19 Feb. 1630).
1633	Appointment of Dādāji Kondadeo to administer the Poona region.
1636 — 1647	Shivaji's residence at Poona ; 1647-1667 at Rajgad ; thereafter at Raigad.
1637 — 1647	Dādāji as Bijapuri Governor of fort Kondāna.
1640 — 1642	Shivaji's visit to Bangalore.
1643	Shivaji's visit to Bijapur.
1644	Organization of the 12 Mawal valleys.
1644 Aug.	Kondāna (Sinhagad) captured.
1645 March 30	Sacred vow to found <i>Hindwi Swarajya</i>
„	Official seal introduced by Shivaji ; offices created for his new government.
1646 — 1656	Muhammad Adil Shah lies ill.
1647 March 7	Dādāji Kondadeo dies ; Torna captured.
1648	Chakan and Fort Purandhar captured
1649	Sambhāji Mohite surprised ; battles of Shirval and Purandhar ; 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]

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

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 34½ months later on 19th February 1630.¹ 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, Baizapur, 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. Nāro Trimal Hanmante and Gomāji Naik Pānasambal 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

1. In the following narrative I am using the first or the old date. 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 Bhosales 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.² In the battle of Bhātavdi, 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 Sambhāji 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 guardianship of Dādāji Konddev, who built for them a palace at Kasba, which was known as the Lāl Mahal. Here Shivaji lived with his mother from 1636 onward until they removed to Rajgad some time after Dādāji'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 Rāmdeo Yādav, of Hemādri, of Jnāneshvar 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 Taghlak, the barbarities of Tamerlane, the *johars* 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, commotions, 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,

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 Dādāji 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 Mahābhārat and the Rāmāyan 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

sermons by household preachers and celebrated saints like Tukārām, was then a very common means of general education and the training of the young and the old; and Shivaji lost 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.³ 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 *Rāmāyan*, *Mahābhārat*, some of the *Smritis*, probably portions of *Shukraniti* and *Chānākyaniti* and the lives of the saints. *Vidurniti* was possibly a favourite chapter selected from the *Mahābhārat*. It is said that the *Yuddha-Kand* or the War-chapter of the *Rāmāyan* was regularly read and expounded at night to all the garrisons of Shivaji's forts as part of their discipline.

2. His guardian Dadaji.—Another powerful factor in Shivaji's training was his guardian Dādāji 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. Dādāji 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. Dādāji rendered conspicuous service in relieving the distress of the ryots during the terrible famine of 1631-32 and resettling

3. On 25th May 1642 he thus wrote to the Deshpande of Rohida : " You have violated the arrangement effected for the worship and management of Rareshvar. You must at once come and answer for your unwarranted interference." (Raj. 15.266).

the Poona region after that devastation.⁴ Dadaji was himself a Kulkarni of Malthan and looked after the adjoining villages of Hingni, Berdi, Deulgon and others, which belonged to the Bhosles. When Shivaji acquired the Jagir of Poona and Supa, Dādāji 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.⁵

This new post of Dādāji 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 Dādāji 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 Rangmahāl 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 Dādāji. 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 Shivpattan.

Jija Bai and Dādāji had Shivaji married to Sai Bai from the Nimbalkar family about the year 1640: Shahji's mother Dipa Bai also had come from the same Nimbalkar family. By

4. One paper of December 1633 says, "Dādāji then came to be appointed the revenue officer of the district. He restored the lands to prosperity and compelled the Deshmukhs and the Kulkarnis to help cultivation by peopling the lands." (S. C. Sahitya 2.95-96.)

5. Raj. 17.7 and 18.7, 9, 19.

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 main stay of Shivaji's fighting machine. This native militia protected the jagir from robbery, molestation and disorder. The wild animals that infested the jungles 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 Dādāji 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. Dādāji 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. Dādāji was a strict

disciplinarian 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 Dādāji 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?⁶

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

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 those two places, is lacking, we have to read between the lines of what stray notices we get on paper.

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 Vijaynagar 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 learning? 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.

This 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 toleration 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 come 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 Vijaynagar 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 *sijda*, 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. Parmanand 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."⁷ Shyāmrao Nilkanth Peshwa, Bālkrinshnapant Muzumdar, Bālāji Hari *Majalsi* (or *Sabhasad* i.e. member of Council), Raghunath Ballāl Korde, Sānonpan Dabir, Raghunath Ballāl Atre Chitnis,—these and other officers trained under Shahji are said to have been ^{employed} for duty with Shivaji. When exactly these ministerial offices were created and appointments made to them, cannot be ^{determined} ascertained. They must have been gradually brought into employment, as Shivaji's new raj came into being.

Shivaji's and Dādāji's experiment of improving the ^{police} and the government of the jagir, roused 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 Dādāji Kondadev. Gomāji

7. *Shiv-Bharat*, 10.25-27.

Naik Panasambal, Desāji Kank, Tānāji Malusre, Bāji Pāsalkar, and Bājirao Jechē, son of Kānhoji 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, kill cows openly; we will suffer this treatment no more. We possess strength in our arms. Let us draw the sword in defence of our sacred religion, liberate our native country and acquire new lands and wealth by our own effort. We are as brave and as capable as our ancestors of yore. If we undertake this sacred task, God will surely help us. All human efforts are helped. There is no such thing as good luck or ill-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. Bajāji 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,

8. Sabbāsad Chronicle. See also Raj. 15.3.

"One who is strong in his weapon has no difficulty and no fear."⁹

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 Mahārāshtra 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 *bakhars*, now corroborated by a Persian *farmān* dated 1st August 1644. The *farmān* is a letter addressed by the Shah of Bijapur to Kānhoji Jedhe 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 Dādāji Kondadev has commenced rebellious activities at fort Raon-dhana. In order to put him down and assert our rule over the territory, Khandoji and Bāji 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 Dādāji and his supporters with your might. Upon the successful execution of this task, you will be properly rewarded."¹⁰

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 *farmān* mentions Dādāji as the agent in this mischief and that Shivaji's name nowhere occurs.

9. This is said by Rāmchandrapant in his *Maratha Polity*.

गांडीविनो मतमिदं कुतो दैव्यं कुतो भयम्।

गांडीवी is a person wearing a weapon.

10. S. C. Sahitya 4, p. 21.

Although he was suspected, he was then too young to be separately noticed. In fact Shivaji's name begins to appear officially after Dādāji's death, or a year or so before that, in that famous letter of Shivaji to Dādāji Naras Prabhu about the oaths they had exchanged before Raireshvar in the summer of 1645. This position also leads one to conclude that Dādāji 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 Bhavāni 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 Srirang Rai. 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 Dādāji at Poona. The affair of this first revolt of the Mhosles 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 Kānhoji Jedhe, and his Deshpande Dādāji Naras Prabhu. It says :—"Shivaji Rāje has turned disloyal to the Shah inasmuch as he has organized troops of the Māvlas and having taken possession of fort Rohidā, 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 Thanadar of Shirval, you will be put to death without mercy."

This letter clearly unfolds the early moves of Shivaji. After Sinhagad he took Rohidā, 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. Dādāji Naras Prabhu referred the letter to Shivaji and asked him what reply he was to make. Shivaji thereupon wrote to Dādāji 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 *Hindavi-Swarajya*. We are mere instruments in divine hands. Come what may, we should stick to the secret oaths we have exchanged, as advised by Dādāji-pant, in the presence of Raireshvar. He wills it all. Don't lose courage."¹¹ 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

11. The temple Raireshwar is near the Rairi hill and should not be confused with fort Rohida, which was later renamed Vichitragad and which has no Shankar temple. The two are five miles apart. The oaths took place on the Rairi hill near Kari, the seat of the Jethes.

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 Rāmdās supply ample evidence of these early activities of Shivaji. They have prepared for us a stirring narration of how the people of Mahārāshtra 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 harbour 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 land-holders 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 Mahārāshtra, his elder brother Sambhāji 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 Parmānand 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 Dabir. Sonopant advised Shivaji to give up the fort, explaining the essentials of a political game to which Parmānand has devoted one long chapter of his work, urging that for a man of valour the whole world is wide open.¹²

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 Dādāji 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. Dādāji 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 Sangrāmdurg placed his own garrison there. His next move

12. सुविक्रान्तस्य वृपतेः सर्वमेव महीतलम् ॥ १६.४५.

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 Bijapuri armies came against Shivaji, Purandar proved to him of immense value. In vain the Bijapuri 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.¹³ Thus both Sinhagad and Purandar have played an important part throughout Maratha history.

Supā was another important post not far from Poona, which was held by a rather uncongenial neighbour, Sambhāji 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. Sambhāji Mohite, a hereditary noble of Bijapur, would not be persuaded to join Shivaji's move-

13. *Shiva Bharat*, Chap. 14.

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. Sambhaji possessed an armed force of some three hundred troops. One dark night Shivaji with a band of brave followers made a sudden raid upon Supā, surprized Sambhaji and his guards, plundered all his belongings, and took possession of Supā 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 duly surmise that it must have been between 1649 and 1652.¹⁴

Thus Shivaji managed to secure his position in the territory roughly between the Bhimā and the Nirā, between Poona and Shirval, having strongly guarded the central posts of Chakan, Purandar, Supā and Bārāmāti, 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 Dādāji'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; Raj. 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.¹⁵ 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. *Shukraniti*, *Manusmriti* and probably Chanakya's works appear to have been consulted by Shivaji's 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 those were naturally adopted by Shivaji as time and convenience required. *Peshwa*, *Muzmudar*, *Dabir*, *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,¹⁶ and given the garb of the Aryan model.

Rājwāde 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 Tukārām's composition are found addressed to Shivaji in which the word Chhatrapati is used. Tukārām 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

15. See *Patra Sar Sangraha*.

प्रतिपञ्चदशरेखेन वधिष्णुविश्वदिता ।

साहसूनोः शिवस्थैषा मुद्रा भद्राय राजते ॥

16. अखंडिन लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्य, राजश्रिया विराजित and similar phrases are originally Persian forms translated into Sanskrit and Marathi.

obvious difficulties in determining these points. Few authentic 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 Shyāmājipant*¹⁷ and other officials, the actual words of which prove that the first phase of a full *swarājya* 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 Siddheshwarbhatt Brahme of Chākan, 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).¹⁸ 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 *Swarājya* 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 Shak *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 Rājāpur 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

17. शिवनरपति हर्षनिधान । श्यामराज मतिमंत प्रधान ॥

18. *Sanads and Letters*, p. 113.

understanding with the *Siddis* of Jangirā, the only Muslim element on the west coast between Kalyān and Sondhā. 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 Mahārāshtra country," he writes, "then attained its literal significance, *viz.*, the great nation, on account of Shivaji's effort."²⁰ "The people of Mahārāshtra 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.

19. Raj. Vol. 17-19; *Patra Sar Sangraha*, 717-722. In these and 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 Shyāmraj Nilkanth Peshwā, Vāsudev Bālakrishna Muzum-dār, Sonāji Vishvanāth Dabir, Bālkrishnapant and Nāropant Hanmānte Dikshit, Mahādāji Shāmrāj Surnis, Nurbeg Sarnaubat, infantry, and Pantāji Gopināth 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, Muzumar, Peshwa, Surnis, Dabir, etc. so the use of these by Shivaji does not signify his own creation. He adopted what was already available

20. महाराष्ट्रे जनपदः तदानीं तस्मात्प्रयात् ।

अन्वर्थतामन्वगमत् समृद्धजनतान्वितः ॥ शि० भा० १०.३२.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER V

1636 — 1644	Aurangzeb Governor of the Deccan : Aurangabad named after him.
1648	Death of Daulatrao Moray.
1649 — 1654	Afzal Khan Governor of Wai.
1653 Jan. — 1658 Feb.	Aurangzeb again Governor of the Deccan.
1655	Aurangzeb invades Golkonda.
1655 closing months	Shivaji's first attack on Jāvli.
1656 Jan. 26	Hanmantrao Moray killed and Jāvli captured.
„	Mullah Ahmad surprised, Kalyan and Bhivandi sacked.
1656 May	Yashwant Rao Moray and brothers killed.
1656 Nov. 4	Death of Muhammad Adilshah.
„	Aurangzeb launches attack upon Bijapur.
1657 April	Shivaji plunders Junnar and Ahmadnagar.
„	Shivaji sends Sonopant Dabir as envoy to Aurangzeb.
1657	Shah Jahan taken ill.
1657 Oct.	Shivaji subjugates north Konkan : Kesari Sinh dies fighting at Prabalgad.
1658 Jan. 25	Aurangzeb leaves Aurangabad for Delhi. Shivaji builds Pratāpgad : appoints Moropant Peshwa : other ministries created : south Konkan and Rājāpur raided : Bālāji Āvji employed as Chitnis : seizes territories of the Sidi.
1658 July 21	Aurangzeb becomes Emperor.
1659 March 5	Shivaji concludes a treaty of friendship with the Sāwant of Wadi : Bhavāni sword obtained.
1659 Aug. 16	Portuguese Viceroy reports Shivaji's complete possession of south Konkan.
1659 Sept.	Afzal Khan starts against Shivaji.
1659 Oct.	Afzal Khan encamps at Wai.

1659 Oct.	Shivaji takes up his residence at Pratāpgad.
1659 Nov. 10	Afzal Khan meets with his death.
1659 Nov. 11	Battle of Wai ; Bijapur army routed
1659 Nov. 28	Shivaji captures Panhāla.
1659 Dec. 28	Bijapur forces routed below Panhāla : Raibag and other towns sacked.
1660 Jan.	Shaista Khan arrives as Governor of the Deccan.
1660 Feb.	Shaista Khan takes possession of Poona.
1660 May	Panhāla besieged by Salabat Khan.
1660 June	English factors aid the besiegers of Pan- hāla.
1660 July 13	Shivaji escapes from Panhāla.
1660 July 14	Bāji Prabhu slain at Vishālgad.
1660 August	Shaista Khan captures Chākan.
„	Shivaji despatches Sonopant Dabir to Shaista Khan.
1660 Sept. 22	Shivaji gives Panhāla back to Bijapur.
„	Shivaji constructs Suvarnadurg.
1664	Shivaji constructs Sindhudurg.
1680	Shivaji constructs Kolaba.

CHAPTER V
RAPID PROGRESS
[1654—1660]

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| 1. Short work with Morays. | 2. Political situation of 1657. |
| 3. North and South Konkan seized. | 4. Administrative Measures. |
| 5. Afzal Khan's End. | 6. Panhala invested, Shivaji escapes. |

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 Mahārāshtra.

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 Jāvli surnamed Chandrarāo at the western foot of the Mahābleshvar 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. It 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-

situation, which soon became aggravated by the appointment of Afzal Khan to the Governorship of Wai in the year 1649. The Khan was explicitly commissioned to put down Shivaji's growing power, and he lost no opportunity of encouraging the Morays to oppose Shivaji's moves.)

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 Yashvant-rav, a younger member, and conducted affairs with the help of Hanumantrao Moray, a distant relation 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 Kānhoji Jedhe, Haibat-rao Silimkar and other neighbours of the Morays, and sent a proposal to Jāvli demanding terms which the Morays refused to accept. Then with the contingents of these Deshmukhs he dispatched his commander Sambhāji Kāvaji with a small force threatening their residence. This first attempt proved ineffectual, when Shivaji sent another force under Raghunāth Ballāl 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. Pratāp Rao Moray escaped to Bijapur for seeking the Adil Shah's help to oust Shivaji from Javli (26th January 1656). Shivaji himself at once proceeded to Jāvli, stayed there for two months, rehabilitating the house of the Morays and strengthening his hold upon the principality. In the meantime Yashvant Rao started serious trouble afresh from the hill-top of Rairi, a large and lofty plateau near Mahad, which belonged to the Morays. Shivaji sent troops and his agent Haibat-rao Silimkar to Yashvant Rao 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 Yashvant Rao and

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 Chandrarais suffered a fall."¹ 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 Jāvli was taken Shivaji erected a new fort to command the valley of the famous Pārghat and gave it the significant name of Pratāpgad. The work was executed by Moropant Pingle, whose father had served Shahji in the Karnatak and who himself had then come over to Shivaji's service. A new image of the goddess Bhavāni 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 Shyāmrajpant died about 1658.

Jāvli 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 Dehli. A new personality representing the Mughal Empire had now come on the stage of history, Aurangzeb, the astute son of the declin-

1. मिलाले वारभाई, बुवाली चंद्रगई ॥ See *Moray Bakhat*, *Shiva Bharat*, *Jedhe Shakhavali*, 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 inveterate 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 territories, 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), Aurangzeb was occupied with imperial wars on the north-west frontier, which did not touch the Marathas. During his first Viceroyalty of eight years, Aurangzeb was occupied in consolidating the Mughal power and creating an orderly government. 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 individuals having governed the Deccan territories of the Mughal Empire, including such well known figures as Mirza Raja Jaysingh, 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 Jāvli, 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 Jāvli 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,² 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 Shyāmraj Nilakanth and his cousin Dādāji Bāpuji with a body of select troops surprized Kalyan itself, then denuded of all means of defence in the absence of the Governor. Another party of expert Mavalas

². Sarkar's *House of Shivaji*, p. 65 and *The Leading Nobles of Bijapur*, p. 55.

led by Sakho 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 Māhuli and the other neighbouring forts to the south and north of Kalyan. Chaul, Tale, Ghosale, Rajmachi, Lohgad, Kangori, Tung-Tikonā, 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 Ābāji 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 Ahmad the Bijapuri Governor of Kalyan had left his family behind, including his young and extremely handsome daughter-in-law who fell into Ābāji Sondev's hands. Ābāji 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 Ābāji 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 Rājāpur and the two sides running from these points and meeting at Indāpur. 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. There-

upon Shivaji personally went up the fort and discovered at a certain spot a hidden treasure in large vessels full of *mohars*, *hons* 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 *Palki* 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 Rājāpur and still further on as far as Sondhā, 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 Rajgad. 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 Sabhāsad, "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 helpmates, 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 Sondev, brother of Abāji the Governor of Kalyan, was made Muzmudar. Anāji Datto was made Surnis or Sachiv. Gangu Mangāji was appointed Waqenavis ; Mānkoji Dahātonde the Surnobat of cavalry died and in his place was appointed Netāji Pālkar. But more than all, the services of a most faithful and capable Secretary Bālāji Avji were obtained for the office of his Chitnis. Bālāji 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 Bālāji. 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 Maskat. Gul Bai proved a clever woman ; as she and her children sailed in a ship from Janjira proceeding to Maskat, she managed by bribing the Captain to be disembarked at the port of Rājāpur, where her brother Visāji 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, Bālāji, a fairly grown up lad, and two younger

ones Chimāji and Shyāmji. Bālāji 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 Rājāpur for fear of being discovered and ill-used by the Siddis. When Shivaji happened to visit Rājāpur about the year 1658 Bālāji 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 *swarajya*. 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 1658 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. As 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 Chiplun to Dabhol. The country north of this river right up to Basscin, 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 Vingorla 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 Hareshvar and proceeded to Rājāpur with a view to helping the Sāvānt of Kudal whom Rustam-i-Zaman had attacked during the summer of 1658. This Sāvānt 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 Rājāpur. Friendly negotiations took place between Shivaji and the Sāvānt, whose

envoy Pitāambar Shenvi visited Shivaji and concluded with him a formal treaty of mutual friendship and help on 5th March 1659. The Sāvant from now onward practically remained a faithful ally of the Chhatrapatis, 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 hons 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.³

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 Suvarnadurg 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.

3. It is still in the possession of his descendants at Satara.

4. *Military History of the Marathas*, p. 173 and on.

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 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."¹ 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

5. House of Shivaji, p. 87.

down Shivaji. 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 Shira was notorious throughout the land. He, therefore, in his vanity readily accepted the task of humbling Shivaji by fair means or foul, reckless of the consequences.

After the conquest of Jävli Shivaji was occupied in strengthening his position in the vicinity of Wäi. He had built Pratäpgad 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 Tulzäpur and Pandharpur out of spite for Shivaji. At Malavdi he wreaked his wrath against Bajäji Nimbälkar 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 Wäi and Jävli, which were full of lofty hills and impenetrable valleys, and took up his residence along with his mother at Pratäpgad above the mountain pass of Parghat west of Mahabaleshvar. When the Khan learned that Shivaji was at Pratäpgad, he came straight against him to Wäi and there formed his camp in October, this place being about 16 miles due east of Pratäpgad, with the high plateau of Mahabaleshvar 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

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 Wāi, the other to the west at Pratāpgad, each meditating upon the best means of overcoming the other.

The fort of Pratāpgad 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 inevitable 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. Krishnāji Bhāskar, the Kulkarni of Wāi, whose descendants are still living there, and who owed everything to the Bijapuri Government, was induced by Afzal Khan to take up the 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 Wāi 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 Government 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 Krishnāji Pant came on a mission to meet Shivaji at Pratāpgad 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 it 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 Krishnāji Bhāskar 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. Krishnāji, 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 Pratāpgad 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 Krishnāji Bhāskar returned to Wāi accompanied by Shivaji's agent Pantāji Gopināth to explain matters fully and arrange details for a personal meeting of the two principals. Through this Pantāji Pant Shivaji cleverly turned the Khan's game against him. Pantāji urged, if the Khan's professions of amity and cordiality were honest, why should he not trust Shivaji as well and come fearlessly to meet him at Pratāpgad,

where no troop movements were practicable for either party. Pantāji Gopināth 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 Vishvās Rao Nānāji, 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 Wāi and Pratāpgad, 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 Kānhoji Jedhe and turned hostile to Afzal Khan. The Khopde Deshmukh alone was unfriendly to Kānhoji, having openly sided with Afzal Khan and promised to him that he would manage to capture Shivaji alive.⁵ 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. Pantāji Gopināth with his sweet tongue and animated asseverations managed to induce the Khan to come to the foot of the Pratāpgad fort for a meeting with Shivaji. The Khan was quite confident of his superior personal strength. Pantāji 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

5. Raj. 15.302.

was erected where the two were to meet and greet each other. Shivaji made lavish arrangements for the food and comfort of his guests. Only one path was cleared through the dense forest from the foot of the Parghat to go up to the place of the meeting. All other bypaths were made impassable by putting in obstacles of felled trees. The Khan's people freely came, inspected the spot and convinced themselves that all was perfect. There was nothing to rouse suspicion. The Khan was to come fully armed and in his own palanquin with a personal following of 1500 bodyguards; but even these could not all be accommodated at the hill-top. They remained scattered guarding the spot. Lest Shivaji might take fright and not come at all to the meeting, the Khan's party was reduced to the minimum with only two armed servants alongside of him. Even then the whole plan was obviously more dangerous to Shivaji than to the Khan, then about 20 years older than the former. Shivaji was to have no servant with him inside the tent and certainly no visible arms. The two Brahman ambassadors, Krishnāji Pant for the Khan and Pantāji Pant for Shivaji, were to be present for helping the initial introduction and the expected discussion.

That Shivaji was prepared for the worst is evident from the fact that he had made arrangements for his work being continued in a systematic manner, in case he was killed or taken away as a captive. Jaja Bai, Anāji Datto, and Bālāji Āvji remained in the fort above when Shivaji left it, walking down to meet his guest.⁶

Thursday 10th November 1659 (Margashirsha Shukla 7 of Shak 1581) was fixed for this eventful meeting. The time probably was the afternoon between three and four o'clock. During the morning Shivaji finished his daily worship of the Bhavāni, had his breakfast, put on his dress with an iron cuirass of chains under his coat, and a metal cap over his skull inside the turban, and a long white flowing robe over all with broad long sleeves which probably covered a short sword in one hand and tiger-claws⁷ on the fingers of the other. When

6. The following message was delivered before parting: "We have taken up the challenge, (हौड); 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, बिच्छू says Sambhāji in his *dānapatra*.

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 Krishnāji Bhāskar. 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.⁸

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 Ajnāndas has been printed, in which the author says he was sent for from Poona by Jija Bai to Pratāpgad and was ordered to sing the glorious achievement of her son. In those days this was the only means of publishing such events. Ajnāndas 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 Pratāpgad. Netāji Pālkar, Moropant Pingle, Kānhoji 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 Wāi 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 Gawān, Chānd Bibi, Lakhji Jādhav, Murār 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 Bahlolkhan 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 Panhālā, the capital of the western Adilshahi

district, through negotiation on 28th November, that is, within 18 days of Afzal Khan's death. Panhālā and the surrounding district of Kolhāpur, Vasantgad, Khelnā, Rangnā and other minor forts quickly surrendered. At this time Shivaji named Khelnā Vishālgad. The district of Kolhāpur and the forts of Panhālā and Vishālgad had been long assigned to Rustam-i-Zaman as his charge. He was now joined by Fazl Khan who had escaped from Wāi after his father's death, and the two nobles came to oppose Shivaji at Panhālā. They were defeated on 28th December 1659 by Shivaji and were pursued almost to the gates of Bijapur. Netāji Pālkar and other generals of Shivaji plundered the towns of Raibag, Gadag and Laksmeshvar with the intervening country. By the end of January 1660 Shivaji was back at Rājgad 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 Karnool 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. Bāji Ghorpade, Rustam-i-Zaman, Fazl Khan and several others joined the Siddi and a large number of troops came against Panhālgad. The Siddi of Janjirā and the Sāvant of Wādi were induced to work against Shivaji simultaneously. Shivaji too prepared to face the enemy and took up his residence at Panhālgad 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 Panhālā under Shivaji's direction, and the Sarnaubat, Netāji Pālkar, 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 Rajgad learned that the siege of Panhālā was being hard-pressed against Shivaji and feeling extremely anxious about his safety, called Netāji Pālkar to her side and chided him for his indifference in the matter of relieving the siege of Panhālā. Parmānand has eloquently described Jija Bai's interview with Netāji, who assured her that all would be well.

Salabat Khan in the meantime approached the English factors of Rājāpur for ammunition and some English gunners, who could create havoc among the defenders of Panhāla. 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 Shivāji's position altogether untenable. This wanton interference of the English merchants of Rājāpur rightly gave offence to Shivaji and made him take to reprisals with serious consequences for the English as will be noticed later.

At this very moment when Shivaji was hard-pressed at Pānhālā, 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 Bārāmāti and pushed right up to Shirval towards south in April, when Shivaji was surrounded at Panhāla. 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 Lāl Mahāl. In August he wrested Chākan from its valiant Commander Phirangoji Narsālā. 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 Sinh from Gujarat to proceed 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 Panhālā.

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 temporarily 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 Vishālgad, accompanied by a small party of loyal followers led by a devoted servant, Bāji 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 Vishālgad. At that critical moment Bāji Prabhu occupied the narrow pass known as Ghod-Khind (horse-ravine) at the eastern entrance of Vishālgad and allowed his master time to get safely into it and himself stoutly resisted for hours the huge body of pursuers with his own small band, until they were all cut down to a man and Bāji 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 Bāji 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.⁹

This escape of Shivaji foiled the Bijapuri plans of capturing him. On 22nd September 1660 he gave up the fort of Panhālā formally to the Adil Shah and concluded peaceful relations with him so as to gain time to attend to the Mughal onslaught.

9. *Raj.* 15,363.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER VI

1660	Ali Adil Shah II wrests power from Bāji Sahiba.
1661 Jan.	Kartalb Khan humbled by Shivaji.
1661 Feb.	Shaista Khan captures Kalyan.
1661 March	Shivaji attacks Rājāpur, arrests 6 English factors.
1661 April 29	Shivaji expels Survé from Shringārpur ; conciliates that family later and also the Shirkes.
1661 May-1662 June	Badi Sahiba's pilgrimage to Mecca.
1662	Shahji reconciles Shivaji to Adil Shah.
1663 Jan. 17	The English factors of Rājāpur released.
1663 April 5	Night attack on Shaista Khan.
1663 April 6	Mughals attack Sinhagad.
1663 Summer	Adil Shah reaches Bankapur : opens war against Shivaji (1663-1664).
1663 Summer	Shivaji attacks pilgrim ships to Mecca : writes a strong remonstrance to Mughal officials.
1663 June	Shaista Khan retires to Aurangabad. Muazzam appointed Governor with Jashvant Sinh.
1663 Dec.	Shaista Khan leaves for Bengal.
1664 Jan. 1	Shivaji leaves Nasik for Surat.
1664 Jan. 8-9	Shivaji sacks and burns Surat.
1664 Jan 10	Shivaji leaves Surat for Raigad.
1664 Jan. 23	Death of Shahji.
1664 May	Shivaji at Kudal to defend the Sawant.
1664 Sept. 30	Mirza Raja Jay Sinh commissioned to proceed against Shivaji.
1605 — 1667	Mirza Raja Jay Sinh's Life-period.
1664 Novr.	Shivaji sacks Mudhol, kills Bāji Ghorpade.
1664 Novr. 25	Shivaji starts building the Sindhudurg castle and organizes a naval force.
1664 Dec.	Khawas Khan and Ekoji defeated near Khānāpur.

1664 Dec.	Shivaji plunders Hubli.
1665 Jan.	Shivaji captures Pondā : makes peace with the Sawant.
1665 Jan. 19	Jay Sinh reaches Burhanpur.
1665 Feb. 8	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	Murār Bāji 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 <i>farman</i> .
1665 Novr. 25	Jay Sinh opens operations against Bijapur, Shivaji joins in them.
1666 Jan. 16	Shivaji's unsuccessful effort to capture Panhāla.
1666 Jan.	Netāji Palkar quits Shivaji's service and joins Bijapur.
1666*March 20	Netāji receives Imperial <i>Mansab</i> from Aurangzeb.

CHAPTER VI
UPS AND DOWNS
[1661 — 1665]

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|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Kartalb Khan humbled. | 5. Bijapuri activities ; Baji |
| 2. English Factors confined. | Ghorpade crushed. |
| 3. Night raid on Shaista Khan. | 6. Jay Sinh and Shivaji face to |
| 4. Surat sacked. | face. |

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 Chākan he had to pay a heavy price in a thousand valuable lives. Shivaji after escaping from Panhālā reached Vishālgad safely and thence quickly proceeded to Rājgad 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 Udārām 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

barren waterless tract with huge precipices on the two sides. 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 Khan found no way out, his men were dying of suffocation and thirst, so that he begged the Rai Bagan to intercede with Shivaji. The Marathā 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 discomfort. Parmānand has described this episode of Umbar-Khind with graceful eloquence.¹

As soon as Kartalb Khan was disposed of, Shivaji appointed Netāji Palkar to look after the Mughals, and he himself rapidly moved against Rājāpur as much to wreak his vengeance upon the English factors for their wanton interference at the siege of Panhālā, as to further weaken the Bijapur power by seizing its territory of the south Konkan as well. Dābhol, Rājāpur and Kārwar 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 Dābhol from its owner surnamed Dalvi, worshipped at the shrine of Parshurām near Chiplun, proceeded to Sangameshvar, also a rich port then, and stationing there two of his trusted officers Tānāji Mālusre and Pilāji Nilakanth, himself suddenly appeared before Rājāpur.

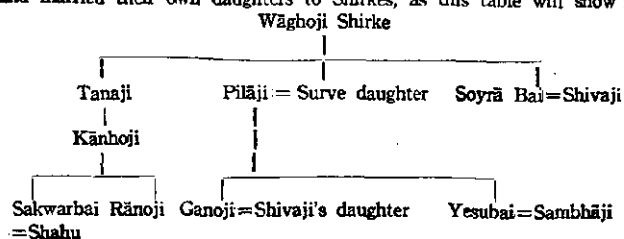
Here he plundered the English factory and kept under restraint six of the East India Company's officials. He collected

1. Sh. Bh. Chapter 29.

a large plunder from Rājāpur and appointed his own administrators at the port, and also at Khārepātan about ten miles to the south. In the meantime receiving news that Surya Rao Surve, the Chief of Shringārpur near Sangameshvar had attacked Tānāji Mālsure and defeated him, Shivaji ran back from Rājāpur to Tānāji'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 Shringārpur on 29 April. At his approach the Surve ran away to save his life, so that his principality stretching from Sangameshvar to Dapoli, 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 Shringārpur used to be administered by another chief named Wāghoji 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.² Thus the two powerful chiefs of south Konkan, the Shirkes of Kutre and the Surves of Shringārpur, were won over by Shivaji to his service, so that the whole west coast from Bassein 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 Shirke ladies into their house and married their own daughters to Shirkes, as this table will show :—



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 Rājāpur. 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 Dābhol, 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 Rājāpur 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 Rājāpur 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 Rājāpur, 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.³

Then came the siege of Panhālgad, where the Rājāpur factors came to fight against Shivaji at the call of Siddi Jauhar Salabat Khan. Remington, Mingham, Gifford, and their interpreter Velji went to Panhālgad, 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-

3. It may be mentioned that in those days many private persons and rulers and chiefs also used to engage their capital in private trade on the sea, keeping their own ships and plying them to different lands, reaping enormous profits by such exchange of commodities. Even the Mughal Emperor and the Bahmani kings had their own ships working on the sea.

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 Bijapur. 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 Songad near Mahād, and some at fort Wāsotā. Shivaji stationed a competent officer, Rāoji Somnāth, to manage the affairs of Rājāpur and look after the comforts of the six factors in confinement. In a few days Rāoji Somnāth informed the factors that they would be set at liberty and amply recompensed 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 Bijapur, 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 pre-occupations 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 doe, 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, meddling, must looke for a requitall of their deserts. 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 Rāoji Somnāth 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 Rāoji Pandit came and carried the other captives to Rājāpur 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 Rājāpur had to suffer. We shall not repeat the affair." After this the English factors resumed their trade at Rājāpur. A writer in that factory informed the Surat President that " Shivaji's raid on Rājāpur 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 Rājāpur 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 Kartalb 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 upto Pen. The next rainy season brought in a temporary cessation of hostilities ; but operations were soon resumed and Nandar 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 wove 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 Mavlas, dressed them as Mughal soldiers and descended from Sinhgad on the afternoon of 5 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 overcame all. Having thus perpetrated terrible havoc, Shivaji and his party left hurriedly, 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. Surat Sacked.—Shivaji was not the man to rest on his oars. His keen mind devised fresh blows at the Mughals.

4. Vide Shiva-C-Sahitya 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, Bahirji 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 Siddi 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 Inayat-ulla 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.⁵ 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 impertinent 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

5. The whole account is compiled from a number of sources now published and available, Factory Records, Foreign Biographies, Manucci, Dutch accounts and others.

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 Rājāpur 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.

Writes 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 Rājā 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."⁶

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 body-guard struck off the assassin's hand, but the fellow hurled himself upon the Rājā. 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-

6. Sen's Foreign Biographies, P. 179.

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 Saiyad Beg, Bahirji 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.⁷ 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 Bhushan in his poetic fashion.⁷

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 shrank from any wanton cruelty for extracting money.⁸

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

7. Vide Verse 201 of *Shiva-raj Bhushan Kavya*.

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.⁹

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 Tungā-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 Panhāla 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 Rājāpur 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 as 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

9. सुरत बेकुरत 'Surat was denuded of all its glory' is the common description of this episode given by the *Bakhars*.

Emperor sent his son Shahzada Muazzam as Governor of the Deccan with Jashvant Sinh 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 Netāji Palkar fell like vultures upon the Mughal territories between Ahmadnagar and Aurangabad. 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 one 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 realize 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."¹⁰

10. House of Shivaji, by Sarkar, p. 98. For Bijapuri nobles see p. 55.

It has already been mentioned that Ali Adil Shah took back the fort of Panhālā from Shivaji. Early in 1663 the Shah started on an expedition into the Karnatak and took his station at Bankāpur, *determined* particularly to recover the territories of south Konkan, which Shivaji had seized and bring back to obedience the Sāvant of Wādi who had gone over to Shivaji's side. The presence of Adil Shah cowed the Sāvant as well as the Dutch factors of Vingorla and the Portuguese of Goa. This move was *at once opposed* by Shivaji who personally arrived at Kudāl 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 Kudāl 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 Kudāl and sent a large force under Ikhlas Khan to recover Kudāl, and at the same time ordered his minister Khawas Khan to proceed with a well-equipped army from Bijapur to reinforce Ikhlas Khan. Bāji Ghorpade of Mudhol was at the same time ordered to proceed against Kudāl. Shivaji's half brother Ekoji from Tanjore also arrived on duty to oppose Shivaji and wrest Kudāl 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 Bāji Ghorpade, who was a staunch adherent of Adil Shah, *deadly 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 Kudāl. Learning that Shivaji was rapidly coming upon Mudhol, Bāji Rāja left the place

and boldly came out to meet him with his whole following. A sanguinary action ensued in which Bāji 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 Kudāl. Māloji Ghorpade the youngest son of Bāji was installed as the Chief of Mudhol,¹¹ 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 Khānāpur 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."¹² The Khan got so severely wounded that he soon died and lost 200 men besides all the cash. Shivaji leisurely plundered Khānāpur, Hubli etc. and sent off the goods in due security.¹³ 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 Sāvant 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 Ponda with gunpowder and captured it by sheer force. They negotiated for peace and gave me some guns. Pitāambar Shenvai came to me as an envoy of peace to treat both for the Sāvant and the Portuguese. I annexed half the territory of the Sāvant and restored the other half to him. I

11. Years afterwards Shivaji thus wrote to Maloji, "it is to be regretted that your father forgetting all the good that my father had done him, sided with Mustafa Khan in capturing him. It was your father who gave over my father as a captive into Mustafa's hands, thus causing bitter 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 Bijapur and came to be murdered on 20 Jan. 1676.

13. Dr. Balkrishna, Shivaji the Great, Vol. I, p. 533.

reminded him that he was a son of the Bhosles and ought to join me in saving our country and religion."¹⁴

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.¹⁵

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 Foundage 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 Bednur, 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-Gokarn¹⁶ on the Shivaratri day, and in the midst of

14. Shivaji Souvenir p. 144.

15. B. I. S. M. Q. 11, p. 47.

16. Kalidas mentions this shrine of Gokarn in Ragh. VIII. 33.

his rejoicing receiving the dreadful news of an attack on his dominions by Mirza 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 Kudāl and his power over its ruler the Sāvant were entirely upset; the same Pitambar Shenvai going to Bijapur on behalf of the Sāvant, and effecting a fresh treaty with that Court for a coalition against Shivaji. The Sāvant 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 Muazzam and Jashvant Sinh and despatched a fresh expedition under Mirza 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 Monghir 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 Turki, Persian, and Urdu in addition to his own Rajasthani. He had now reached the age of sixty and had developed the statesman's sobriety 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, Shaista 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 Burhanpur 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 Sāvant of Kudāl 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 round about 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 Saswad and himself

took up his temporary residence in Poona. He posted one general Kutbuddin Khan at Lohgad 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 Saswad on 31st March and at once employed Dilir Khan in laying siege to the fort of Purandar. He despatched Daud Khan Qureshi to capture Rajgad, 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 Parenda 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

Bāji 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 Bhingad 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 Bāji, 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 Palki 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 Sinh's suggestion, Shivaji proceeded with his son Kirat-Sinh and met Dilir 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 Sinh. Shivaji's mother and wife who were there left it, as also the whole garrison of seven thousand men. Kirat Sinh 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 Sinh to the Emperor.

Jay Sinh's letters to the Emperor appear after all to be formal official reports of the transactions and do not supply any clue as to how far he agreed or disagreed with Shivaji's views. This want is admirably made up by the Persian "Letter addressed to Jaysinh" 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 Sinh 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 Sinh 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 Sinh's son Ram Sinh.

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 affair 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, Sinhgad and Lohgad 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 Maloji Ghorpade of Mudhol and Ekoji from Bangalore came and joined the Bijapuri forces under Sharza 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 Bijapuri

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 Golkonda 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 Pareda. Shivaji offered to capture the fort of Panhālā 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 Netāji 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. Netāji 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, Netāji left Shivaji's service and joining the Bijapuri forces, created thereby a serious situation for Jay Sinh, who, by means of secret overtures took Netāji 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

VII

1665	June	15	Treaty of Purandar.
1666	Jan.	22	Death of Shah Jahan.
"	March	5	Shivaji starts for Agra.
"	May	12	Shivaji is presented to Aurangzeb at Court.
"	"	20	Jafar Khan presents Shivaji's petition to the Emperor.
"	"	29	Another petition from Shivaji presented.
"	June	8	Shivaji requests to be taken out of Ram Sinh's charge.
"	"	9	Shivaji sends away his retinue.
"	July	15	Shivaji obtains a loan from Ram Sinh.
"	"	"	Poet Parmānand first mentioned as at Agra.
"	Aug.	17	Shivaji escapes from Agra.
"	"	23	Poet Parmānand placed in detention.
"	Nov.	20	(or Sept. 12 ?) Shivaji reaches Rajgad.
"	Dec.	26	Parmānand brought back from Chandangaon.
"			Netāji Pālkar brought to the Emperor's court.
1667			Netāji made Muslim and sent to serve in Afghanistan.
1667	May		Jay Sinh recalled : is replaced by Muazzam and Jashvant Sinh.
"	"		Bahlol Khan besieged fort Rangna : Shivaji raises the siege.
"	Aug.	28	Death of Jay Sinh at Burhanpur.
"	Sept.		Adil Shah concludes treaty with Shivaji.
"	Dec.	11	The Portuguese make peace with Shivaji.
1668	March	9	Aurangzeb makes peace with Shivaji.
"	Aug.	5	Sambhāji joins the Mughal camp.
1668			Bijapur and Golkonda agree to grant Chauth to Shivaji.

CHAPTER VII
THE LION BEARDED IN HIS DEN.

[1666—1667]

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

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. (There was a provision in the treaty for a personal visit of Shivaji to the Emperor.) 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 Siddi 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-

perial Court.

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 Pratāprao 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 Sambhāji 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 Tānāji Mālusre, Yesāji Kank, Bāji Sharzerav Jedhe, Hiroji Farzand, Balāji Avji, Nirāji Rāoji, Raghunath Ballāl Korde, Trimbak Sondev Dabir, and Madāri 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 resplendent Khilat."

When Shivaji reached Aurangabad crowds of citizens turned out to have a look at him. But the Governor Safshikan Khan did not come out to receive him, expecting that Shivaji would call on him. Shivaji noticed the affront and went straight to Jay Sinh'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 name the *Shiva-Bharat*, 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 Mahārāshtra 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 Kumār 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 Kumar 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 Raja to accompany Shivaji all the way. On 11th May Shivaji reached Malik Chand's Sarai and halted there. Then Kumar Rām Sinh gave to Giridhar Lāl Munshi a special robe and a horse with

1. *House of Shivaji* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

silver trappings and said to him, "Do you go and convey my *Rām Rām* to Shivaji." So Giridhar Lāl went there with 40 horsemen, gave Shivaji his master's salutations and informed him of the arrangement made for their meeting. Shiva dismissed Giridhar Lāl after bestowing on him one robe and Rs. 200 cash.

"On 12th May Rām Sinh rode out to welcome Shivaji; and the two chiefs met each other at the Nurjung Garden. Tej Sinh told Shivaji, 'This is Kumār Rām Sinh' and next coming up to the Kumār's side pointed out Shivaji to him. The Kumār moved forward and embraced Shiva. Mukhlis Khan met Shiva next. The Kumār conducted Shivaji to a tent close to his own camp and welcomed him with music etc. Then Rām Sinh and Mukhlis Khan started leading Shivaji to the Court. (In the mean time the Emperor had left the Diwānī-Am and taken his seat in the Diwan-i-Khās where Shivaji was conducted.) The Emperor ordered Asad Khan Bakshi to bring Shivaji forward. Asad Khan led him upto 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).) Sambhāji too 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 Sinh. 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 Sinh. 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 Kumār came to Shiva's side, when Shivaji 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 Kumār caught hold of his hand, but Shiva wrenched it away, came to one side

and sat down. The Kumār 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 Multafat Khan, Aquil 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 Kumār to take Shiva away with himself to his own residence and persuade him to the proper course. Rām 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 Kumār 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. Rām 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 Rām Sinh and conveyed a message from the Emperor intended to conciliate Shivaji. The next day, 13th May, Rām 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 Rad-Andaz Khan, a low-born fanatical young favourite of the Emperor, who was then Commandant of the Agra Fort. When Rām 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 Kumār 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 Kumār's tent, gave him the solemn assurance of good conduct and Rām 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 vermillion-coloured with golden decorations stamped on it. In his train camels are few and meant for carrying luggage. He has a hundred *Banjaris*. 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 Rām Sinh's tent Shivaji said, "it is sheer destiny that has brought me here. Why did you not advise the Mahārājā (Mirzā Rājā) against sending me into the Emperor's hands?" Shivaji then paid some money to the Vazir 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 Rām Sinh and Shivaji to go on duty to Kābul. 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 Kumār'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 Rām Sinh." The Emperor replied, "Rām Sinh is a faithful servant, you must remain in his charge." So the Kumār's men are now keeping a watch over Shivaji in addition to the Kotwal's troops. Rām 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. Shiva, therefore, has sent word to Rām 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 mean time the Emperor wrote to the Mirzā Rājā 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,

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, 1666.

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." Shivaji's residence is strictly patrolled by the Emperor's troops. The Kumār too enforces all strictness and caution. Rām Sinh takes Shiva's son to the Darbar.² 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 Kumār Rām Sinh for a loan and obtained 66,000 rupees for which he gave a hundi on his officers in the Deccan to pay the Mirzā Rājā."

(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. Sambhaji was then nine years old and used to visit the Emperor now and then. In giving an account of his past life in a sanskrit paper (dated 1680) he says he was, while at 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.

प्रादुर्भूत बालभावेन्द्रप्रस्थापिनाथातुलनात् मलयुद्धे दत्ताज्ञानं [संभाजी दान-पत्र]

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 upto 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 unflinching 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

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 latterly 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 Rām Sinh's quarters was inconvenient, as Rām 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 Rām 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 that he was to be removed to a new and more comfortable house, he understood what this change meant, and he escaped on the eve of the day appointed for the change of his residence. He had already asked Rām Sinh to cancel the bond of surety he had executed. He was anxious that Rām 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 Hiroji Farzand and Madari 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. Niraji Raoji, Dattaji Trimbak and Raghu 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 despatched 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 Rām Sinh responsible for Shivaji's escape and commanded him to go personally and catch the fugitive. The Kumār went in search towards Dholpur. Fulad Khan in an outburst of violence declared that Shivaji had escaped through Rām Sinh's patrols. In a few days the Kumār 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 inquiry 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 Raghunāthpant 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 Parmānand thus,—“ Shivaji has a poet entitled Kavindra or Kavishwar to whom he has given a male and female elephant, 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 *paraganas*. To-day Manohardas Purohit and Nathurām report from Dausa that Parmānand Kavishwar had arrived there with two elephants, 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 Nathurām write to say Kavindra Kavishwar Parmānand of Shiva’s service had been detained here. Later on an order came from the Mirzā Rājā to release and keep him under guard where he is. We made inquiries and learned that he had gone to Udai intending to proceed to Benares. So on hearing this news, I sent off four horsemen and fifteen footmen after him that very day. They overtook him in Chandangaon in the Hindaun Paragana and brought him back on Wednesday 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 Parmānand.

(The whole circumstantial evidence discloses one main fact that the world outside was extremely favourable to Shivaji, accusing the Emperor of treacherously violating his plighted 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 Rām Sinh was formally pardoned, but never again taken into that loving confidence which he had enjoyed before. It is also plain that Rām 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 Sambhāji 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 Golkonda and Bijapur and suddenly appeared before his mother at Rajgad in the garb of a wandering mendicant on 12 September 1636 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-jotes* 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, Nirāji Rāoji, Bālāji Āvji, Hiroji Farzand, Raghunāthpant Korde, and Trimbak 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 *Akbarais*, see *House of Shivaji*, p. 151. But the *Jedhe 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 Shiva, and have on that account to suffer these terrible hardships of war till my end."¹

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.¹ To guard against Shivaji, the Emperor thought of Netāji Pālkar 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 Netāji and send him a prisoner to the Court, thinking perhaps that he would create further trouble in conjunction with Shivaji. So Netāji and his uncle Kondāji arrived at the capital, when the Emperor suggested to Netāji that if he would turn Muhammadan, he would be amply rewarded; if he declined, he would have to remain in life-long confinement. Netāji reluctantly agreed and was converted, re-

1. Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 157 and on.

ceiving the name of ^{Nikaj Khan} 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 Sambhā to wait on the Prince and serve at the head of my followers wherever required."

"In May 1667," says the *Shakawali*, "Bahlol Khan and Ekoji Rāje besieged fort Rangnā. Shivaji Rāje 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 Rām Sinh not to undertake the unpleasant task of guarding Shivaji, one Hindu prince watching over another. In this way both Jay Sinh and Rām 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 Rām 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 28 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 Sambhāji came back to serve in the Mughal Camp with his contingent headed by Pratāpnāo Gujar and Niraji Rāoji. Sambhāji 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 Golkonda 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 Golkonda 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	Kashi-Vishweshwar temple pulled down and masjid built on its site.
1670 Jan.	Shivaji plunders Berar.
„ Feb. 4	Shivaji recaptures Sinhagad.
„ March 3	Kalyan and Bhivandi recovered.
„ April	Junnar, Ahmadnagar, Parenda plundered.
„ Oct. 3—6	Shivaji's second raid on Surat.
„ „ 16	Daud Khan routed at Vani Dindori.
„ Nov.	Shivaji raids Burhanpur and Karanja. Mahabat Khan appointed Mughal Governor.
1671 Jan. 5	Shivaji captures fort Salher.
„ monsoon	Dilir Khan sacks Poona.
„ Dec.	Mahabat Khan recalled : Bahadur Khan takes his place.
„ „	Ikhlas Khan besieges Salher.
1672 Feb.	Mughals defeated before Salher.
„ „	Fort Kanhergad bravely holds out for Shivaji.
„ „	Shivaji's envoy, Qazi Haidar, meets Bahadur Khan and is confined at Parenda.
„ „	Junnar and Ramnagar seized by Moropant.
„ „	Bahadurgad built by Bahadur Khan.
„ Nov. 24	Death of Ali Adil Shah II.
1673 March 6	Fort Panhālā taken by Shivaji.
„ April 15	Battle of Umbrani : Bahlol Khan routed.
„ „	Pratāp Rao Gujar plunders Hubli.
1674 Feb. 24	Battle of Nesari, Pratāp Rāo killed.
„ March 23	Sampgaon plundered

CHAPTER VIII
STILL GREATER TRIUMPHS
[1668-1673]

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| 1 Fresh wave of Mughal fanaticism. | 4 Bloody toll of Salher. |
| 2 Shivaji's reply, recovers lost forts. | 5 Panhala taken. |
| 3 Second sack of Surat and its sequel. | 6 Pratap Rao Gujar sacrifices himself. |

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 Pratāp Rāo Gujar and Nirāji Rāoji. 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 Pratāp Rāo Gujar and Nirāji Rāoji. 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.¹

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 Mathurā suffered a similar fate. So furious was Aurangzeb against the Krishna worship at Mathurā that he changed the name of the town to Islamabad. Ahmadabad and Ujjain 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 Divali 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, Orissa, Assam and Rajputana suffered the same fate. The temples of Ambar, the capital of the loyal state of Jaipur were broken down later in 1680."

Neither age nor experience softened the rigour of Aurang-

1. Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol. 3, p. 264-286.

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 Kabir. 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 important² 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 Bhān Rāthod. 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?²

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 Tānāji Mālusre, Shivaji's dearest comrade and his brother Suryāji 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, Tānāji 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 Suryāji remained concealed near the main gate and Tānāji 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 Tānāji and Uday Bhānu. The fort was captured and a huge bonfire announced the result to Shivaji at Rajgad. Next morning the dead body of Tānāji 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 Tānāji was no more.³

Tānāji's exploit is annually commemorated at the fort, which is practically still in tact in its original grandeur. Jija Bai at once sent for Tulsidās, a professional bard from Poona, and asked him to compose a ballad which sang in touching strains the valour and sacrifice of Tānāji Malusre. Shivaji amply rewarded the relatives of those who had fallen. Tulsidās'

3. Sinhagad is even to-day a rare sight not only for Mahārāshtrians but to travellers and visitors from all over India, who as a rule when they visit Poona, do not return without paying homage to Sinhagad at a distance of 18 miles thence, which motor buses now cover in half an hour for a few annas. From the foot the climb up is about 3 miles which one must do on foot.

ballad is still recited in stirring accents to thousands of listeners whose hearts are passionately moved to strong sentiments of pathos and patriotism. The quaint old language of the ballad as now before us may be taken as evidence of its historical accuracy. It has been rendered into English by Acworth.

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 Chāndwad near Nasik and carried away the imperial treasure that was deposited there. An attempt was made on Mahuli, but its keeper Manohardas, 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 Uzbek Khan on 3 March 1670. Manohardas 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

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 Chāndwad, he found his way barred by a large Mughal army led by the redoubtable Daud Khān Qureshi, who had obtained correct news of Shivaji's movements, and on the night of 16 October suddenly attacked him between Vani 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 guerilla 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 Vani and Dindori proved most tenacious and costly on account of the determined onslaught made by the Mughals, under their various capable officers, Ikhlas Khan and Baqui

Khan, well directed by Daud Khan himself. This time Shivaji personally led the Marathas in an open and sanguinary action. On the whole three thousand Mughals and a few Marathas were killed. Four thousand horses were captured by the Marathas along with a number of officers and soldiers. They were subsequently released by Shivaji and allowed to go home. The famous Rai Bagan, the heroic wife of the Deshmukh of Mahur who had once before confronted Shivaji at the time of Kartalb Khan's discomfiture, now came forth to defend the Mughal cause, but she was overpowered and allowed to go home, completely subdued. As a result of this battle the Mughal power was neutralized for more than a month afterwards. Siddi Hilal the Mughal governor of Dindori transferred his services to Shivaji.

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.⁴

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 Pratāp-Rāo Gujar 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. 173-179.

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.⁵

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 Daud 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 occasion. Pratāp Rāo Gujar, Anand Rāo Makāji, 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 recaptured 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 Rāo Kākde, 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, one

5. Sarkar's Shivaji, P. 189.

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.”⁶

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 guerilla 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 Sinh 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.

⁶ पुण्याच्या कप्या गर्जताती शिवाजी
तिथें नांदतो पेशव्या मर्द गाजी ।
जशी मर्दिली कौरवे पांडवाने
तशी मारिली मोगले पेशव्याने ॥ Sabhasad Bakhar P. 63.

An illustration of this national change was now furnished by the fort of Kanhergad near Chāndwad, where Shivaji had appointed one Rāmāji Pangera as the keeper. The small fort was suddenly attacked by Dilir Khan with a very large force, when Rāmāji 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 discomfiture. 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.⁶⁵

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

6a. Compare similar description in

पर्णालपर्वतग्रहणाख्यान, २. ७—५२
 मूर्तं किमिति नो तस्मिन् युद्धे सालेरि पर्वते ।
 तेषां तर्कदर्शनं श्रुत्वा मया किञ्जीव्यतेऽयुना ॥
 अफजलोपि हतो येन एकैर्नैव महामतिः ।
 महाबलो महाबाहुरेदिलस्यातिसंमतः ॥
 द्रष्टव्यं स्वामिभिस्तत्र कियद्यत्नेन रक्षितः ।
 तथापि पश्चिंवत्पूर्णं पुत्रेण सह निर्गतः ॥
 ततस्तेनातिविपुर्णं प्रविचार्य विवेकतः ।
 काजी हेदर नामासौ प्रेषितो यद्वनोत्तमः ॥

own offence would not appear after all so very blameworthy."

Writes 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.⁷

Soon after the battle of Salher Pratāp Rāo 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.⁸ 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 Parendā, but soon effected his escape and returned to Shivaji's service. Obviously Shivaji intended to have his independent status formally re-

⁷ सरित्पतीचे जल मोजवेना । माध्यान्हिचा भास्कर पाहवेना ।

सुश्रीत वैश्वानर बांधवेना । तैसा शिवाजी मज जिंकवेना ॥

⁸ Sarkar's *House of Shivaji* Pp. 157-161.

cognized 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 Rāmnagar 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 upto about 1755.

The Rajas of Rāmnagar 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 koli raids. Shivaji, it is supposed, picked up this practice of exacting the levy of Chauth on the model of Rāmnagar. It soon developed into a formidable instrument for the expansion of the Maratha power, after Shivaji's death.⁹

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 Bhima 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 lead of Shivaji.

9. See शककर्ता शिवाजी P. 150.

Indeed this is the greatest service Shivaji did his nation as is testified to by Grant Duff.¹⁰

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 Sinhagad for the Poona region, the fort of Panhālā was coveted by him for the security of his southern section. His memorable fight at Panhālā with Siddi Jawhar Salabat 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 Sinhagad was secured by the death of the lion Tānāji Mālusre, Shivaji became ever more impatient to get back Panhālā, and concerted measures for its recovery. He assembled a band of valiant fighters at Rājapur and asked Anāji Datto to lead them against Panhālā. Anāji obtained a clever co-worker Kondāji Raylekar and arranged a sudden attack upon Panhālā on a dark night, nearly on the same plan that had been adopted by Tānāji Mālusre at Sinhagad two years before. Kondāji 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 Phālgun, 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. Kondāji's men opened the gates and Anāji 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 Marātha people."

to oppose them. They went straight to the Chief Keeper Babu Khan's residence and killed him outright. Nāgoji 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 Panhālā 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 Rāmdās for his shrine and named Sajjangad or the fort of the pious.

In heroic and lively strains this capture of Panhālā has been celebrated by the Sanskrit poet Jayrām Pindye and his account, absolutely contemporary, deserves a careful study.¹¹

6. **Pratap Rao Gujar's Sacrifice.**—The Bijapurians could not take all this lying down. Khawas Khan, the minister in power, at once despatched Bahlol Khan with armies and provisions for wresting back Panhālā. The news of this fresh advance reached Shivaji, and deciding to encounter the Khan before he had proceeded far from Bijapur, Shivaji sent Pratāp Rāo Gujar and Anand Rāo Makāji 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 Pratāp Rāo 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 Pratāp Rāo'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 ask-

11. *Parnala Parvata Grahanakhyān.*

ed him not to show his face to him again until he had brought Bahlol Khan to complete submission. Pratāp Rāo'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 ravage the Kolhapur districts by levying a heavy blackmail. Pratāp Rāo left his headquarters first proceeding to the south and plundering the rich town of Hubli. Bahlol Khan, as expected, came against him with his full force, fired with a resolve to reconquer south Konkan from Shivaji. Bahlol Khan was soon joined by Sharza Khan and they together started their work with great fury and determination. Pratāp Rāo keenly watched for an opportunity to face Bahlol 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 Ghataprabhā river. When Pratāp Rāo 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. Pratāp Rāo 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.

Pratāp Rāo's help-mate Ānand Rāo Makāji was not far away when the former fell, and upon learning the news of his death hastened to avenge it. Bahlol Khan received timely help from Dilir Khan and extricated himself from the difficult situation in which he found himself. Ānand Rāo plundered Sampgaon the principal seat of Bahlol Khan's jagir, and carried away a plunder of 1½ lacs hons (23 March 1674). On his way back he was surprised by Bahlol 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 FULFILMENT¹
[1674—1676]

¹ The Coronation,—its true significance. ² The Ceremony.
³ A year of unrest all round.

1. 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 निर्जित्य सर्वानवनीमहेन्द्रान्
नृपः स सिंहासनमध्यरोहत् ।
योऽयत्त दिल्लीपतिचित्तशल्यं
अनन्यगच्छन्मृपतीतिशब्दम् ॥ शि. च. प्र. पृ. १३१
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 for ever 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 clansmen 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 Sisodiā 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 Devs, 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 *Shudrāchār Shiromani* (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 Brahmans, Keshav Bhat Purohit, Bhalachandra Bhat, Somnathbhat 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 Bālāji Avji, 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.² The deputation sought out an equally versatile opponent to Krishna Shesha, in the person of Vishveshvar alias Gāgā Bhatta, whose ancestor Govind Bhatta, had left Paithan 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.³

2. स्वराष्ट्र-स्वधर्म-स्वभावादिकांचा जगी मान व्हावा असा हेतु साचा ॥

3. These are under the titles of मयूख, उद्योत, कमलाकर &c. व्यवहार मयूख by Nilakanth Bhatt, निर्णय कमलाकर or निर्णय सिंधु by Kamalakar Bhatt, दिनकरोद्योत by Dinkar Bhatt and a vast number 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 Gāgā was himself an author of repute and has to his credit an important standard work, *Kāyastha-Dharma-Pradīp*, in which the fanciful theories of the *Shudrāchār Shiromani* have been fully demolished and Kshatriya rites have been granted to the Kāyastha caste. At all social and religious conferences of Benares the Bhattas 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 Rāmdās, and having formed his decision sent his agent Govind Bhat Khedkar to escort Gāgā 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 Bhagawadgitā. In Shivaji, he maintained, the merciful Almighty has once again incarnated himself in order to protect the people persecuted by Aurangzeb.⁴ Gāgā Bhatt possessed great erudition and persuasive oratory and won over to his views most of the great intellects then living in Mahārāshtra. He was helped by the clever Bālāji 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 (*Dwijā*) 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

4. See p. 34, Note 19.

shape and size as are enjoined in the scriptures. The construction of the various edifices and requirements, such as palaces, temples, tanks, gates, fortifications, guest-houses, offices, magazines and stores,⁵ was carefully attended to.

Before the ceremonies began, Shivaji paid a visit of inspection 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 military duties. He returned to Raigad and appointed Hambir Rāo Mohite as *Senāpati* in the place of Pratāp Rāo Gujar recently killed. On the way from Chiplun Shivaji visited Pratāp-gad, worshipped his family deity the Tuljā Bhavāni, presenting her a gold umbrella worth Rs. 56,000. On Jyestha Shuddha 4 Shak 1596 corresponding to 29 May 1674 Shivaji had his thread ceremony performed with due rites, and two days after, on Jyestha Suddha 6, his marriage with the chief queen was rehearsed with Vedic rites. *Punyahavachan*, sacrificial fire, penances and rites for averting evil (*Shantis*), were all duly executed in consonance with Vedic prescription and incantations of hymns.

§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 Bhatt, son of Prabhakar, acted as the Chief ministrant, 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 letters give his weight as 150 lbs, which shews that he was not at all inclined to obesity. Henry Oxenden, a relative of the President 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. 123.

The throne was a raised seat rich and stately, nearly square in shape 13½ 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 Brahmans and priests singing Vedic hymns to the accompaniment of offerings and the sweet strains of music. Gifts of money and clothes were distributed, Gāgā 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 Brahmans 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 Nārāyan 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 Jagdishvar,⁶ 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 to-day.

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

6. Note the verse carved there on stone :—

प्रासादो जगदीश्वरस्य जगतामानन्दोऽनुज्ञया
श्रीमच्छत्रपतेः शिवस्य वृपतेः सिद्धासने तिष्ठतः ।
श्रीमदायगिरौ गिरामविषये द्वीराजिना निर्मिता
रावचन्द्रदिवाकरौ विलसतस्तावत्समुद्भूते ॥

5 crores. This probably includes the fortifications and embellishment of the capital also. The ceremony alone is estimated by Sir Jadunāth 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 Pāchād at the foot of Raigad on 17 June, 1674, "rejoicing to see" as Sir Jadunāth 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 Pāchād 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 vermillion 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 Rāmdās. 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 plinths, the grand market street, the gates and ramparts, the Gangā Sāgar tank, all in black hard stone.

Sir Jadunāth 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 Udepur 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 भगवा झेंडा and जरी पटका.

sand people and with their wives and children making fifty thousand souls. All were fed with sumptuous meals for some months."

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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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 *Rajavyavahār Kosh* was prepared and adopted. This fine work was executed under the able direction of Raghunāthpant Hanumante by various learned Pandits among whom one Dhundirāj Lakshman Vyās is specially mentioned.¹⁰ 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

8. क्षत्रिय कुलवत्से, सिंहासनाधीश्वर, महाराज छत्रपति.

9. 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 (इ. वृ. 1835) can be interpreted.

10. सोयं शिवछत्रपतेरनुज्ञां मूर्ध्निषिक्तस्य निधाय मूर्ध्नि ।

अमात्यवर्यो रघुनाथनामा करोति राजव्यवहारकोशम् ॥

to the eight different ministers styled the *Ashta Pradhans*, 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. Muzmudar, *Amātya* (Revenue Minister),
Ramachandra Nilkanth, whose salary was twelve thousand hons a year.
3. Surnis, *Sachiv*, (Finance Minister),
Anāji Datto.
4. Waqenavis, *Mantri*, (Personal Adviser, Home Member or Chief Secretary),
Dattaji Trimbak.

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

5. Sarnaubat, *Senapati* (Commander-in-Chief),
Hambir Rāo Mohite.
6. Dabir, *Sumant* (Foreign Minister),
Rāmchandra Trimbak.
7. *Nyayadhish*, The Chief Judge,
Rāoji Nirāji.
8. *Panditrāo* (Minister for Religion),
Raghunāth 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 fast 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 Gosāvi, 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.¹¹

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 Sambhāji began to disclose in an increasing degree, and his anxieties to ensure the permanency 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 Sambhāji, his step-brother 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

11. शिवराज्याभिषेक कल्पतरु, .B. I. Mandal Q. 10, 6.

throes of death. Both Bijapur and Golkonda were dragging on a precarious existence between Mughal aggression and Shivaji'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 coronation 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 Bhimā. He divided his forces into two parties, the smaller one of 2000 troops sought an open encounter with the Khan, who unwarily advanced 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, including 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 Jawhār and Rāmnagar. About the *Dussara* time (October) Shivaji himself led an expedition through Baglan, Khandesh and Berar, plundering 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 Khashgi 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 negotiations 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-*

dar 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." (*Jedhe chronology.*)

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 Palkar 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.

Netāji continued thereafter in Shivaji's service and died an old man during Sambhāji'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 Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan to subjugate the Adilshahi state now that it was in its weakest condition. Khawas Khan intrigued with Bahadur 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 Khawas 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. Whenever there was any war on hand between some country Powers 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 Pitāambar Shenoi, who was well posted in the affairs and rivalries of these European traders and knew how to read and write their language. Through Pitāambar'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 Pitāambar Shenoi¹² who supplied Shivaji with valuable

12. A letter dated 6 December 1676 mentions that Pitāambar was kept under arrest by Shivaji and all his papers and property confiscated. This shows Pitāambar fell from Shivaji's favour for a time, but was upon inquiry absolved from blame and restored to office. Pitāambar 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, Suvarnadhurg, Vijaydhurg 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 Anaji Datto to try and capture Ponda from the Bijapurians. Anaji proceeded on his task in August 1674 and invested the place, which was valiantly defended by the Bijapuri keeper Muhammad Khan. As Anaji found his efforts unavailing, Shivaji started for his support, reached Rājāpur 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 Sadāshivgad. 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 Dharmaji Nāgnāth, just as Rāoji Somnāth was managing the district from Rajapur 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 Timannā 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 Umāji Pandit at Bednur and completed the arrangements. He returned to Rājāpur on 12 June 1675, having at one stroke confirmed his hold on the western coast practically from Rām-nagar (near Daman) in the north to Basrur (port of Bednur) in the south. Soon after this he arrived at Raigad.

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 Sambhāji's misbehaviour. "Sambhāji fell under disfavour and was kept confined with Umāji Pandit to give him lessons at Shringarpur."¹³ Thereafter Sambhaji was for a time put under Rāmdās'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 Panhālā. "He attacked Khatāv, pulled down its old fortifications, and created fresh defences," is an entry for 20 October 1676.¹⁴

13. See *Prabhat Shakavali*, Article 58 p. 29 of *Prabhat Bakhar*.

14. *Pashwa Deftar*, Vol. 45, p. 20.

CHRONOLOGY X

1672	April 21	Abdullah Qutb Shah dies.
	„ Nov. 24	Ali Adil Shah II dies.
1675	March 17	Ekoji crowned at Tanjore.
1676		Shivaji decides upon his Karnatak expedition.
1677	Jan.	Shivaji's army moves against Koppal.
	„ „	Shivaji leaves for Haidarabad.
	„ March	The Miana brothers are humbled.
	„ „	Shivaji at Bhāgānagar.
	„ April	Do Visits Shri Shaila.
	„ May	Do captures Jinji.
	„ „ 23	Do besieges Vellore.
	„ July 5	Do humbles Sher Khan Lodi.
	„ July 3rd week	Do encamps on the Coleroon, receives tribute from Choknath Nayak & a visit from his brother Ekoji.
	„ „ 27	Do leaves Tanjore territories.
	„ Nov. 16	Ekoji routed at Valigundapuram.
	„ „	Shivaji reaches Gadag.
1678	Feb.	Sher Khan Lodi's son pays ransom and is released.
1678	March 1	Shivaji's letter to Ekoji.
	„	Treaty of peace between the two brothers.
	„ July 22	Vellore captured by Shivaji's troops.
1679		Shivaji's letters to Dipa Bai and Raghunāth Pant.
1680	Jan.	Shivaji's last letter to his brother.

CHAPTER X.
THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH

[1677—1678.]

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| 1 Expansion Southwards,
necessity and opportunity. | 5 The two brothers on their
heritage. |
| 2 Koppal seized. | 6 Agreed division of patri-
mony. |
| 3 Grand visit to Bhaganagar. | |
| 4 Bijapuri Karnatak seized. | |

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 Mādannā.

Madanpant or Mādannā 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. Srirang Rai, the last prince of the old Vijaynagar 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 Raghunāth Nārāyan Hanumante of Tanjore.

Eknāth 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 Akannā and Mādannā. They first rose to eminence by dint of their innate capacity in the service of Mir-Jumla, the famous minister of the Kutbshah, who became at last too rich and powerful to obey his master. The Shah found Mādannā's services valuable in putting down the rebel, and thereafter employed him in reforming his administration. Mādannā 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 Muzaffar 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 Muzaffar and raised Madan Pant to the position of his Chief Minister. The Shah conferred upon him the title of "Surva Prakāsh". This gave rise to two factions in the State, the Hindu and the Muslim, but Mādannā 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 Ākannā 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 Mādannā became the principal minister, he for a time appointed Ākannā 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 Mādannā 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 roused 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 Mahārāshtra. 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 Dādāji Kondadev in Mahārāshtra Nāro Trimal Hanumante had been in Shahji's employ first under the Nizamshah and had later migrated with him to Bangalore. Soon after Nāropant died leaving two able sons Janārdan and Raghunāth, who in their turn continued to render faithful service to Shahji. Janārdan Pant's services were transferred to Shivaji while Raghunāth Pant continued to look after Shahji's interests in the Karnatak. After Shahji's death Raghunāth 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 Raghunāth Pandit. 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 Raghunāth 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

1. *Sarkār, House of Shivaji* p. 33.

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, Raghunāth Pant first proceeded to Bijapur and having studied the situation of that state, visited Madan Pant at Bhāgānagar, 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. Hanumante, 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 Bābā Yāqut lived at Kelsi near Dapoli, whose favour was sought by many a person in distress. Bābā Yāqut'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 Bovā at Patgaon, near fort Rangnā, 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.²

2. Shivaji's sanad conferring Inam grants on this Mauni Bowa 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 Miana 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 Miana 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 Miana 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 Rao and was allowed to proceed wherever he liked. Hambir Rao 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 Raoji, and his son Pralhād Niraji 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 Golkonda authorities, who were

naturally apprehensive at the prospect of the slayer of Afzal Khan appearing in their midst.³

3. **Grand Visit to Bhaganagar.**—From Raigad Shivaji proceeded to Vingorla probably to meet Mauni Bowā, and after receiving his benediction and accompanied by an army of 25 thousand well-equipped troops, made his way towards Bhāgānagar. Netāji Palkar, Hambir Rāo Mohite, Anand Rāo Makāji, Mānāji More, Suryāji Mālusre, Yesāji Kank, Dattāji Wāqenavis, the Pingle brothers, Nila Prabhu Parasnis, Bālāji Avji, Shivaji Naik Punde, 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 Bhāgānagar 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 Mahāl 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 Mādanā 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 Mādan Pant entertained Shivaji at dinner at his own house

3. The Bakhar Shivadigvijaya is very eloquent on this Karnatak business. Bhāgānagar is the ancient name of Haidarabad.

where the minister's mother served Shivaji articles cooked with her own hand. The two brothers Mādannā and Ākannā 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 3,0000 hons daily to defray the expenses of the Maratha army; that 5,000 Bhāgānagar 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 Bhāgānagar. 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 Bāji Sarzerāo Jedhe and Yesāji Kank.

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 Māloji Ghorpade of Mudhol from Bhāgānagar 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 Bāji Ghorpade for an interview with the Adilshah and raised him to the status of an imperial commander. I know what great

4. Shivaji Souvenir Page 146.

deeds your father and you did since then during three regimes. 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 Bāji Ghorpade who undertook the hazardous enterprise and gave over my father as a captive in Mustafa's hands, a consummation 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 Shahi, the Adil Shahi and the Qutb Shahi. 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

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 service 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 Bhāgānagar 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 ; nay, 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 Bhavāni 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-endeavour. 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 Bhāgānagar 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 Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā known as the Nivrīti or blissful Sangam, and performed acts of charity. His men in the meantime collected 5 lacs of lacs by way of Chauth from Karnool and proceeded to Anantapur, while he himself went to Shri Shaila Mallikarjun, a famous shrine in a deep valley of the Krishnā, 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, travelling 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 Rāyāji 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 Valigandapuram 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 thence 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 22 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 Tungabhadra 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.⁵)

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 Coleroon 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

5. For Shivaji's southern activities see Martin's Account in Sen's *Foreign Biographies*. Martin's personal envoy met Shivaji and wrote his report, the best available contemporary narration of this Maratha invasion.

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 *Bakhars* and elsewhere. Shivaji said in effect :—

"We must 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 Coleroon back to Tanjore. Martin's envoy, an eye-witness writes :—“Sivaji 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, Hambir Rao and Raghunāth 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, Bālapore and Shirā, 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 16th November and sustained a crushing defeat, his illegitimate brothers Pratāpji and Bhivji Raje, and his officer Shivaji Dabir were taken captives. Shivaji learned the details when he arrived in Mahārāshtra, 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 Bālāji Āvaji'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 blood-shed. 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, Shiralkot (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 Tungabhadrā and Panhālā. 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 obduracy and stop this domestic dissension. It is no use sulking. As an elderly person I have all along 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 pretence of serving it. But this letter did not soothe Ekoji's heart. It grieved him all the more. His shrewd wife Dipā 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 Raghunāth Pandit's counsel. Ekoji thereupon 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 despatched 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 Dipā Bai, who had so cleverly managed to solve these delicate problems. He wrote to Raghunāth Pandit, "I cannot too highly commend the wisdom and foresight of my sister-in-law Dipā 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 Raghunāth 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, 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 subjugated."

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, Hoskote and Shiralkot (Shira) yielding a revenue of 2 lacks of Hons 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 Dipā Bai, wife of Ekoji. Ekoji may supervise their management but not lay claim to them. After Dipā 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 Hons. 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 Raghunāth 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.⁶

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

6. The whole treaty is quoted in the *Shiva-digvijaya* Bakhar.

a sound basis and provided means for its defence. His Ram Dipā 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 Tukoji, who all ruled at Tanjore in succession and promoted arts and literature as well as the welfare of their subjects.⁷

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 Hanumante family also, particularly by Raghunāth Pant to whom Shivaji says, "I have endeavoured to rear up a number of my own co-workers and helpmates ; 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 Janārdanpant was also an able administrator working under Shivaji in the Deccan, as his brother did in the Karnatak under Ekoji.⁸

7. तीन पुरुषार्थ तिघे भूप । जिघेचे पुत्र कुलदीप । दीपांबिका यथार्थरूप । नाम
महणौनि शोभतसे ॥

Writes Raghunath Bhat Navahasta. (Gode's Research).

Her three sons are Kings,
The centre of men's desires,
The light of their royal house,
Truly has she been named *Dipambika*,
She shines like a lamp.

8. The introductory and the concluding portions of the *Rajvyavahar-kosh* give a lucid account of the great work performed by the Hanumante family.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER XI

1659	Sept. 5	Death of Sambhāji's mother, Sai Bai.
1676	Jan. 18	Khawas Khan put to death.
	June	Bahadur Khan routed near Bijapur.
1677	August	Bahadur Khan resigns office : Dilir Khan in supreme command.
	„ Sept.	Dilir Khan attacks Golkonda.
	„ Dec.	Savitri Bai Desai humbled.
	„ „ 23	Bahlol Khan dies, Siddi Mas'ud takes charge.
1678	April	Shivaji returns to Panhālā from the Karnatak ; Dilir Khan attacks Bijapur.
	„ Sept. 18	Muazzam appointed to the Govt. of the Deccan.
	„ Dec. 13	Sambhāji escapes from Panhālā.
1679	Feb. 25	Muazzam reaches Aurangabad.
	„ April 2	Dilir Khan captures Bhupalgad.
	„ April 3	Jazia re-imposed, Shivaji's letter of remonstrance to Aurangzeb.
	„ August 18	Sambhāji and Dilir Khan besiege Bijapur.
	„ Novr. 15	Dilir Khan raises the siege of Bijapur.
	„ „	Shivaji's pact of friendship with Bijapur.
	„ „ 20	Sambhāji leaves Dilir Khan's camp.
	„ Dec. 4	Do reaches Panhālā : kept in confinement.
	„ „ 31	Shivaji's visit to Rāmdās.
1680	Feb. 4.	Shivaji leaves Rāmdās and proceeds to Raigad.
	„ March 7	Rājārām married to Pratāp Rao Gujar's daughter.
	„ April 3	Shivaji dies.

CHAPTER XI
THE MOON SETS
[1678—1680]

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

1. **Results of the Karnatak Campaign.**—Netāji 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 Khawas 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 Golkonda 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 Golkonda, Shivaji stepped in and practically seized the southernmost regions. His alliance with Golkonda 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 Golkonda ; but Mādannā 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 Panhālā 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 Dādāji Raghunāth Prabhu Nadkar, and the distressed and humiliated lady was taken under protection by Shivaji.¹ He reached Panhālā in April 1678 after an absence of nearly fourteen months, having added to his dominions a territory yielding 20 lacs of Hons 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. Santāji Bhosle, Hambir Rao Mohite, Santāji Ghorpade, Janārdan Pant Hanumante, Keshav Trimal Pingle, Harji Mahādik, Dhanāji Jādhav 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-

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 co-operation 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 Bahlol 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 co-operation 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 heels 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 birth place. 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 Jazia 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 Muham-madans 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 obdurate. 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, Anāji 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 Sambhāji 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, Sambhāji had lost his mother when he was only two years old. Of fine manly features Sambhāji'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 Keshao 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 Shringārpore during 1676. He was also placed in the company of Rāmdās for some time. But his ways did not improve.

Upon his return from the Karnatak expedition in 1678, Shivaji noticed a distinct change for the worse in his son, and kept him in practical confinement at Panhālā. 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 Panhālā 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 Sambhāji on the way at Karkam. The Khan immediately reported the affair to the Emperor and requested orders for entertaining Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji 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 Narsāla. 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 Sambhāji and putting such a sinner to death. After devastating Maratha territory, Dilir Khan and Sambhāji crossed the Bhimā 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. Māloji Ghorpade of Mudhol at this time heroically defended Bijapur fully co-operating with Shivaji.

Thus sorely discomfited before Bijapur, Dilir Khan and Sambhāji turned to the west with a view to taking Panhālā. 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, Sambhāji's desertion did not benefit the Khan much. During their march towards Panhālā 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 Sambhāji'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 Sambhāji in the name of his father to intercede with the Khan for their safety and honour. And now Sambhāji's conscience was so keenly awakened that a complete estrangement took place between them. Dilir Khan taunted Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji from his sinister association. Their joint failure before Bijapur was reported to the Emperor who censured Dilir Khan and ordered him to put Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji's knowledge : but he did not fail to get scent of it and became afraid about his own safety. Mahādaji Nimbalkar to whom Sambhāji's sister was married, was then a noble in the service of the Emperor under Dilir Khan, and he roused Sambhāji to a sense of the dangerous situation in which he was placed. This remonstrance at once opened Sambhāji's eyes, and in the night of 20th November 1679 he with Yesu 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 Sambhāji had run away and was at Bijapur, sent his agents to Mas'ud Khan, and offered to pay him a heavy bribe for placing Sambhāji in his own custody. Mortally afraid of these sudden developments, Sambhāji 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 Panhālā 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 Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji with her own son Rājārām, and gave Shivaji little rest by her ceaseless importunities and intrigues, particularly during the period when Sambhāji was away with Dilir Khan. Soyra Bai's obsession with this purpose disturbed the whole palace and embittered the relations between Shivaji and Sambhāji 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 Rāo Makāji to lead the other ; they suddenly struck against the Mughal possessions in the vicinity

of Aurangabad. They plundered and devastated Jalnāpur and obtained enormous booty. Many rich residents of the city had taken shelter in the Darga of Saiyad 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. Khafi 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 Jalnā, he was opposed by strong Mughal armies near Sangamner. Sidhoji Nimbalkar and Santāji 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 Santāji 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 Sambhāji had come back, prompt measures were taken for the defence of Panhālā lest Dilir Khan should come and attack it. But the Khan considered it an impossible task to attack Panhālā and turned his steps southward towards Kopbal, where he met with a severe reverse at the hands of Janārdan Pant Hanumante.

Shivaji lost no time in visiting Sambhāji at Panhālā, 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 Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji 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

property of every description.²

Father and son lived together for nearly a month at Panhālā, 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 Sambhāji," says Sabhāsad. 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 Sambhāji being kept in confinement at Panhālā and appointed Hiroji Farzand, Somāji Naik Bankī, and Vithal Trimbak (grand-son of Murār Bāji and keeper of the fort) to watch him closely. He also asked Janārdan Pant to remove himself from Kopbal to Kolhāpur, exercise strict supervision upon Sambhāji and prevent him from committing further mischief. Shivaji in a despairing mood started to seek solace at Sajjangad in the company of the saint Rāmdās.

5. 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 Rājārām was just ten years old: his mother Soyārā 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 Moropant Pingle and Ānāji Datto were so openly at logger-heads 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 Sambhāji at Panhālā Shivaji told him, "We now proceed to Raigad, where Rājārām's marriage

2. See the Legacy of Shivaji—Sarkar's House of Shivaji, pages 165-172, as also Sabhāsad and other Bakhars, where the full lists are printed.

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 Rāmdās records " The Maharaja came to visit (Rāmdās) 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 Rājārām's thread ceremony was performed on 7th March 1680, and a week later on 15 March Rājārām was married to Pratāp Rāo 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 bed-side. When all hope of life seemed to be lost, messengers were sent to Sambhāji Rājā at Panhālā, with a proposal for dividing the raj between the two sons. This Sambhāji 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. Shake 1602 (3 April 1680), Raudra year, in the presence of Rāmchandra Nilakanth, Pralhād Nirāji and Bālāji Āvji. Neither the Peshwa Moropant nor the Sachiv Ānāji 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) Tukārām Bāwā.
- (2) Samarth Rāmdās.
- (3) Bābā Yākut of Kelsi.
- (4) Mauni Bāwā of Patgaon.
- (5) Nischalapuri Gosāvi.
- (6) Parmānand Bāwā of Polādpur.
- (7) Jayarām Swāmi of Wadgaon.
- (8) Nārāyan Dev of Chinchwad.
- (9) Rangnāth Swāmi of Nigdi.
- (10) and his brother Vithal Swāmi.
- (11) Bhānudas Bāwā, descendant of Eknāth.

- (12) Ānand Murti of Brahmanāl.
- (13) Bodhle Bāwā of Dhāmangaon.
- (14) Trimbak Nārāyan of Bārāmāti.

Wives and Children.

1. Sai Bai Nimbālkar--married 17 April 1640, died 5 September 1659 ; one son and three daughters:- Sambhāji born 14 May 1657 ; Sakwār alias Sakhu Bai married to Mahādaji Nimbālkar ; Ranu Bai married into the Jādhav family ; Ambikā Bai married to Harji Raje Mahādik of Tarle.
2. Sagunā Bai Shirke, married 1641. Had one daughter, Nani Bai alias Rajkuwar married to Jānoji Shirke Malekar.
3. Soyara Bai Shirke married about 1660 ; died 1681 ; had one son Rājārām born 14 February 1670 and one daughter Bālābai alias Dipā Bai married to Visaji Rao.
4. Putlā Bai Mohite, married 1653, became Sati.
5. Lakshmi Bai Vichare married before 1656.
6. Sakwār Bai Gaikwad, married January 1657 ; had one daughter Kamaljā Bai married to Jānoji Pālkar.
7. Kashi Bai Jādhav married 8 April 1657.
8. Gunavantā 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. Putlā Bai became Sati, Soyārā Bai was put to death by Sambhāji, and Sakwār Bai was long kept a prisoner in Aurangzeb's camp in the Deccan with Yesu Bai and Shahu.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER XII

1659	Siddi Khairyat of Janjirā overcome.
1672 April	Shivaji's first visit to consult Rāmdās.
1672	English envoy Ustick visits Shivaji.
1673	English envoy Niccolls visits Shivaji.
1674	Visit of the English envoy, Oxenden.
1675	Visit of the English envoy, Austen.

CHAPTER XII

SHIVAJI'S CHARACTER AND WORK.*

1. The Amātya's tribute.
2. Shivaji and Ramdas.
3. Shivaji and a Hindu Sam-
rajya.
4. The Eight Ministers, and
administration.
5. Forts on land and sea.
6. Army organisation.
7. The navy and the Siddi of
Janjira.
8. Shivaji's Relations with the
English.
9. Was Shivaji a mere plunder-
er?
10. Estimate of Shivaji by
thinkers and writers, 1--8.
11. Conclusion.

1. **The Amātya'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, Rāmchandra Nilakanth. This officer had filled the post of Amātya (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 Mahārāshtra's life-and-death struggle with all the forces of the Mughal Empire, after Sambhāji's tragic death and the flight of Rājārām from the homeland. He wrote a sort of political testament for the guidance of the succeeding kings, which is known as the Ajnā-patra.¹

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

* संत बोलतात,

राजे भ्रष्ट यवन जाले, ठायीं ठायीं दोष घडले,
मग यांहीं अवतार घेतले, कल्पिय हरावया ॥

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.

1. 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 helpmates 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 *Subhas* of the Mughal Emperor, each maintaining a lac of troops. There were besides these the Siddis, the French, the English, the Dutch, with smaller chiefships like Rāmnagar, Sondha, Bidnur, Mysore, Trichinopoly, and the various local Palegars with clansmen like the Morays, the Shirkes, the Sāvants, the Nimbālkars, the Ghātges, etc.

"All these he encompassed with the extraordinary power of his own ingenuity. He overcame 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 stratagem.

"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 Ahiwānt in West Khandesh to Tanjore on the Kaveri, with unchallenged supremacy, erecting for its defence hundreds of forts and several sea-bases with extensive market places. He created his own regiments of 40 thousand paid troops, in addition to about 70 thousand *shilledars* 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 factious, 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 *Swarajya*, 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 challenged the might of the Mughal Empire. Shivaji was manifestly 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 Kālidās has immortalized in his famous description of Dilip.²

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 atmosphere which Shivaji breathed, we can form no accurate estimate of what he thought, believed and achieved. His aim in 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 endeavour. Gods, Brahmans, 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 Basrur and pays a devout visit to Gokarn Mahableshwar at Karwar. Later when he went to Bhāgānagar and thence proceeded to the south, he spent a long time at Shrishaila Mallikārjuna, 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, piety, 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, after having met with some souls of extraordinary spiritual power. He never undertook a serious task without first consulting his *gurus*. Shivaji made no distinction in this respect between a Hindu and a Muslim saint. He honoured all with equal respect. At his capital Raigad he erected a special mosque for

2. अष्टव्यथाभिगम्यथ, *Raghuvansha*, l. 16 and others.

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 Rāmdās 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 Rāmdās, 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 Rāmdās had hardly any share in Shivaji's constructive work as a king. Rāmdās certainly appeared in the region round about Satara, just about the time that Dādāji Kondadev and Shivaji took possession of Sinhagad (1644). From this date onward the two persons made Mahārāshtra 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. Rāmdās' description of the best man (*Uttama Purusha*) occurring in his *Dāsabodha*, 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 Rāmdās inspiring Shivaji in his political ideals, it was Rāmdās 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 Rāmdās 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. Rāmdās 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 Rāmdās first come together? Both had their field of activity in Māharāshtra 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 Rāmdās took place before the known one of April 1672 (Chaitra of Shaka 1594), which is mentioned by Diwākar Gosāvi in his letter. It was after this admittedly first meeting, that their contact began to grow closer and that Shivaji received his formal initiation (*Upadesh*) 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 Sambhāji had proved himself hopelessly unfit. Taking a dispassionate view of the situation as we know it now, Rāmdās, 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 Rāmdās 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 Samrajya.—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

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-Svarajya*" was the title he has used for his national scheme in one of his letters (to Dādāji Naras Prabhu in 1645), meaning thereby that he wanted to strive for a Hindu religious autonomy for the whole country. Sambhāji in his *Danapatra* calls him *Haindava-dharma-Uddharaka*.³ 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 upto the time of Mahadji 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 Bālāji Rāo 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 *Sardeshmukhi* 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."⁴

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

3. हेन्दवधर्मोद्धारकः the regenerator of the Hindu religion.

4. येन श्रीजयसिंहेन दिल्लीप्रदलित्सवः

शिवप्रभृतिभूपाला वशं नीता स्वतेजसा ॥

जयसिंहप्रशस्ति, राजवाडे सं० ले०

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 Bhushan⁵ and Chhatrasāl Bundelā are instances of this nationwide impulse. Even Gāgābhāt 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 Maharashtrian 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-vyavahar-kosh.*

5. Bhushan is now supposed to have visited Shahu 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 Bāwā Yāqut of Kelsi to whose shrine he made a grant which is still being enjoyed. He had many devoted Muslim servants and followers who wholeheartedly co-operated with him. His chief naval commanders were Muslims, Daulat Khan and Siddi Misri. Madāri Mehtar a *farrash* (chamberlain) was a servant near his person, who helped him in his flight from Agra. Shivaji's confidential foreign secretary (*Munshi*) was one Mulla Haidar, who wrote his Persian correspondence and who was once deputed to Bahadur Khan the Mughal viceroy in the Deccan to negotiate a peace.⁶ 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-

ments can in no sense be likened to the present ministerial cabinets under responsible government or democratic rule. 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 $3\frac{1}{2}$ 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 Amātya (in charge of the revenue), (3) the Sachiv (in charge of finance), (4) the Senāpati (commander-in-chief), (5) the Mantri (personal adviser) and the (6) Sumant (foreign minister). The Amātya received a salary of 12,000 Hons yearly or Rs. 3,500 a month. The two remaining ministers (7) the Nyāyādhish (minister of justice) and the Panditav (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 Amātya 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.

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 *watans* of previous regimes and allowed no middlemen as landholders between the cultivators and the Government. Writes the *Amātya*, "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 upto north Kanara was in the viceroyalty of Anāji Datto, while the southern Desh districts roughly from Satara to Dharwar and Kopbal were under Dattājipant Waqnis. The newly conquered districts south of the Tungabhadra, namely, Arni, Vellore, Jinji, &c. were administered by Harji Mahādik, 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.⁷

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 Dādāji Kondadev, 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 panchāyats, so that the task of policing the country became automatically simplified.

7. *Vide* का० सं० प० या० ले० २; भा० व० २ मराठ्यांचें दत्तर; इ० सं० पे० द० मा०; ऐ० वि० वि० १ पृ० २१.

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.⁸

I may here quote one recorded instance of how strict and impartial Shivaji was about alienating government lands. His son-in-law Pilāji Shirke, husband of his daughter Rajkuwar, had rendered meritorious service in arranging a friendly understanding between Shivaji and Lakham Sāvant of Kudal. In return for his good work Pilāji Shirke demanded from Shivaji the grant of the Deshmukhi Vatan of Dābhol. 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 Dābhol Deshmukhi on the son of our affectionate daughter Rajkuwar, when she gets one."⁹

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 Amātya 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. Raj. 8. 10. योगक्षेम, acquisition and preservation.

9. Letter, *Shiva-Charitra Sahitya* 3.438.

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 guerilla 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 revolutionized. 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, Suvarnadurg 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 Pratāpgad which was at first intended to be only a seat of the goddess Bhavāni 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 so 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 *tulsi*-basin. The gods obtained only fourteen gems, but Shivaji added this fifteenth to the number. When he came to Rājapur 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 serpentine 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-metal and started the work of construction. A grand inauguration 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 cocoanuts, dresses, and other offerings. Three thousand skilled artizans, 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 Vishvanāth Prabhu as the Chief supervisor of the works and himself

returned to Raigad. Within three years a mighty bleak 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." ¹⁰

6. **Army Organisation.**—Little need be said on Shivaji's army. The forts formed an adjunct to his main fighting forces, 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, Havalgars, and Karkuns, in charge of the army stationed at Chiplun, 16 April, 1673.—

10. *Chitra Gupta bahar*—pp 132-34. A few names of Shivaji's forts will interest the reader.—प्रचंडगड, प्रकाशगड, प्रचितग, प्रबळग, प्रवालग, प्रसन्नग, प्रसिद्धगड; भूवरगड, भूपालगड, भूमंडनगड, भूषणग; महिपतगड, महिमंडनग, वल्लभगड, वर्धनगड, वसंतगड, वंदनगड, विशालगड, विश्रामगड Chapter VII of the *Amātya's Rājñiti* is devoted to the subject of forts; the Shivaji Souvenir gives a description of all Shivaji's forts.

I have made arrangements for a cavalry regiment being cantoned at Chiplun, as it cannot possibly return to the up country at this advanced season. Owing to the stay of this regiment at Chiplun, all the grain and other necessaries that were stored for the rainy season in the Subha of Dabhol, have been almost exhausted, entailing hardship and no end of distress upon the people of the district by the grain, forage and every other article having been appropriated for the use of the army. There are yet twenty days of the hot Vaishakh month to pass.¹¹ 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 Karkuns 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

11. So the letter is written about Vaishakh Shudh 10 = 16 April 1673.

wick 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 Mughals, 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 Karkuns 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 every day and the horses will gain strength. You must not lose temper with the Karkuns 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 Jumledars, Havaldars and Karkuns should hear this letter being read to them and act up to it. We shall keep ourselves informed frequently, nay every day, and punish those who dis-

obey. Whosoever behaves in contravention of this order will be severely punished and dishonoured."¹²

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."¹³

7. *The navy and the Siddi of Janjira.*—Shivaji early in his career saw the necessity of having a strong and inde-

12. Source-book of Mar. History—P. 117,
Shivaji Souvenir, P. 150.

13. *Foreign Biogr.* P. 306.

pendent 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 Janjirā which has survived centuries of political change.¹⁴

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 Siddi 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 Siddi commenced in 1657 and continued upto 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 Anāji) with a strong naval force to put down the Siddis. Siddi Khairyat was overcome 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 Janjirā 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 Siddi was released. By the time Mirza Raja Jaysinh appeared on the scene, the Siddi transferred his allegiance to the Mughal Emperor, and under the latter's support increased his power to a considerable extent with an additional base at Surat. Shivaji also had in the meantime increased his navy, and prepared for a renewal of his contest with the Siddi by building the four strong fortresses of Sindhudurg, Vijaydurg, Suvarnadurg and lastly Kolaba, with adequate naval equipment for each. Ibra-

14. Janjirā is a corruption of the Arabic word *Jazira* meaning an island. It is situated at the mouth of the Rajpuri creek, Yaqut Khan became the hereditary title of the Siddi Chief of Janjirā.

him Khan and Mainak Bhandāri were his trusted naval commanders. They succeeded for a time in establishing a strong check upon the various powers of the west coast from Kalyan to Karwar, including the Portuguese of Goa. The last named considered it a wise policy to conciliate Shivaji by agreeing to supply him with guns and ammunition of western make, whenever required.

Under the backing and encouragement of the Mughals, the Siddis' strength steadily grew and a continuous war between them and Shivaji was the result, a full narration of which cannot be attempted here.¹⁵

8. Shivaji's relations with the English.—This subject has been already treated in so far as the factors of Rājāpur 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 then 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 Rājāpur 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-

15. Students will do well to refer to his letter dated 19th January 1675 addressed to his officer at Prabhāvali on naval equipment—Raj. 831.

ship was then arranged between them and their relations remained 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 calling 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. Prisoners 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 reasonable 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 contribution. Shivaji was careful not to harm poor innocent husbandmen 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 plundered 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-

pire. Besides, Shivaji was a great administrator. He founded many institutions which survived for more than one century."

(3) *Says Acworth,*

"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 Dominion, 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 criticised 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."¹⁶

(4) *Writes S. M. Edwardes,—*

"The success of Marathi poets and saints from Jnaneswar 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 Brahmans. With Prabhus acting as his civil and military officials, with Marathas and Bhandaris 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 Tukārām or Nāmdev, of Eknāth or Rāmdās."

(5) *Says Bernier (in 1666),—*

"This man, Sevagi, is exercising all the powers of an independent sovereign ; laughs at the threats both of the Mogal 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 Mogal cannot find the opportunity of conquering Vizapur. How to put down Shivaji is become his object of chief importance."

16. Introduction to the *Ballads of the Marathas* XX.

(6) *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 thereat 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 Hanniball 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 Muslim. 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.”

(7) *Khawaji 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.

(8) *Spoke 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 Mahārāshtra 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 Mahārāshtra. 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 Rāmdās truly said.¹⁷

17. शिवचरित आठवावे । कीर्तिरूपे ॥
शिवराजाचे आठवावे रूप । शिवराजाचा आठवावा प्रताप ।
शिवराजाचा आठवावा साक्षेप । भूमंडळीं.

In a similar strain speaks Raghunathpant Hanumante also, when he says :

क्रमेण जित्वा स दिशश्चतस्रो
राजा शिवच्छत्रपतिः प्रतापान् ।
निःशेषयन्त्येच्छमणं समस्तं
पाति स्म पृथ्वीं परिपूर्णकामः । [Contd. next page.

11. **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 there 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

“There rules the Chhatrapati Shivaji after having valiantly and gradually conquered territories in the four quarters, up-rooted the Muslim powers, and with his objective fully accomplished.” Such a person is termed a *Punyashloka* (of unspotted fame) according to the Aryan ideal. भोसलवंशावलि by Gagabhatt, Hanumante's प्रशस्ति of the राजव्यवहारकोश, संभाजीदीनपत्र and similar Sanskrit pieces deserve a close study.

कल्यै आयन्तयोः स्थितिः । See pages 208, 209 and 214.

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 Rāmdās 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

1670 Feb. 24	Birth of Rājārām.
1680 April	Rājārām enthroned as Chhatrapati.
„ June 18	Sambhāji gets possession of Raigad.
„ July 20	Sambhāji confines Rājārām & becomes Chhatrapati.
„ August 23	Sambhāji issues his Dānapatra.
„ Octr.	Death of Moropant Pingle : his son made Peshwa.
„ Novr.	Sambhāji opens campaign against the Mughals.
1681 Jan. 16	Sambhāji crowned.
„ „	Prince Akbar proclaims himself Emperor.
„ April	Prince Akbar is defeated near Ajmere & flees.
„ May 9	Prince Akbar crosses the Narmadā for the south.
„ „ 20	Prince Akbar informs Sambhāji of his plans.
„ June 1	Prince Akbar arrives at Pali (Padshahpur).
„ „	Azam Shah in pursuit of Akbar.
„ August	Attempt to poison Sambhāji.
„ Sept. 8	Aurangzeb leaves Ajmir for the Deccan.
„ Octr.	Annāji Datto put to death by Sambhāji : also Bālāji Āvji, Soyra Bai, & others.
„ Novr. 13	Aurangzeb arrives at Burhanpur.
„ „ „	Sambhāji visits Akbar at Pāli.
„ Dec.	The Siddi of Janjirā attacks Maratha territory.
1682 early months	Fierce fighting at Janjira between the Siddi and Dādji Raghunath.
„ March 22	Aurangzeb reaches Aurangabad.
„ April	Akbar despatches Shiab-uddin Khan to Nasik against Sambhāji.

1682 May 22	Sambhāji writes letters to Rāmsinh planning the deposition of Aurangzeb.
„ Dec.	British envoys meet Sambhāji at Raigad.
1683	Sambhāji attacks the Portuguese at Chaul & Goa.
„ Feb.	Akbar collects troops.
„ Autumn	Aurangzeb disheartened : holds conferences with his commanders.
„ Octr.	Sambhāji victorious against the Portuguese.
„ Novr.	Sambhāji retires from Goa.
1684 Feb.	Akbar & Kavi Kalash concert measures against Aurangzeb.
1684 July 27	Azam Shah's envoy meets Kavi Kalash.
„ August 20	Akbar rejects his brother's offer of peace.
„ Dec.	Akbar and Kavi Kalash meet for consultation.
1685 Jan.	Sambhāji devastates Berar, Khandesh and Broach.
„ March 27	Aurangzeb invests Bijapur.
1686 Sept. 12	Aurangzeb reduces Bijapur.
1687 Jan. 28	Aurangzeb invests Golkonda.
„ Feb.	Akbar left for Persia and Durgādās for Rājputana.
„ Oct.	Battle of Wāi : Hambir Rao Mohite killed.
„ „ 1	Aurangzeb captures Golkonda.
1688 Jan.	Akbar reaches Ispahan in Iran.
„ Ending months	Kavi Kalash fights the Shirkes and escapes to Vishālgad.
1689 Jan.	Sambhāji and Kalash leave Vishalgad & halt at Sangameshwar.
„ Feb. 1	Sambhāji and Kalash captured.
1689 March 11	Sambhāji and Kalash put to death.
1696	Durgādās with Akbar's daughter meets Aurangzeb at Brahmपुरi.
1704	Death of Akbar in Iran.

CHAPTER XIII

SAMBHAJI THE VIOLENT

[1680—1689]

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| 1. Accession. | 6. Aurangzeb's discomfiture. |
| 2. Akbar's flight to Sambhaji. | 7. The Portuguese cowed by Sambhaji. |
| 3. Aurangzeb descends into the Deccan. | 8. Sad end of Akbar. |
| 4. Bloody beginning of Sambhaji's reign. | 9. The chivalrous Durgadas. |
| 5. Grand projects. | 10. Sambhaji captured. |
| | 11. Tragic death. |

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 statecraft. She was supported in her course by Shivaji's confidential secretary Balaji 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 Karhad 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 Annaji Datto, 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 formally ascended the throne on 20 July, after putting Rājārām and Soyarā Bai in close confinement. In gratitude for this easy success, he immediately made a formal grant to his family goddess Bhavāni of ten thousand gold Hons a year.¹ Matters thus appeared to move smoothly. Moropant Pingle died in October, and Sambhāji appointed his son Nilopant to the Peshwāship. The formal ceremony of coronation was performed on 10 January 1681, Magh Shudh 7. The disturbed atmosphere of Mahārāshtra soon assumed its normal peaceful tenor.

2. Akbar's flight to Sambhaji.—The wanton war which the Emperor Aurangzeb started against the princes of Rājputānā in 1679, and which Shivaji had denounced in a vigorous open letter of remonstrance, now brought serious consequences to Sambhāji in a curious manner. Aurangzeb's son Akbar, who had been conducting the operations under his father's supervision, vainly struggled against the powerful Rajput combination. Of the several sons of Aurangzeb this Shahzada 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 suppress the Rāthod 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 Rājputānā 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 honourable terms which the Rajputs were ready to accept. He held private consultations with the valiant Rāthod leader Durgā-

1. This is an unpublished Sanskrit document bearing the clear date of 23 August 1680 and signed by Sambhāji and his ministers. It gives many useful details of his own and his ancestors' lives.

dās, who made pathetic appeals to Akbar's generosity in the following terms.

"Why is the Emperor so unkind 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 Durgādās and his valiant bands, he openly revolted against his father and proclaimed himself emperor, just about the time that Sambhāji 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 Durgādās had to flee for their lives to the south, and take shelter with king Sambhāji, 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 Sambhāji 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 Durgādās Rāthod accompanies me. Please do not entertain any false suspicions about my intentions. If by the

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 Sambhāji by Akbar's Diwan.²

Akbar himself quickly followed this letter and journeying through Khandesh and Baglan *via* Nasik and Trimbak into north Konkan, arrived on 1st June at Pāli near Nāgothnā, 25 miles north of Raigad. Here Sambhāji's men met and accommodated him. This village Pāli on account of the Shahzada's residence, came thenceforward to be named Pādshāhpur. 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. Sambhāji 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, Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji 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

2. House of Shivaji, by Sir J. Sarkar, p. 180.

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 exact obedience only at the point of the sword. On the other hand, Akbar's advent into Mahārāshtra particularly at an inhospitable 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 Durgādās at Pali, now realized, here was a splendid

opportunity for Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji, 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 Sambhāji and Akbar through a net-work of spies and took full advantage of it. He offered inducements to Sambhāji's followers and sowed sedition among them. Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji'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. Sambhāji made a good start after having got possession of Raigad without much effort. A report of 20 August 1680 says, "Sambhāji Rajah intends to give Bahadur Khan, the Mughal Subhedar, 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 Burhanpur and a third to keep Bahadur Khan in play."³

November 1680. "Although the officers of the Karnatak had recognized Sambhāji 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 Janārdan Pandit. No good is predicted of the government of Sambhāji from his having arrested officers of such importance and experience. The Killedar of Jinji and other chief officers have

3. *House of Shivaji*, by Sir Jadunath, pp. 179-214, gives fresh material on Sambhāji.

received orders from Sambhāji Raja to arrest Raghunāth Pandit. But the affair has not yet been pushed forward."

21 June 1681. "Sultan Akbar is at Pāli. 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 Durgādās, a Rajput in great esteem with his master. He has about five hundred horse and but fifty camels. Sambhāji Raja's men keep guard. Four or five days ago came to him from Sambhāji Rajah 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. Sambhāji is daily expected to wait on him and conduct him to Burhanpur. From thence they intend to march for Delhi."

30 August 1681. "Sambhāji 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 Anāji Pandit, Kesho Pandit, Pralhād Pandit etc.; all are laden with iron."

8 September 1681. "The conspirators against Sambhāji, Anāji Pandit, Rāmraja's mother and Hiraji Farzand would have brought Sultan Akbar in, but he would not. He immediately gave Sambhāji notice of it by a messenger."

12 October 1681. "Sambhāji is not at Rairi. For plotting against his life he has put to death Anāji Pandit, Hiraji Farzand, Bālāji Prabhu, Somāji 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. "Rāmraja's mother is dead, by report, poisoned by Sambhāji's contrivance."

This explains Sambhāji'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 Soyarā Bai. She belonged to the Shirke

family, and so Sambhāji'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 Sambhāji was occupied in the investigation of the plot, he could not meet the Shahzada immediately on 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. Mānāji More, Gangādhār Pant, Vāsudev Pant, Rāoji Somnāth, Pralhād Nirāji and some others were subjected to hardships and confinement at different times.

As Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji had probably made as early as 1666 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 Sambhāji. Some of the pieces composed by him are extant. His name Kavi-Kalash came to be corrupted into Kalusha, now a household word in Mahārāshtra meaning an instigator of strife. An old chronicle says that one Keshav Bhat Kabji, a north India Brahman versed in magic and incantation, possessed Sambhāji's mind. This Keshav Bhat must be the same as this Kalusha. He had a sweet persuasive tongue. His mastery of Hindusthāni and foreign breeding probably formed the chief recommendation in the eyes of Sambhāji to secure his confidence in a moment of exasperation and distrust. Recent research proves that Sambhāji 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, Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji into the vices and drug habits, with which report credits him. An excitable temperament like Sambhāji'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 Sambhāji'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 Mahārāshtra charges Kalusha with having been the Emperor's spy, slyly trying to bring about Sambhāji's ruin. There is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation. Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji, showing that he was well tutored in old Sanskrit learning under the direc-

* श्रीशंभोः शिवजानस्य मुद्रा शौरिव राजते ।

यदंकोविनो लेखा वर्तते कस्य नोपरि ॥

"This seal of Sambhāji, born of Shivāji, shines like the sky. What cannot his favourites overcome?"* The seal of Kalusha runs thus:—

विधिरार्थमनीषाणासवचोर्नयवर्तनां

शेवधिः सर्वं सिद्धिनां मुद्रा कलुषहस्तगा ।

* This seal, stamped by the hand of Kalusha, satisfies the desires of the needy, offers opportunities for the righteous and forms the source of all successful projects. Quite a number of papers with this seal have been discovered, which in addition contain pompous phrases applied to Kalusha, conveying both a religious import and an adeptness in political state-craft such as

“आज्ञापन्न धर्माभिमान, कर्मकांडशरण, दैवतैकनिष्ठाप्राहिनाभिमान, सत्यसंध, समस्त-
राजकार्यधुरंधर, विश्वासनिधि, कविकलश, छंदोगामात्य.”

tion of his father. The Sanskrit *dana-patra* 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, enfolded a grand project of dethroning the Emperor Aurangzeb in co-operation with Akbar and Durgādās. These letters were sent by Sambhāji with his special agent Pratāp-Sinh, who was authorised to arrange the details personally. Sambhāji offered to lead a large and well equipped army through Gujarat into north India and called upon Rām 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 Durgādās, 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 Rām 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 Kishan 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."⁴

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. Durgādās and Akbar were capable men and with the dashing valour of Sambhāji 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."⁵

Aurangzeb knowing that Sambhāji and his own rebel son

4. *House of Shivaji*—p. 184, by Sir Jadunath. For the Sanskrit letter see P. V. Kane Commemoration Volume.

5. *Hist. of Aurangzeb*, IV, p. 304.

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 Rupāji Bhosle and Mānāji Moré 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 head-quarters, 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 Marāthā 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 Marāthās. He then called upon his eldest son to lead an expedition against Sambhāji. 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-

ings of the European merchants. A Surat letter reports on 19th June, 1733 "the Mughal 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 peevish and uneasy because of Sultan Akbar. Sultan Azam, Begam Jahanzeb 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 fell under the Emperor's punishment.⁶ 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.

6. Vide Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, pp. 505-307.

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 Marāthā king. The Siddi was the Emperor's admiral and now being egged 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. Dādji Raghunāth 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 Marāthās in the presence of the Mughal might, now directed particularly against Sambhaji's dominions in the Konkan, as it was here that both Sambhaji and Akbar made their inimical moves against the Emperor. Aurangzeb employed his sons and grand-sons and his best generals to secure the forts and passes in north Konkan and capture both his rebel son and the Marāthā king by all possible means. The British trading establishments at Surat and Bombay, the Dutch factory at Ven-gurla, the Portuguese strong-holds 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. Dādji Raghunāth Prabhu Mahadkar is the same person who subjugated Savitri Bai Thanedarin of Belvadi, in Dec. 1677. He also distinguished himself in a war with the Siddi of Janjira in 1682. Nilakanth Trimbak Prabhu Mahadkar, the Peshwa of Sambhaji Raja of Kolhapur in 1727, belonged to the same family.

generals of Aurangzeb and even threatened his very bases at Ahmednagar and Aurangabad.

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 Marāthā '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 Sāwant 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 Sambhāji'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. Sambhāji, 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 Sambhāji and his ally Akbar were occupied during the three years that the Emperor was engaged in the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, 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 Maharāshtra, that Sambhāji, 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 Begam 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 Sambhāji. The princes of Rājputana 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; Sambhāji himself being hard up, could render no help to him. Besides, his way to Rājputānā was securely blocked both through Gujarat and Khandesh.

Sambhāji'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. Kalusha and Akbar kept constantly moving between Kolhapur, Rajapur, Vengurla and Sangameshwar, as these places repeatedly occur 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 *jaqir* 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 Sakharpen and arrive at Malkāpur. 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 Malkāpur. 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 Sambhāji. "Cream of grand Rajahs, chief of august princes, devoted follower, Chhatrapati Rajah Sambhāji. 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 jealousy. You ought to do everything to protect him. It is certain that the Mughals have gone away and that you have marched towards Khelnā. If you so wish, I will also go and join you in the campaign."

This correspondence shows that Sambhāji and Akbar were deliberating upon some grand plan. At the beginning of 1685 Sambhāji did actually invade Broach 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 prospects. Ultimately in sheer desperation he managed to engage a British cargo vessel on which he embarked at Rājāpur 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 Mahārāshtra. Manucci quotes a long and instruc-

tive letters 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 Durgādās.**—It is necessary here to complete the story of Durgādās also, as it materially affects Aurangzeb's plans and measures. After saying good-bye to Akbar at Rajāpur in February 1687, Durgādās 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. Durgādās 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 Nagar⁸ to Durgādās and effected a reconciliation with him. Durgādās with Akbar's daughter, then over 16 years of age, came to visit the Emperor at Brahmāpuri 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 Durgādās 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 Durgādās. How do you think I should reward him for all his services ?

8. *Storia-do-mogor*, Volume IV, pp. 174-177

9. This Ishwardas has written a full history of Aurangzeb's life in Maharashtra which forms a valuable source of information for that period.

Safiat : Ask Ishwardas about it and he will tell you."

The Emperor then conferred a small jagir upon Durgādās and the latter returned to Jodhpur. Akbar's son Buland Akhtar was still in Rājputānā, whom Durgādās kept like a pawn in his hand to serve as a threat in case the Emperor did any wrong to the interests of the Jodhpur raj. Ajit Sinh, the posthumous son of Jashvant Sinh had now come of age and claimed his father's patrimony, but was not yet recognized by the Emperor. Durgādās informed the Emperor that he would deliver Buland Akhtar, provided Ajit Sinh was restored to his father's dominions. This was agreed to and the Emperor was able to recover his grandson only after he had carried out the promises made to Durgādās. In 1689 Ajit Sinh was given a *mansab* in the imperial army with several Parganas as his jagir. Durgādās on getting letters-patent and being put in actual possession of the lands assigned to him, came to Aurangzeb with Buland Akhtar *via* Ahmadabad and Surat. Ajit Sinh later grew up to be one of the strong Rajput potentates wielding power and influence in the post-Aurangzeb regime of Mughal decadence. But it was the genius of Durgādās which organized the Rajput opposition that Aurangzeb had to face, no less in intensity than his Maratha enemies. Durgādās died long after Aurangzeb's death and received signal honours from his successors. Durgādās is called the "flower of Rajput chivalry." Rajput mothers pray to God for sons as brave as Durgādās."

10. *Sambhaji captured.*—The Emperor employed Shihab-Uddin Firoz-Jang and his son, Chinkilich Khan, the future Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah I, to harass Sambhaji's possessions in north Konkan and Baglan. They succeeded in winning over several prominent followers of Sambhaji. He retaliated with equal vigour. In the beginning of 1685 Sambhaji's troops devastated Mughal lands from Aurangabad to Burhanpur and carried away enormous booty which was sold in special marts and openly advertised in advance. At least seventeen large cities are mentioned as having been completely sacked in

10. ए माता पूत एसा जिन जेसा दुर्गादास. A long and interesting account is given by Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III and Volume V, pp. 284-292 to which the curious reader is referred.

these inroads of Sambhāji. While the Emperor was engaged in his war against Bijapur and Golkonda, Sambhāji took up his residence at Panhāla 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 Sambhāji, who had exhausted all his father's treasure and added little new income during his seven years of mis-government and war. When he was deserted by Akbar, he had no comrade left to share his misfortunes. Aurangzeb retired from Bijapur and encamped at Akluj¹¹ on the Bhima near Pandharpur, in order to concentrate all his power and energy against the hapless Sambhāji. 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. Sambhāji's Senapati Hambir Rao Mohite came to oppose him. An action was fought between them near Wai towards the end of 1687, in which Hambir Rao lost his life on the battle-field. He was the last of Sambhāji's supporters and his loss sealed the Raja's fate. A kind of encircling movement was started against him in all directions. Sambhāji 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 Panhāla and Raigad, where Sambhāji was known to be moving.

The hilly regions below the Sahyadri range between Kolhāpur and Satara were long held by the Shirkes, who had become Sambhāji's mortal enemies and had out of revenge deserted to the Emperor. They now played their game, watched Sambhāji's movements and communicated them to the Mughal officers. For about a year after Hambir Rao's death, Sambhāji 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

11. About 50 miles above Brahmapurī.

of Vishālgad. When Sambhāji heard this news at Raigad, he at once attacked and put down the Shirkes near Sangameshwar and joined Kalash at Vishālgad. But their situation soon became critical, on account of most of their followers being seduced. The Shirkes reported the secret movements of Sambhāji and Kavi Kalash to the Emperor's agents. One Shaikh Nizam, a former officer of Golkonda who was posted at Kolhāpur with instructions to pounce upon Sambhāji at a moment's notice, obtained news of Sambhāji's movements. During January 1689 Sambhāji and Kalusha organized their party and started from Vishālgad to proceed to Raigad by the Ambā Ghat. Shaikh Nizam receiving information that Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji's men lost their lives and a few escaped to Raigad. Why Sambhāji and Kalusha 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. Māloji Ghorpade whose father Shivaji had killed but who faithfully served Sambhāji to the last, sacrificed his own life trying to save that of his master. Shaikh Nizam seated Sambhāji 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 Ambā Ghāt.

11. Tragic death.—The Emperor received the news of Sambhāji'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 Golkonda, 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 Sambhāji and Kavi Kalash were dressed as buffoons in long fools' caps with bells fixed on them, mounted on camels and brought

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 Narmadā 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.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER XIV.

1689	Feb. 9	Rājārām proclaimed King.
	.. March 25	Zulfiqar Khan besieges Raigad.
	.. April 5	Rājārām escapes from Raigad.
	..	Matabar Khan overruns North Konkan.
	.. August	Santāji raids the Emperor's camp at Koregaon.
	.. Septr.	Rājārām leaves Panhālā for Jinji.
	.. Novr. 3	Raigad falls into Mughal hands along with Shahu and Yesu Bai.
 15	Rājārām reaches Jinji and forms his court.
 30	Zulfiqar Khan moves towards Jinji.
	.. Dec. 18	Aurangzeb leaves Koregaon for Bijapur.
1690		The Emperor's camp moves to Galgale.
	.. March 2	Rājārām's inspiring appeal to Bāji Sarzarao 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	Dec. 13	Ali Mardan Khan defeated and captured near Kanchi by Santāji Ghorpade.
	Kambaksh kept under arrest by Asad Khan.
1693	Jan. 1	Ismail Khan Maka defeated by Dhanāji Jadhav.
 5	Santāji raids Zulfiqar Khan's camp at Desur.
 23	Mughal forces retire from Jinji to Wandiwash.

1694	Rājārām's queens join him at Jinji.
"	Death of Pralhād Nirāji 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	Kasīm Khan meets his death at Duderi : Khanazad Khan obtains release by ransom.
1696 Jan. 20	Himmat Khan and son killed in battle by Santāji Ghorpade.
" Feb. 26	Santāji defeats Hamid-ud-din Khan.
" April	Santāji demands reward for his services.
" June 9.	Birth of son Shivaji to Tārābai.
" "	Santāji deprived of his office of Senapati.
1696 June	Santāji defeats Dhanāji at Aiwargudi and puts to death Amrit Rao Nimbālkar.
1697 March	Santāji routed near Bijapur and again near Dahigaon.
" June	Santāji murdered by Nāgoji Mane.
" Dec.	Rājārām escapes from Jinji.
1698 Feb. 7.	Zulfiqar Khan captures Jinji.
" " 22	Rājārām reaches Vishālgad.
" May 23	Birth of Sambhāji (second son of Rājārām).
" Oct.	Rājārām establishes capital at Satara.
1699	Battle of Talner : Hussain Ali Khan captured by the Marathas.
" Oct. 31	Rājārām starts ravaging Mughal territory.
" Dec. 22	Marathas raid the Emperor's camp at Brahmmapuri.
1700 March 2	Death of Rājārām at Sinhagad.

CHAPTER XIV
RAJARAM THE QUIESCENT

[1689—1700]

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

1. **Two stars of dazzling brilliancy.**—Rājārām, the younger son of Shivaji, was at the time of Sambhāji's death, nineteen years old, having been born on 24 February 1670. The news of Sambhāji's capture did not take long to reach Raigad. Rājārām was then in nominal confinement in the fort, whose commander, under the advice of the veteran Yesāji Kank, brought him out and proclaimed him king on 9th February, i.e. a week after Sambhāji had been seized. This procedure did not fail to disillusion the Emperor and prove that the Maratha monarchy was not at an end. Pralhād Nirāji, Mānāji More and others who had been unjustly confined by Sambhāji, 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 Sambhāji, a wise and patient woman intensely devoted to her nation's cause. She heartened the drooping 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 Rājārām with his wives and followers should clear out before the siege becomes too stringent. I can stay here with my little son Shāhu and defend the capital, fearlessly awaiting the result. Our principal commanders should carry on their usual harassing operations in all directions against the Mughal forces, and convince them that the death of their King has made no difference 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 Chhatrapati and carrying on the warfare in his name till the country was liberated from the enemy's possession. Accordingly Rājārām slipped out of Raigad on 5 April, proceeded to Pratāpgad and despatched his wives and party for safety into the difficult fortresses of Vishālgad and Rāngnā. Some of the other leaders, Rāmchandra Pant Amātya, Pralhād Nirāji and Shankaraji Malhār Sachiv, also left Raigad and in mutual consultation from different places commenced an unprecedented campaign of fire, plunder and brigandage into the Mughal territory, using a net work of spies to obtain information of the enemy's movements.

While Zulfiqar Khan was busily engaged in operations before Raigad, the Emperor captured several other important Maratha forts such as Salher, Trimbak, Rajgad, 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 Emperor to hold and administer the important region of north Konkan, now known as the district of Thana, which contained several forts of strategic importance. For nearly fifteen years Matabar 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 Rājārām's young helpmates, particularly Santāji Ghorpade and Dhanāji Jādhav, made wonderful progress in the plan that was adopted. They fell upon Mughal detachments and sometimes routed them so thoroughly that succours could not reach Zulfiqar Khan in time for his operations

against Raigad. While Rājārām was cantoning at Pratāpgad, Santāji Ghorpade and Vithoji Chavān 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 Rājārām at Pratāpgad. 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 Sambhāji's blood and the people's war had begun, Santāji Ghorpade and Dhanāji 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 Pratāpgad and Rājārām had to leave it and take up his residence at Panhālā. Shaikh Nizam, the captor of Sambhāji, came against Panhālā, but was completely routed and put to flight from the foot of that fort, thereby saving Rājārām from a fate similar to that of his brother. In the meanwhile Santāji fell upon Zulfiqar Khan's besieging army, and brought away five elephants and an amount of valuable plunder. The three Ghorpade brothers, Santāji, Bahirji and Māloji were rewarded by Rājārām with the respective titles of *Mamulkat-madar*, *Hindurao* and *Amir-ulumrao*, by which their descendants are still distinguished in the Deccan.

2. Fall of Raigad and Ramchandra Pant'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 Pisāl of Wāi, one of the important officers in charge of the defence, opened the gates to the Khan on a promise of getting the Deshmukhi Vatan of Wāi which he had long coveted. With the fall of Raigad Yesu Bai, her young son Shāhu 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 Rājārām 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.¹ His chief adviser at first was Pralhād Nirāji, the son of Shivaji's Minister of Justice Nirāji Rāoji, 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 Rāmchandra Nilkanth, ancestor of the present Amātya family of Bawda, who had been trained under Shivaji but had fallen in insignificance during the fitful rule of Sambhāji. The Pant possessed a peculiar genius for recognizing merit in men and harnessing

1. The bakhar-writer styles him (स्थिरबुद्धि) of a steady, quiescent nature.

it to promote the national interests. Rājārām thus describes Rāmchandra Pant's services. "This Maratha kingdom is a gift from Heaven. Rāmchandra 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 Rāmchandra Pant's endeavours with success and frustrated all the cherished desires of the Emperor." Rāmchandra 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 Rāmchandra Pant, we have space to mention only four, two Brahmans and two Marathas. Parashurām Trimbak Pratinidhi, ancestor of the present chief of Aundh, and Shankarāji Nārāyan 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. Santāji Ghorpade and Dhanāji Jadhav were employed in destroying the enemy's field armies and crippling the material resources of the Mughal generals roving over the vast region of Mahārāshtra and the Karnatak.

3. *Maratha Trek to Jinji.*—When Rājārām's position at Panhālā 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 Rājārām secretly escaped from Panhālā to Jinji after undergoing many perils and hair-breadth escapes from the Mughal pursuers on the way. Leaving Panhālā at the end of September 1689, Rājārām 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, Santāji and Dhanāji supplying the necessary convoy guarding the front and the rear. Indeed, Rājārām owed his life to these two watchful generals and the men serving under them. Keshav Purohit, a priest of Rājārām, long in his employ for explaining the Puranas, accompanied the party from Panhālā to Jinji and has vividly described the Maratha king's journey and its perils in a stirring Sanskrit poem called *Rājārām-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 Pralhād Nirāji, who had rendered extraordinary services. Tanjore in that vicinity was already a Maratha capital, being at this time ruled by Shahji the eldest son of Ekoji and cousin of Rājārām. Writes Keshav Purohit, "the Chiefs of the Karnatak lands hailed Rājārām 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."¹ 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.

कर्नाटविषयैर्भूयैरेकोभूय महीपतेः । उपायनानि दत्तानि धनानि विविधानि च । सेना बहुविधाः
स्त्रीया दानमानप्रतोषिताः । प्रेषितास्तस्य सैन्यायै म्श्रेष्ठसंमदंनक्षमाः ॥ २ . ३—४.

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 Mahārāshtra ; and the Emperor in 1695 moved his camp back to Brahmāpuri on the south bank of the Bhimā 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 Rājārām had returned to Mahārāshtra, 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 Mān. 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 Muhiyabad. 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 Bedar Chief of Wakinkheda and Surapur. 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 Ahmadnagar, 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 Rājārām to Jinji, all occurring within a few months' time. Immediately on Zulfiqar Khan's arrival at Koregaon with Shāhu and his mother as captives, the Khan was ordered to pursue Rājārām 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 Mahārāshtra, 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, Rāmchandra Pant Amātya the consummate planner and Santāji Ghorpade Senapati the adroit executor. Santāji is called the perfect master of guerilla warfare. Santāji as a boy had served Shivaji and possibly Sambhaji also: but there is no evidence on record how he was occupied during the rule of the latter unfortunate monarch. Santāji 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,² "Santāji 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 Santāji'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."

Dhanāji 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 Santāji wherever he was called upon to do so. Equally brave and fearless, Dhanāji possessed a milder temperament and certainly a sweeter tongue. The Mughal troops looked upon Dhanāji with such awe that Khafi Khan narrates how Mughal troops used to ask their horses, when they refused to drink, whether they had seen Dhanāji reflected in the water. Early in their career Dhanāji and Santāji inflicted a severe defeat upon Sharza 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. Hanumanant Rav Ghorpade and his relation Krishnāji are definitely told on 4 June 1691 that,³ "Having clearly grasped your

2. *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 128.

3. Sh. Ch. Sa. 5767 in B. I. M. Quarterly 16.1.

readiness to quit the Mughal service and return to the king's for defending the Mahārāshtra 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 Bhāganagar (Haiderabad) and (4) the district of Aurangabad, at the rate of $\frac{2}{3}$ of a lac 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 Mahārāshtra 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. Rājārām'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 Rājārām from Jinji assures Bāji Sarzarav 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 Karnatak 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 Mahārāshtra with a treasure of a lac of Hons, guarded by an escort of forty thousand armed men with Santāji and Dhanāji 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 Sābāji Ghatge and Jānoji Rāje, in addition to several Brahmans also. He also entertains further deep-rooted motives of a sinister nature against our nation, of which you must beware. The Nimbālkars and the Mānes 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 Ballāl, Rājārām'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 Gujarat, Baglan, Gondvan, 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 guerilla 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.

Rāmchandra 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, so that life became intolerable in Mahārāshtra for such deserters, traitors and renegades. The Pisāl 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 Junnar had to suffer similar persecution.⁴

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 Rājārām 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 Visāji Shankar, trusted relatives of Khando Ballāl Chitnis. They owned cargo ships plying in the western sea, which conveyed these ladies safely to the south in 1694.⁵ The party consisted of Rājārām's three wives, Tārā Bai, Rājas Bai and Ambikā Bai and their retinue. They disembarked at Honāvar and travelling by the land route through the Bednur territory, reached Jinji safely in due course, unmolested by the pursuing enemy. While at Jinji Tārā Bai gave birth to a son (9 June 1696) and Rājas Bai did the same also two years later (23 May 1698). These two sons, named Shivaji and Sambhāji respectively, figured in the later developments of the Maratha State and originated the Kolhapur branch of the Chhatrapati's house.

4. Vide Pisal Papers, Rajwade, III, Nos. 56-64.

5. Visaji Shankar's services are seen rewarded in a document dated 19 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 Mahārāshtra and the Karnatak. 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 Dhanāji and Santāji 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 Santāji 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 Maka, another Mughal general, was similarly dealt with by Dhanāji, (9 Jan. 1693). Thus Zulfiqar Khan found himself in sore straits. His two valiant helpmates 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 anything 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 Rājārām 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 Rājārām. Martin writes "The commanders who had come to Jinji from Mahārāshtra in December 1692, were extremely irritated that Rāmrajā without their participation, by the advice of his minister alone, had made a treaty with the Mughals. They bore a particular grudge against Rājārām'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. Santāji Ghorpade was so incensed by this conduct of Rājārām that he withdrew his troops to some leagues from Jinji. It was believed that Rājārām had acted in gratitude. He well knew that Zulfiqar could have easily taken Jinji. This mutual accommodation between Rājārām 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 Golkonda as their share and the kingdom of Bijapur as the share of Rājārām." "Rājārām managed to appease Santāji 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 Mahārāshtra and the Karnatak. For a time Santāji 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 apprized 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 Santāji and Dhanāji and enable Zulfiqar Khan to prosecute the siege without outside molestation. He instructed Zulfiqar Khan to capture both Jinji and Rājārām 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 Santāji 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 Dasarā celebration of October 1695, Rāmchandra Pant called

6. Sarkar's *House of Shivaji*, XIII, p. 219.

together at Vishālgad 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 for concerting 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 Jinji. Santāji agreed to execute the latter portion of the scheme, and Dhanāji was asked to remain in the region of Bijapur keeping an eye on the Emperor's moves as well as being ready to support Santāji if any danger threatened him. The Emperor was then camping at Brahmāpuri, where he was soon apprized of the plans formed by Ramchandra Pant. He immediately despatched another tried general Himmat Khan to prevent Santāji from committing mischief. The two Mughal generals undertook what may be called a pincer movement to hem in Santāji both from front and behind. Dhanāji 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 Santāji and Dhanāji. 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 Santāji 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 Santāji all the vulnerable points of the Mughal arrangements and the shrewd Santāji 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, Santāji 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 Santāji and was himself shortly after joined by Khanazad Khan. Santāji 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."⁷ Santāji quickly 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 Santāji's

7. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, V. 113.

mercy and surrendered. Santāji 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. *Santāji'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. Santāji encountered Himmat Khan and his son in a sanguinary action near Basawa-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 Santāji 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 Santāji reverberated throughout the land causing high admiration in Maratha hearts and extreme depression in those of the Mughals. But Santāji 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 Santāji respected and obeyed, and that was Rāmchandra Pant who was far away in Mahārāshtra.

A large number of the letters that passed between them during all these years has been published and these clearly show how difficult Rāmchandra Pant found the task of handling Santāji. The general is here repeatedly admonished to be sweet and accommodating towards his co-workers and superiors and particularly towards the Chhatrapati. Santāji's biting tongue and boastful demeanour had more than once disgusted Rājārām. After these unequalled successes over the various Mughal generals, Santāji went straight to Jinji (April 1695), and demanded an adequate reward for his services. But Rājārām and Santāji 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. Santāji openly charged Rājārām with pusillanimity and disburdened 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. Santāji was at once dismissed from his office of Senapati and Dhanāji appointed in his place.⁸

How could it be expected that a hero of Santāji'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 Santāji's head. It is not necessary to suppose that the Mughals had any hand in bringing about a mortal ill-feeling between Dhanāji and Santāji. 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 Dhanāji was worsted and his valiant young partizan Amrit Rao Nimbalkar was taken prisoner, whom Santāji cruelly trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. This Amrit Rao's sister Rādhā Bai was married to Nāgoji Māne of Mhaswad near Satara. Nāgoji was playing a game of selfish ambition and intriguing with the Emperor for the destruction of Santāji. In this he was encouraged by his wife Rādhā Bai out of a desire to avenge the death of her brother. The monsoon months of 1696 passed critically for Santāji on the one hand and for Rājārām and Dhanāji on the other. As Santāji was not to be easily overcome, his followers were seduced and won over by secret methods. In this destructive game Nāgoji Māne had a principal share. Santāji'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 Dhanāji to capture Santāji and bring him a prisoner before him. Santāji then fled away, being hotly pursued by Dhanāji from the Karnatak into Mahārāshtra. During the flight they fought an action near Bijapur in which

⁸ Vide P. D. 31.68 dated 27 Oct. 1696; Sanads and Letters by Mawji and Parasnis, p. 177.

Santāji 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. Nāgoji Māne hung on his track. One hot noon in June 1697 as Santāji came to a spring and was having his bath, some armed men suddenly fell upon him, cut off his head and brought it to Nāgoji Māne, who immediately rode with it to the Emperor's camp at Brahmपुरi 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.⁸ Santāji 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 war-fare called by the Marathas Ganimi-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-

8. There are various versions of the circumstances under which Santāji 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. 215-238; 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 concert with the enemy and enriched themselves by robbing the Emperor's own subjects and innocent traders.⁹

"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.¹⁰

Santāji left behind him an inspiring name and a large family of brothers and nephews, who fortunately did not imbibed his spirit of insubordination and irascible temper: nor did they entertain any traces of hatred towards Dhanāji Jādhav, 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, Rājārām and his Court returned to Mahārāshtra, it was the combined effort of all the Ghorpades that conquered and saved the distant Karnatak lands for the Maratha dominion, leaving a precious legacy to one of their distinguished descendants, Murār Rao of Gutti, whose career extending over more than half a century of troublesome times, forms an important part in Maratha his-

9. *Rajaram's life* by Chitnis, pp. 41-43; Sarkar: Vol. V, p. 12.

10. Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 338, describes this guerilla warfare.

tory. Gajendragad, Sandur, Kapsi, and other small principalities in the south are still extant as reminders of the departed glory of the Ghorpades.

11. **Rajaram escapes, Jinji falls.**—The death of Santāji at once transferred the scene of hostile activities from the Karnatak to Mahārāshtra. 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 Rājārām managed to escape from the besieging forces, reached Vellore and returned to Mahārāshtra, 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 Rājārām unmolested exit to their home. They returned to Vishālgad in due course. Pralhād Nirāji's son Nāro Pralhād 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.

Rājārām after escaping from Jinji, proceeded to Vishālgad, (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. Vishālgad 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 Rājārām 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 Shāhu from the Mughal camp in 1708 and acquired the name of Shahunagar.

Rājārām 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 Rājārām proposing a combined attack upon the northern possessions of the Emperor. Rājārām thereupon deputed Nemāji Sinda with some other chiefs to ravage Khandesh and Berar and exact *Chauth* from those districts. Early in 1699 Nemāji encountered the Mughal governor of Talner, Husain 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 Rājārām himself set out from Satara accompanied by several young leaders of future fame such as Khanderao Dābhāde, Parsoji Bhosle, Haibatrao Nimbalkar, with Dhanāji Jādhav 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 Rājārām himself was stopped from proceeding to the north by Zulfiqar Khan and was compelled to turn back. He came straight to Brahmāpuri 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 Rājārām's letter addressed to Vithoji Babar 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 Dhanāji, Nemāji Sinda, Persōji Bhosle and other leaders have led a

furious attack upon the imperial camp of Brahmपुरi 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."¹¹

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. Rājārām 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 Rājārām 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 Santāji's tragic end, was another serious blow to the rising fortunes of his nation. One of his wives Ambikā Bai burnt herself on hearing of her husband's death, but the two other wives Tārā Bai and Rājas Bai, long survived him and played their part in future politics.

Rājārām'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. Rājārām has left no writing behind like the Sanskrit and Hindi compositions of Sambhāji. His mother was put to death and Rājārām had no congenial company in his boyhood. At the death of Sambhāji, sheer chance brought Rājārām to his father's throne. He fortunately obtained wise and able counsellors in Rāmchandra Pant and Pralhād Nirāji, and equally brave warriors in Santāji and Dhanāji. There is not a single occasion recorded in his life on which Rājārām showed personal daring or capacity for government

11. *History of the Pratidinhis*, Vol. 3, p. 451.

When his mentor Pralhād Nirāji died in 1694, Rājārām's affairs went rapidly on the decline. That he could not handle Santāji properly or at least prevent his murder, is a sad commentary on his power of control. His mind and body were both weak, due possibly to dissipation and the use of opium to which he is said to have been addicted. His virtue was of a negative kind, non-interference. What Rājārām lacked was amply made up by his spirited queen Tārā Bai as the sequel will show.¹²

Just before Rājārām's death the Emperor tried to seduce Rāmchandra Pant and Parashurām 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 Rāmchandra Pant should fall into the hands of Parashurāmpant 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 Rājārām, 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

12. Rājārām's seal contains a motto which can thus be rendered in English: "Like the King Rāma of old this seal of King Rāma shines forth, impelled by the motive of inspiring all people alike with a sense of their national duty!"

धर्मप्रद्योतितारोषवर्णा दक्षरथेरिव । राजारामस्य मुद्रेण विश्वंया विराजते.

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 Rājwāde, Vol. 8.52.

CHRONOLOGY

CHAPTER XV

1696	Balaji Vishwanath Sar-Subahdar of Poona.
1700 March 2	Death of Rajaram ; Shivaji II crowned by Tarabai.
„ Apr. 21	Aurangzeb captures Satara and Parli forts.
„ Aug. 17	Shahu reported as ailing.
1701 May 28	Aurangzeb captures Panhala.
1702 June 4	Aurangzeb captures Vishalgad.
„ ending months	Balaji Vishwanath defends Sinhagad.
1703 April 8	Aurangzeb captures Sinhagad.
„	Aurangzeb encamps at Poona ; orders Shahu's conversion.
„ Novr.	Shahu married and entrusted to Kam Bakhsh for negotiating his release.
„	Ray-Bhanji Bhosle accepts Emperor's service.
1704	Fort Satara recaptured by the Marathas.
1705 April 17	Yesubai's letter of distress in captivity.
„	The Marathas ravage Mughal territory beyond the Narmada.
1706 Feb. 6	Shahu temporarily released.
1707 Feb. 20	Death of Aurangzeb.

CHAPTER XV

RETRIBUTION

[1700—1707]

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

1. **Tarabai opposes the Emperor.**—Rājārām 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 Rājārām 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 Ghats. 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), Panhala (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.¹

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 Azam-tara, Parali Navrastara, Panhala 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 *Bakshinda Baksh*, "a reward given by the Almighty."

As soon as Rāmchandra Pant Amātya learnt of Rājārām'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 persons 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,² 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 Shāhu 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 Zulfiqar Khan on 3rd November 1689 Sambhāji's Rani Yesubai, then about 30 years of age and her young son Shāhu of seven years, two illegitimate sons of Sambhāji named Madan Sinh and Madhav Sinh, Rani Sakwarbai, the sole surviving widow of the great Shivāji, 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 Shāhu 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 Shāhu 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 Sambhāji 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 Sambhāji. He abandoned all thought of making short work with these innocent and hapless captives, and ordered that Shāhu 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 Shāhu himself Aurangzeb deliberately adopted an attitude quite the reverse of that towards his father. He styled Shāhu 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 Shāhu and Yesubai.³ 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 Shāhu go back to the Deccan from the river Narmada in 1707.

Any way this lady's kind offices doubtless softened the rigours of Shāhu'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 Sambhāji's widow. Jyotyaji Kesarkar, Bhaktaji Huzra and Banki Gaikwad are mentioned out of the many followers of Shāhu, 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 Rājārām 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 Rājārām 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 Shivāji, and on arrival at the camp, Aurangzeb called him Shivāji the *Sav* (honest) in contrast with his wily grand-father. This word *Sav* is said to have been corrupted into Shāhu (Sādhu, Sahu) by which name he thereafter continued to be known. Although to all appearance Aurangzeb 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 Rājārām tried to effect Shāhu's release by means of a sudden and secret attack upon the camp : but these attempts failed. Once, it is recorded, when Shāhu came to make his obedience to the Emperor, the latter asked him, " I am ready to send you back to your uncle, are willing to go ? " " No ", replied Shāhu, " 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 Shāhu 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 Shāhu's claim against Tarabai's son. But these attempts did not prove successful in his life-time.

Shāhu 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 Shāhu freely participated in it.

With his advance to manhood Shāhu'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 Rājārām's premature death gladdened the Emperor's heart, it distressed Shāhu's so acutely that he became ill and was for a time confined to bed. The malady affected his mind and body to some extent. It is recorded that on 26 August 1700, Shāhu 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 Shāhu long. It is mentioned that he took the bath of recovery on the 4th June preceding.

Rājārām'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 setting up an administration for the conquered territories, particularly 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 rul-

ing by right of conquest and the Marathas by right of possession. Friction and rivalry of a serious nature thus went on, dividing the loyalties of the common residents and of the average officials during the time of the war, and even later after hostilities had been formally closed by the Emperor's death. It was during this period of double government that Shāhu 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.⁴

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 Shāhu, viz., Bālāji Vishvanāth Bhat, whom later on Shāhu appointed his Peshwa and who was instrumental in changing the entire character of the Maratha Government. When and how Shāhu 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 Shriwardhan on the west coast under the jurisdiction of the Siddis of Janjīra, 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 Sarsubahdar 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 Amātya and other ministers to Balaji Vishvanath, calling upon him to ex-

4. A modi *bakhar* containing 143 pages, the first 16 and the last few missing, exists at the Osmania University, Haiderabad (Dec.), which records some interesting details of Shāhu's life in captivity. A few stray leaves of this same book were discovered at Poona and printed in 1915 by the Bh. I. S. Mandal, *Tritiya-Sammelan Vitta*, pages 85-90.

plain certain matters, to execute certain measures and occasionally reprimanding him for dereliction of duty. In 1702 when the Emperor invested Sinhadgad, Balaji Vishvanath, writing on behalf of the Senapati Dhanāji Jadhav, sent an insistent request to his co-worker Ambāji 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 Aurangzeb. To rise to the position of a Sarsubahdar 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 unknown. We know that after capturing the fort of Sinhadgad in April 1703, the Emperor *canton*ed at Poona during the monsoon months of that year, when it is presumed, the question of Shāhu's conversion and release seriously agitated Aurangzeb's mind. He issued orders that on a certain day Shāhu should be converted to the Muslim faith, a measure which dreadfully distressed Shāhu and his mother. They gave up eating food, began to starve themselves and begged the Begam Saheb to intervene 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 Shāhu would be spared on condition that two prominent Maratha youths offered themselves for conversion in his place; his order once issued must have its course. Shāhu 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 Abdur-Rahim and Abdur-Rahman. Shāhu 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 Shāhu, one from the Sinde family of Kanerkhed and the other a daughter of Manaji Rustumrao Jadhav of Sindkhed, and Shāhu was married to them with fitting ceremony under the Emperor's direction. A third intelligent lady named Virubai was selected to supervise Shāhu'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 Shāhu 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 Shāhu 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 Shāhu's interests at great risk to his life. The words applied to him by Shāhu 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 Shāhu 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 Shāhu properly crowned at Satara at a later date.

To all appearances the Emperor showed deep interest and great concern in the well-being of Shāhu, 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.

* अतुल पराक्रमी सेवक.

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 Shāhu and entrusted his person to Kam Baksh with instructions to open negotiations with Dhanāji Jadhav about the release of Shāhu. Thereupon Dhanāji 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. Dhanāji also agreed to take charge of Shāhu 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 Shāhu 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 Dhanāji and Shāhu had open conferences at this time, in the presence of Kam Baksh and Zulfiqar Khan, and possibly Balaji Vishvanath 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 Shāhu's future, when one more unsuccessful effort was made by the Emperor

on his return journey from Surapur to Ahmadnagar in 1706. He made Shāhu write personal letters to some of the Maratha leaders inviting them to join him, gave Shāhu 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 Shāhu. 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 Shāhu 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 Shāhu 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 cycophants

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."⁴

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 hovered 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

4. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, p. 14 &c.

came to the point of starving. With a united voice they all pitieously 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 Akbar 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. Azam Shah, the Emperor's second son tried to murder Kam Baksh. So Aurangzeb sent both these sons away from his death-bed. Four days after sending away Azam 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 Azam 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.⁵

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 Rāmchandra Pant, who with Dhanāji Jadhav kept up his contact with Shāhu and tried to bring him back as their next Chhatrapati. As this move was violently opposed by Tara Bai, Rāmchandra Pant remained a mere apathetic onlooker and ceased to take the same active part in her government that he had done during Rājārām's life. The published papers make hardly any mention of Rāmchandra Pant hereafter. Tara Bai, mainly with the support of Parashuram Trimbak, Dhanāji 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 garlanding 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 folks, 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 battle-
 field ;
 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.⁶

The rise of Shāhu synchronizes with that of the Peshwās and involves the eclipse of Rāmchandra Pant Amātya, 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.⁷

“ 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

6. Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 192-196.

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. Mere 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."

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