

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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## SIVA CHHATRAPATI

VOL. I, PP. 284, RS. 4-14

Being a translation of *Sabhasad bakhar* with extracts  
from *Chitnis* and *Sivadigvijaya*.

### OPINIONS

**Prof. Ramsay Muir**—Your work bears all the marks of exact and scientific scholarship and both you and the University of Calcutta have every reason to be proud of the admirable beginning thus made in the rendering of an essential service to historial scholarship.

**H. Beveridge**.—Mr. Sen has done good service by making a new translation of Krishnaji Sabhasad's chronicle.

**C. A. Kincaid**.—I had myself thought of translating Sabhasad's bakhar. But I am very glad you have saved me the trouble.

**G. S. Sardesai**.—I have compared the translation with the original and am glad to say that it is faithful, elegant and yet quite simple.

**K. N. Sane**.—(Vivida Dnan Vistar) On the whole the work of translation has been well done.

**C. H. Keith Jopp**.—The notes seem scholarly and the references to history all conceived in a judicial spirit.

**R. N. Leslie Moore**.—The perusal of your work ha afforded me great pleasure.

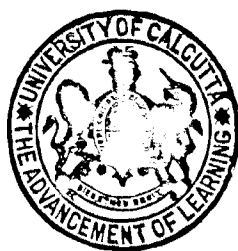
ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE  
MARATHAS

# ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS

[FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES]

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**TO MY PARENTS**

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Shivaji, born in 1627, captured Torna in 1646 and died in 1680 at the comparatively young age of fifty-three. Before his death he had founded a mighty Hindu kingdom in defiance of the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda, then tottering to their fall, and the Chaghatai, miscalled Mughal Empire, then at the zenith of its power under Aurangzib Alamgir. Within a decade of its founder's death, the infant Maratha power was faced with a serious crisis. The son and successor of Shivaji was captured and decapitated and the infant heir to the throne became a Mughal prisoner. Further expansion was out of the question, the very existence of the kingdom was threatened. The Marathas undeterred by the power, wealth and prestige of the empire engaged in a life and death struggle which ended in their favour. With the return of Shahu to his paternal kingdom opened a new era of conquest and expansion. The Maratha horsemen reached the extreme North-Western frontier of India, their horses drank the water of the Indus and the empire extended from sea to sea. The

Maratha empire was apparently still in its full vigour when a conflict with a Western power brought about its disruption and fall. The last Hindu empire of India passed away after a chequered existence of 170 years.

It is commonly believed that this vast empire existed merely by plunder and robbery. An eminent English writer has described the Maratha generals as 'robbers, plunderers and scoundrels.' But it is very difficult to understand how an empire could last for over a century and half by robbery and plunder alone, unless it had a surer and firmer basis of good government. Grant Duff does not answer this question. Ranade had set himself to this task and his brilliant chapters on the administrative institutions of Maharashtra served as an eye-opener to many, but he was cut off by death before his task was fully accomplished.

A comprehensive work on the administrative system of the Marathas was wanting, but materials for such a work had been fast accumulating. The scholarly labours and the patriotic devotion of Sane, Rajwade, Khare, Parasnis and a host of less known, but not less sincere, workers had brought to light such a mass of original documents, that it is a veritable Solomon's mine and the very first descent took me in the midst of treasures of high value

and I felt my labour amply rewarded. I got the answer I had been seeking.

The Marathas were not mere robbers and plunderers. From their original documents I found that they had an excellent set of regulations for their own empire. Further investigation convinced me that these regulations and administrative institutions were not their own inventions, they had inherited them from their Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors. The administrative system of the Marathas is thus of surpassing interest. It explains the causes of the disruption and downfall of the last Hindu empire, it gives a history of the survival and development of the old Hindu administrative system, it supplies an important and interesting illustration of interaction of Hindu and Muslim principles on each other, and it helps us to understand the growth of the present British Indian administrative institutions, partly engrafted as they are on older Hindu and Muhammadan systems. This is indeed the justification for publishing this work which the toil of the last five years has produced.

The work, I know, has its limitations. It is an account of the Maratha Government and its evolution, without a strict chronological treatment. A serious student will here, I hope,



find ample indication as to where to turn for more information. It may be objected that the Hindu political philosophers quoted in Book III were mere theorists and probably they did not describe the institutions, laws and regulations actually prevalent in their times. But my aim has been to indicate the origin of the Maratha institutions, and the real character of the Hindu works on polity do not concern me at all. If they dealt with theories alone, the Maratha institutions illustrate quite well how many of these theories were put into practice. There will be found repetitions, but my excuse is the convenience of the reader, and as the subject is somewhat technical, I thought it better not to tax his memory with unfamiliar terms to an excessive degree. Lastly, a comparison with English institutions has been found necessary. The Marathas have suffered in the estimation of modern students, because their institutions have been judged by the standard of modern times and that is why I have thought it necessary to compare their laws and regulations with those of contemporary Europe. England has been specially selected for the simple reason that we are best familiar with her history, past and present, not because I have any bias against her. It may be that I have my unconscious bias for my own country and

unconscious prejudice against the rest; but I have always tried not to indulge in any such feeling.

To Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and President of the Post-Graduate Councils, I am specially grateful for the facilities and encouragement I have uniformly received from him. Seven years ago, just after completing my college education, I approached him with a scheme of research work. In spite of his onerous duties of various kinds, he not only gave me a kind and patient hearing, but that inspiring encouragement which a young man needs so much before commencing a serious work with which he has not been hitherto familiar. When I left for Jubbulpore in 1916 to join the Robertson College there, I little thought that I should be able to prosecute my studies under the fostering care of my own *alma mater*. In 1917 I was appointed a University Lecturer. The Library then offered very little facilities for any serious work in Maratha History. Sir Asutosh promptly sent Rs. 500 to the late Prof. H. G. Limaye of Poona to purchase published source books of Maratha History for the University Library, and it is needless to say that but for the facilities he had uniformly given me, I could not have carried on my work.

Prof. H. G. Limaye would have been delighted no doubt to receive my published work had he been alive to-day. In him I have lost a true friend, teacher and guide.

The first training, in the use of original documents, I got from my teacher Principal R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A. He has laid me under further obligations by revising my manuscript and giving me valuable suggestions. He has taken an interest in this work that an affectionate teacher alone can take in that of a pupil.

I am indebted to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, Prof. R. C. Majumdar, now of the Dacca University, Dr. B. M. Barua, Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, Mr. G. S. Sardesai, Sardar Tatyasaheb Mehendale, Mr. D. V. Potdar, Mr. Henry Beveridge, late of the Bengal Civil Service, and Prof. J. N. Sarkar of Patna, for many useful information and suggestions. I should also take this opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance I got from Messrs. T. K. Buxy, T. V. Mone, B. C. Watchmaker, D. G. Matange, and G. R. Tamhankar all of the Robertson College, Jubbulpore. Mr. W. S. Rowlands, then officiating Principal of the Robertson College, enabled me to devote more time to my researches by reducing my lecture work.

I have to thank the Oxford University Press and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis for permission to reproduce the portraits of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram. The portraits are from the Parasnis collection and have been reproduced from 'A History of the Maratha People' by Kincaid and Parasnis. Rao Bahadur Parasnis has also permitted me to reproduce two portraits from his *Poona in Bygone Days*. For two blocks I am indebted to the proprietor of the *Masik Basumati* of Calcutta.

The tedious but nevertheless useful work of compiling an Index has been carefully done by my friend and colleague Mr. Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A. And last, but not the least, I am deeply indebted to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, B.A., Superintendent of the Calcutta University Press, for assistance of all kinds over and above what he is expected to render in the ordinary discharge of his official duties.

I could not mention Professor Takakhav and Mr. Keluskar's voluminous life of Shivaji Maharaj in my introduction to Book I. I have in the meantime gone through Lal Kavi's *Chhatraprakash* which does not seem to contain much that is of use to a student of Maratha History.

I wish I could add an introductory chapter to discuss the sources of Book II but ill health

and lack of time prevented me from doing so. Diacritical marks cause unusual delay and have not therefore been used in the text, but their use in the glossary will, it is hoped, remove to a certain extent, the inconvenience caused by this omission. These defects will be removed if the book ever goes through a second edition.

SENATE HOUSE ;  
CALCUTTA,  
*18th February, 1923.*

S. N. S.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book received an unexpectedly kind reception from the public and was exhausted within a year of its publication. I could not, however, revise the text until three months ago for reasons I need not mention here, and although much new material has been utilised, no textual change has been possible. I have identified a few more taxes mentioned in Book I with the help of Portuguese documents, and two new Appendices on the Karkhanas and coins mentioned by Sabhasad have been added. An introductory chapter has been added to Book II briefly indicating the nature of the original records on which it is based, and the Military System of the Peshwas has received a more detailed treatment. The new notes on Chauth and the naval practices of the Marathas will, it is hoped, also prove interesting.

I am very grateful to H. E. Dr. Jaime de Morais, Governor-General of Portuguese India and his Chief of the Cabinet for kindly permitting me to examine the unpublished Portuguese records in the Goa archives and to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and H. E. the Chancellor of the

Calcutta University for their kind recommendation to the generous Portuguese Government. But for the help I received from my friends Prof. P. Pissurlencar of Pangim and Dr. P. Bragança Cunha it would have been impossible to take the fullest advantage of the facilities that the recommendation of H. E. Lord Lytton and the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves and the courtesy of H. E. Dr. Jaime de Morais secured for me. I am also indebted to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Imperial Records, Calcutta, for the use of some unpublished English records; and my friend Mr. Bala Saheb Ghorpade of Poona has placed me under great obligation by collecting for my use a number of rare Marathi works. My friend and colleague Mr. Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A., has, as before, prepared the Index. But for the ungrudging help of Mr. A. C. Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent of the Calcutta University Press, it would have been impossible to get this book printed within the short period of twelve weeks. I also avail myself of this opportunity for publicly offering my grateful thanks to their Highnesses the Maharaja Holkar and the Maharaja Gaikwad for extending to this humble work their generous patronage.

It is impossible for me to close this preface without a reference to the kindly interest that the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee took in this work.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION xvii

Long before the second edition could be taken in hand the glorious career of the greatest Vice-Chancellor of our University was suddenly cut short while yet in the prime of life. With his usual enthusiasm he had gone through this work and promised to make some suggestions. It is needless to say that the present edition would have gained immensely in value had he been spared to make them.

S. N. S.

SENATE HOUSE :

*The 22nd August, 1925.*



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**BOOK I**  
**ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI**



Image of Shivaji at Malwar

*By courtesy of Mr. B. V. Varerkar*

## INTRODUCTION

### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A comprehensive history of the Maratha administrative system is still a desideratum.

While dealing with the Peshwa period, we are confronted with such an amazing abundance of materials, that we can hardly expect to do justice to them. State-papers have been carefully preserved. Revenue regulations, instructions to revenue collectors and higher officials, deeds of sale, and other documents, judgments in both civil and criminal suits, have come down to us in their hundreds and thousands. They give us a vivid picture of the government as it actually was in the Peshwa period. But when we approach the Shivaji period, we are confronted with such a scarcity of materials as is most discouraging. Of state-papers we have but very few, and they are not very important either. Mr. Rajwade complains<sup>1</sup> that during his twenty years of labour and research, he has hardly come across twenty-five important Shivaji-papers. Most of these papers again are political and

<sup>1</sup> *Itihas Ani Aitihāsik.*

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diplomatic correspondence, and do not enlighten us about the administrative system. Fortunately, however, some old documents, that cannot properly be styled as state-papers, have after ages seen light, thanks to the labour of Mr. V. K. Rajwade. These give us useful information about some of the early adherents of Shivaji, the history of their *watans*, sometimes an account of their deeds and exploits and often a long and exhaustive list of the taxes, cesses, and *abwabs* of those days.<sup>2</sup> From these family papers of the old *Sardars* and *Jagirdars* we can frame a fairly accurate sketch of the administrative system of Shivaji, but these papers have to be used with extreme care and caution.

Next in importance, are the *bakhars*<sup>3</sup> or Marathi prose chronicles.

Supremely indifferent, like their Muhamadan teachers, to everything that affected the ordinary people, the Maratha chroniclers pay very little attention to the administrative system of their times and the economic condition of their country. They give lengthy accounts of battles, gossiping stories of the superhuman deeds of their heroes, interesting anecdotes of

<sup>2</sup> These papers have been published by Mr. Rajwade in the 8th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and the 20th volumes of his *Marathyanchya Itihasanchi Sadhanen*.

<sup>3</sup> Most of these *bakhars* have been published by Rao Bahadur Sane in the *Kavyetihās Sangraha*.

well-known personages, and confine themselves mainly to the narration of political events. Consequently, we learn very little from them. Sabhasad, who wrote in 1694, is perhaps the most sensible as he is the earliest of Shivaji's biographers. Condensed and concise in style, he devotes a few pages to Shivaji's regulations, both civil and military. Chitragupta, who elaborated Sabhasad's work, added a few stories and verses of his own composition. The only additional information that we obtain from Chitragupta is a short page where he enumerates the duties of the secretariat officers.

Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis, who wrote his *bakhar* long after Sabhasad, does not give us any additional information about the administrative system. His *Rajniti* is a treatise on polity, in which he compiles the theories of public administration from old Sanskrit works. It could not, therefore, have any bearing on the actual government of Maharashtra as it then existed, although the duties of the eight *Pradhans* might probably have been compiled from some old papers. *Shivadigvijaya*, the most voluminous work of its kind, is full of legends and impossible stories, but has not a word to say about the working constitution of Maharashtra in Shivaji's days. The only thing we should note here is that Messrs. Dandekar and Nandurbarkar, the joint editors of *Shivadigvijaya*, have failed to prove



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their contention, that it is the work of Khando Ballal, son of Balaji Avaji.\* It is in all probability a very recent work, and consequently, its evidence has but little weight with the modern student, who aspires to study history as a science. The same editors have published another *bakhar*, *Shri Shivaji Pratap*, which is nothing but a compilation of myths and legends. The anonymous author had not only no historical training, but he seemed to lack historical knowledge altogether. This *bakhar* is, therefore, absolutely useless both for a reconstruction of the political history of Maharashtra, and for the compilation of an account of Shivaji's administrative system. Very recently a sixth *bakhar* has been published by Mr. Bhave in his *Marathi Daftar*. It is only an elaboration of *Sabhasad*. The anonymous author has copied freely from an old manuscript of *Sabhasad's bakhar*, and his own additions are not at all trustworthy. About Shivaji's civil and military regulations, he has nothing more than an extract from *Sabhasad* to give. Even there he has omitted some old and obsolete words, which he evidently did not understand.

A seventh *bakhar*, viz., the *Shahanavkalmi bakhar* was discovered and published in the columns of the now defunct periodical, the *Prabhat*—by Mr. Chandorkar; this *bakhar* is

\* I have discussed the point more fully in my *Extracts and Documents relating to the Maratha History*, Vol. I.

alleged to have been found by the old copyist in the *daftar* of Annaji Datto, a Brahman officer, who played an important part in Shivaji's service. It is, however, devoted mainly to political history, and it is not quite trustworthy.

An English translation of a *bakhar* found at Rairi has been published by Prof. Sir G. Forrest. Scott-Waring, who wrote in 1811, spoke very highly of the original. This, however, has unfortunately been lost. The accuracy of the English translation has been challenged by the late Justice Telang.<sup>5</sup> On the whole, it may be safely asserted that this *bakhar* is not worth much. The *Kayastha Prabhunche Bakhar* is very modern and is of no use to us.

Lastly there remains a *bakhar* of peculiar interest. Discovered and published by Mr. V.K. Rajwade in the abovementioned magazine, the *Prabhat*, this *bakhar* is of very little historical value, but it is a wonderful specimen of human industry. The published *bakhar* covers more than one hundred pages honestly printed, and the whole of it was found inscribed on the stone walls of a temple at Tanjore.

A work of unique value and character is *Sambhaji's Adnapatra* or *Marathshahitil Rajniti*. It is commonly attributed to Ramchandra Panta Amatya, who commenced his political career under

<sup>5</sup> Banade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 259 f.

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Shivaji and was responsible for the defence of Maharashtra during Rajaram's absence at Jinji. He lived to witness the return and restoration of Shahu but remained loyal to the Kolhapur cause of which he was the mainstay after Tarabai's fall. The present work is believed to have been compiled in 1716 at the request of Sambhaji II of Kolhapur and was published for the first time, half a century ago, in the columns of the *Vividha Dnan Vistar* of Bombay in 1875. The work, however, long remained unnoticed, and the manuscript was in the meantime lost. It was reprinted in 1922 from the printed text, when its importance was realised by Mr. G. S. Sardesai. The language leaves no doubt about its antiquity and the work is most probably genuine. The author, whoever he might have been, had close personal knowledge of Shivaji's government. In the second decade of the 18th century the antifeudal policy of Shivaji had already been abandoned in practice, but the author still recommends it in a manner that leaves no doubt that he had served under the great Shivaji and was merely echoing him.

Mention should also be made here of *Jedhe Yanche Shakavali*, published by the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, but its main importance is chronological. A few Marathi papers have also been published by the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona. Some more papers have been

published by Rao Bahadur Sane in his *Patre Yadi Bagaire* and by Messrs. P. V. Mawji and D.B. Parasnis in their *Sanads and Letters*. Sardesai's *Marathi Riasat* is not of much importance in this respect, though it is invaluable to a student of political history. And this fairly exhausts the materials we have in Marathi.

### *Sanskrit Sources.*

A few years ago only two Sanskrit works viz., *Shiva Raj Prashasti* of Gaga Bhatta and *Shiva Kavya* of Purushottam Kavi were known. The latter was a Maharashtra Brahman and the former a contemporary of Shivaji and their works are useless for our purpose.

But the untiring labours of Maratha scholars are daily unearthing many new works composed by contemporary poets. Of these the *Parnal Parvat Grahanakhyana* edited by Sadashiv Mahadev Divekar and *Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu* edited by V. K. Rajwade have already been published. The author of both these poems was one Jayaram Pinde, a scholar and linguist of no mean ability. These works may be made to yield, after a careful examination, many interesting historical information. But the most important of all such poetical biographies, *Shiva Bharat*, yet awaits publication. The work was first discovered by Mr. Divekar in its Tamil

version in the Tanjore Library. But a critical examination of the text led Mr. Divekar to suspect that the original must be in Sanskrit. An elaborate search proved that he was right, but we do not as yet know what new light it may throw on the civil and military institutions of Shivaji.

11 The most important Sanskrit work for our purpose is Rajvyavahar Kosh attributed to Raghunath Pandit. It is a dictionary compiled at Shivaji's request in which Sanskrit synonyms have been supplied for all current words of Persian and Arabic origin. The dictionary is in verse and divided into ten different chapters or sections after the manner of the *Amarkosha*. The author knew the institutions and their working and his list of the Karkhanas and the Karkhana officers supplies information not available elsewhere. The work, short as it is, throws light not only on the civil institutions but also on the military establishments of Shivaji. This invaluable little work was published at Bombay as early as 1860 by one Kashinath Gangadhar Kshatri, but is now extremely rare. It is needless to say that it deserves republication and a critical edition will be of immense use to all students of Maratha history.

#### *Hindi Sources.*

In Hindi, there is only one contemporary work—the poems of Shivaji's court poet Bhushan.

His *Shiva Raja Bhushan* and other poems may be of considerable literary merit, but they are of very little interest to a historian. Moreover, they do not make the slightest reference to Shivaji's administrative system. *Chhatra Prakash* by Lalkavi is useless to a student of Maratha administrative institutions.

#### *Tamil and Telugu Sources.*

As has already been pointed out, *Shiva Bharat* was first discovered in its Tamil rendering. Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar told me that linguistic evidence led him to believe that the Tamil version could not be very old. In a paper read before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, the Late Pandit Subba Rao of Madras pointed out that a short biography of Shivaji was available in the colophon of an old Telugu work dedicated to one of his Tanjore relatives. The Tamil and the Telugu sources, however, are for most students of Maratha history a sealed book and cannot be utilised without the co-operation of Madras scholars.

#### *Persian Sources.*

Both Hindu and Muhammadan writers must have written a good deal about the wonderful career of Shivaji in Persian. There are moreover very important letters, so far as political

history is concerned, written by Jai Singh and other officers of Aurangzib from the Deccan. Whether these make any incidental reference to Shivaji's administrative system is yet to be investigated. This source, however, promises to be fruitful in more than one way. For the present, I have to be satisfied with such imperfect English translation as we get in Scott's *Ferishta*, Vol. II. and still more inaccurate and fragmentary translation as has been given by Elliot and Dowson in their *History of India*. Of the authors selected there the most important is Khafi Khan, but there is very little in his work to help us in our study of the administrative system of the Marathas.

#### *French Sources.*

Dr. Dellon, a French physician, visited the western coast of India and published a short account of his travels on his return home. The small volume was so interesting that it was translated into English shortly after its publication. He praises Shivaji as a tolerant and liberal prince. But his information was derived mainly from hearsay.

Many French travellers came to this country when Shivaji rose to power. Of these the works of Bernier and Tavernier are well known. Both of them made reference to Shivaji's military power and the terror he created in the minds of his

enemies. Bernier alludes to the respect and consideration Shivaji had shown for persons of character and piety during the first sack of Surat. Monsieur de Thevenot visited India in 1666. He devotes an entire chapter to Shivaji, but his account of the great Maratha's career is hopelessly inaccurate. According to Thevenot, Shivaji was born at Bassein and was thirty-five in 1664, when he sacked Surat. He does not mention the Afzal Khan incident and credits Shivaji with the capture of Shaista Khan's daughter, who was treated with all honour and respect to which she was entitled. His account of Shivaji's flight from the Imperial Court is also untrustworthy. Martin's *Memoirs* is of great importance to students of military history; the extracts published by Prof. J. N. Sarkar in the *Proceedings of the Historical Records Commission*, however, throw no light on the civil institutions of Shivaji. An interesting account of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition has been left by the Jesuit missionaries of Madura. This is available in Bertrand's *Mission de Madure* and an English translation of the relevant portion will be found in the appendices of *History of the Madura Nayaks* by Prof. R. Sathinathayer of Trichinopoly. The Jesuit letters substantially corroborate the Maratha account of the expedition and as Shivaji undoubtedly made an adequate arrangement for the government of the conquered country, we may unhesitatingly hold that the aim of



this expedition was conquest and annexation and not merely plunder as suggested by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar.<sup>6</sup> Like Martin's *Memoirs* the contemporary Jesuit letters compiled by Bertrand and the earliest French biographies of Shivaji are of very little use to a student of his administrative system.

### *Portuguese Sources.*

One of the earliest biographies of Shivaji was written in Portuguese. The author, Cosme da Guarda, styles himself as a citizen of Marmugao near Goa. His work, though composed in 1695, was not published till 1730 and the editor says that the manuscript was discovered by a fortunate accident only. Of the author we know absolutely nothing. According to the *Diccionario*

<sup>6</sup> Prof. Sarkar himself admits that civil Governors were appointed for the newly conquered tracts and an army of occupation was left to quell all disturbances and risings. He goes further and says—"The districts that he retained in Central and Eastern Mysore as the result of his Karnatak expedition, had to be connected with his old dominions by the conquest of the Southern corner of Bijapur." This was effected and "the country was formed into a regular province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardan Narayan Hanumante as Viceroy" (Shivaji and His Times, pp. 405-407). It is difficult to reconcile this with the Professor's dictum that, "It is incredible that a born strategist like Shivaji could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast, which was separated from his own dominions by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijapur and Golkonda, and more than 700 miles distant from his capital." (Shivaji and His Times, First edition, pp. 366-67). This is, however, not the place to examine this question in detail.

*Bibliographic Portuguese*, Prof. Pissurlencar informs us,<sup>7</sup> Cosme da Guarda was not the real name of Shivaji's Portuguese biographer (O nome de Cosme da Guarda é affectado) and the late Sr. J. A. Ismael Gracias seriously held that Guarda, though a genuine Portuguese, did not belong to Portuguese India at all. Guarda's work seems to have been known to that indefatigable English historian Robert Orme, for among his manuscripts we find an index of a work called *Vida de Celebre Sevagy*.<sup>8</sup> Cosme da Guarda, whoever he might have been, did not care, like many of his contemporaries, for accuracy and he gravely asserted that Shivaji, though popularly known as the youngest of Shahaji's twelve sons, was really the offspring of an illicit relation between Jijabai and Dom Manoel de Menezes, a Portuguese gentleman of Virar near Bassein. This naturally reminds us of Clement Dunning's story about the Abyssynian origin of Kanoji Angria. The credulity of that age rendered Guarda incapable of being overcritical, but strangely enough even in these days of historical criticism Guarda's story has afforded a source of interminable and bitter controversy. The story was given currency in English by the Late Dr. Gerson da Cunha in the *Journal of the*

<sup>7</sup> Xivaji Maharaj, Com Sangue Portugues ?

<sup>8</sup> Hill, Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 204.

*Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and it at once drew an angry retort from Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the *Saraswati Mandir*. Rajwade demolished this palpably absurd story so thoroughly that his article was expected to give the controversy a quietus. But only recently another Luso Indian writer Dr. J. J. Fragoso has come forth to vindicate Guarda in a small pamphlet entitled *Xivaji Maharaj Vencedor de Abdulcan*. He suggests that the word doze in "doze filhos de Sagy" was a printing mistake and if we substitute dois (two) for doze (twelve), there need not be any difficulty in accepting Guarda's story. Prof. Pissurlencar has given a crushing reply to Fragoso's contention in his *Xivaji Maharaj Com Sangue Portugues* and this question need not detain us any longer. Full of gross inaccuracies as Guarda's work is, it is not altogether useless to a student of Maratha history for it supplies some information about Shivaji's navy.

Julio Firmino Judice Biker has published in his *Coolecção de Tratados e Concertos de pazes que o Estado da India Portuguesa fez com os Reis e Senhores com que teve relações nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental* the texts of two treaties concluded between Shivaji and the Portuguese in 1667 and 1670. They throw some light on the military and naval exploits of the Maratha hero as well as on his diplomatic

activities. An English summary of the more important clauses of these treaties will be found in the present writer's *Report on the Historical Records at Goa*.

The late Dr. Dalgado of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, informed Prof. Sarkar that there are no Portuguese State papers relating to Shivaji at Lisbon.<sup>9</sup> The perusal of Danvers's report also leads one to the same conclusion.<sup>10</sup> None of these scholars make any reference to the Goa records. The courtesy of H. E. Dr. Jaime de Morais, late Governor General of Portuguese India, afforded the present writer an opportunity of going through some unpublished Portuguese records embodied in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*. The first volume of *Reis Visinhos* is of unique importance to the students of Shivaji's administrative institutions as we come across here some letters throwing new light on the origin of Chauth. An English translation of these letters has been for the first time published in my *Historical Records at Goa*, but the Portuguese original is not yet available to the general reader. I am inclined to think that further researches at Goa and Lisbon may be

<sup>9</sup> Sarkar, Shivaji, 1st Ed., p. 508.

<sup>10</sup> Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies, contained in the *Arquivo Da Torre Do Tombo*, and the public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora, by F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office, London, 1892.

rewarded with adequate results. The Portuguese had for so many centuries to deal with the Marathas, both as friends and foes, that many contemporary events must have found place in their letters, reports and despatches.

The Portuguese deliberately refrained from interfering with the ancient rights and privileges enjoyed by village communities of Goa and the Government often instituted enquiries about the customary rights and perquisites of the village officers. The results of one such enquiry are available in a Foral issued by Affonso Mexia, Veedor da Fazenda, as early as 1526. The text of this Foral is available not only in official publications like *Codigo das Comunidades* but also in such popular works as *India Portuguesa* by Lopes Menedes. An abstract of this important document was published by R. S. Whiteway in his *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India* and B. H. Baden-Powell dealt with it more minutely in a learned paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1900 under the heading—*The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century*. The Portuguese also decided to retain the old taxes and duties levied by their Muhammadan predecessors and as a result many of these old taxes survived in Portuguese India long after they had become obsolete in Maharashtra. A reference to taxes and duties in Portuguese India therefore sometimes enables

us to ascertain the real nature and incidents of similar taxes mentioned in old Marathi records. In this respect, Saldanha's *History of Goa*, Moniz's work on Daman, Joao Baptista Amancio Gracias' *Subsidios para a Historia Economico-Financeira da India Portuguesa* and Phillipe Nerry Xavier's works on village communities are of very great use.

As the average British Indian reader is not sufficiently aware of the importance of the Portuguese sources of Maratha History, I may here briefly indicate how much we can learn about the army and navy of Shivaji's successors even from published Portuguese works. Almost all the important records of a political character have been published by Cunha Rivara, Balsemão, Phillipe Nerry Xavier, Ismael Gracias and others. Most of these published records have found a place in the monumental work of Judice Biker. They afford us an insight not only into the military and naval organisation of the Marathas but also in their court life and civil institutions. We get an interesting account of Sambhaji's campaign against Goa in Ismael Gracias's *Uma Dona Portuguesa no corte do Grao Mogol*.<sup>11</sup> In the

<sup>11</sup> A Portuguese account of this campaign translated into English for the India Office has been published by Prof. Sarkar in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society* (1919-20). The word *Lascarin* in that paper (p. 15) however, has somewhat puzzled the learned Professor. It stands for, as every student of old Portuguese records knows, native Sepoys. Dalgado has explained the word in his *Glossario*.

appendices of the same work we come across a few original letters about the maritime activities of the Angrias. Ismael Gracias has published almost all papers relating to the Maratha conquest of Bassein in *O Oriente Portuguez* of which he was long the sole editor and principal contributor. No more important and reliable account of the Maratha military system can anywhere be obtained than that supplied by an exceptionally brilliant Viceroy, the Marquis of Alorna, in the instructions that he left for his successor, the Marquis of Tavora. The original Portuguese work was published more than seventy years ago under the able editorship of F. N. Xavier and a few extracts were quoted by Danvers in his *Portuguese in India*. The entire work has, however, been rendered into English by the present writer. The Marquis of Alorna did not confine himself to military matters alone, and his remarks upon the peculiar organisation of the Maratha empire and its inherent weakness deserve careful consideration. An estimate of the military and naval power of the Marathas is found also in *Instrucções do Dom Jose I*, the authorship of which is rightly attributed to the celebrated Marquis of Pombal. Pombal had no first-hand knowledge of Maratha affairs, but he must have found ample materials for his subject in the reports and correspondence from India. Space does not permit me to deal with

this subject in detail here, nor am I in a position to give a list of the interesting manuscript accounts of naval encounters between the Portuguese and the Marathas; preserved at Lisbon and Evora. Curious readers are referred to the works of Cunha Rivara and Ismael Gracias. It is superfluous to say that the unpublished records of Goa have not all been exhaustively studied and they may be made to throw light where darkness now prevails. The Portuguese Government have appointed a distinguished Indian scholar as Curator of their archives at Goa, and there is every reason to hope that his contribution to our knowledge of Maratha history will not be less important than that made by his predecessor and teacher J. A. Ismael Gracias.

#### *English Sources.*

In English we have a number of works about Shivaji and the Marathas. The Surat and Bombay Factory Records are invaluable historical documents, and their importance cannot be overestimated. They are useful to the writer of a political history, and some information about Shivaji's navy and his commercial policy can be gleaned from them.

In addition to these old factory records, English travellers have left us the accounts of their travels in the Maratha country, and English



historians have left us the result of their researches. The earliest English traveller to write an account of the Maratha country and Shivaji's court was Fryer. A physician by profession, he had visited Bombay and seen some parts of Shivaji's dominions. But his stay in the Maratha country was very short, and his information was by no means accurate. His account of "Several *Brachmins* whose Flesh they tear with Pincers heated Red hot, drub them on the Shoulders to extreme Anguish," betrays a good deal of humour, but is evidently untrustworthy. Even Khafi Khan, who delighted in abusing Shivaji, gave him credit for the respect he had usually shown to holy places and holy men both Hindu and Muhammadan.

Mannucci's *Storia Do Mogor*, another contemporary work, has been translated into English by a great scholar, the late Mr. Irvine. The gossiping adventurer loved to give anecdotes in which he himself figured. He claims to have met Shivaji in Jai Singh's camp, but unlike most European writers refrains from giving any account of his dominions, his people and government.

Robert Orme wrote his *Fragments* long after Shivaji's death. But all that he learnt of the great Maratha ruler were popular legends. These were reproduced by John Bruce, Esq.,

M.P. and F.R.S., Keeper of His Majesty's State-papers and Historiographer to the Hon'ble East India Company, in his *Annals of the East India Company*. Both Orme and Bruce failed to give any account of the administrative system of Shivaji. What their version of political history is worth, will be evident from the following account of the night attack on Shaista Khan :

"In the next campaign, Aurungzebe reinforced Chaest Chan's army by sending the troops of the Maha-Rajah of Joudpore to join him. These generals were at variance with each other; the Maha-Rajah, to gratify Sevagee undertook to assassinate Chaest—the murderers broke in on Chaest, who escaped with severe wound; but his son was slain."<sup>12</sup>

The most important English work, from our point of view, is Major Jervis's *Geographical and Statistical Memior of the Konkun*. He was a junior contemporary of Elphinstone, and the work of surveying the Konkan was entrusted to him. While so engaged, he gathered valuable information about land revenue settlement, in all probability, from popular traditions. He tells us many things about Malik Ambar's and Shivaji's land revenue settlement, Annaji Datto's survey and assessment, but never quotes any authority. It is, therefore, extremely difficult, or rather impossible, to verify his assertions. Hitherto I

<sup>12</sup> Bruce, Vol. II, p. 39. Orme was more accurate than Bruce.

have come across only one Marathi document,<sup>13</sup> a circular letter of Annaji Datto, that supports Jervis's account of the *bighaoni* survey. But this does not improve our situation much. We can, without much hesitation, accept Elphinstone's account of the administrative system of the Peshwas or Sir John Malcolm's account of the Central India chiefs. For both of them had personal acquaintance with men who had served under the Peshwas and the Maratha and Rajput chiefs of Central India, and who could give them first-hand information. But the case of Jervis is altogether different. He lived and wrote two centuries after Shivaji. Most of the old documents were yet unknown in his time, and he had to rely mainly upon popular traditions transmitted from generation to generation. Consequently, it is extremely difficult either to accept or to reject the views of Jervis. The writer of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, however, has accepted Jervis as the sole authority on the subject.<sup>14</sup>

From these old authors we turn to Ranade with a sense of relief. Born in Maharashtra, and educated in western method, Ranade combined in him the three qualities so indispensable for a historian of the Marathas. He knew the language and traditions of his

<sup>13</sup> Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. XV, pp. 368-70.

<sup>14</sup> Since this was written my attention has been drawn to a Marathi document published in Rajwade, Vol. XXI, which, substantially corroborates some of Jervis's figures.

country, was well conversant with the historical method of the west and had ready access to all papers then available. With true historical instinct he made a deliberate departure from the beaten track and selected a course of his own. His fame to-day does not rest on the discovery of a new document or an unknown event, but on the surer basis of the right interpretation of the history of his people. He did not confine himself to dry details of battles and sieges, but tried to discover the real cause, remote and immediate, of the rise, progress, and downfall of the Marathas. This made him study the civil institutions of Shivaji very carefully, for they were, according to him, not only the outcome of Shivaji's genius but also an expression of Maratha aspirations. It is beyond doubt that Ranade was the first scholar to guide us properly to the real sources of Maratha history, as he was the first to perceive the real importance of the administrative system of Shivaji. It is a matter of regret that the many-sided activities of the great savant did not permit him to devote his leisure solely to the study of his country's past. Modern researches have made some of his conclusions untenable to-day, but the credit of pointing out a new angle of vision belongs entirely to him. He might have erred in minor details, but while dealing with the broad principles, his judgment never failed him. It is true

that we do not get in his work as much information as we wish for, but that is because many papers, now published, had not yet seen light when Ranade lived and wrote.

Scott-Waring was the first writer to attempt a comprehensive history of the Marathas in English. His work was published in 1811. But we get little more than a narrative of political events in Scott-Waring's History. In the third decade of the 19th Century, another scholar, destined to be famous as the historian of the Marathas, undertook to write out a more satisfactory history. Captain Grant Duff was more fortunate than his predecessor in the attempt in more than one way. As Political Agent, he had ready access to all papers in the Satara archives. The descendant of Shivaji was ever ready to assist him in all possible ways. Perhaps many of the later spurious *bakhars* owed their origin to the zeal of Chhatrapati Pratap Singh to gratify the Agent Saheb. Above all Grant Duff had the great advantage of working under the guidance of Elphinstone.<sup>15</sup> But Grant Duff had not sufficient materials for sketching out a graphic account of the administrative system of Shivaji. Prof. H. G. Rawlinson's *Shivaji the Maratha* is a very recent publication, but it does not aim at

<sup>15</sup> See Elphinstone's letter quoted in Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, Vol. II, pp. 136-39.

dealing in detail with the civil institutions of Shivaji. Another recent work dealing with Shivaji, is the first volume of the *History of the Maratha People* by Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis. From the great mass of published materials and the still greater mass of unpublished documents in the possession of Rao Bahadur D B. Parasnis, it was expected that the long felt want would at last be removed. But we have again been disappointed. Far from giving us a comprehensive account of Shivaji's administrative system, the joint authors have not even made any serious attempt to supplement our knowledge in that direction. Prof. Takkhav and Mr. Keluskar have devoted one long chapter to the administrative institutions in their voluminous *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*.

Sydney Owen of Oxford has drawn a brilliant sketch of Shivaji in his *India on the Eve of the British Conquest*; but it is only a study of Shivaji's political career. Pringle Kennedy has also given us a charming picture of Shivaji and Maharashtra in his *History of the Great Moghuls*. But neither of these scholars studied the original documents. They relied mainly on such secondary authorities, as Khafi Khan, Orme and Grant Duff, and their aim has been to write a readable and sensible summary for the general run of readers. From them, therefore, we should not expect anything that we do

not get elsewhere. Maratha history has for them only a relative interest.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times* is important and interesting in its own way. He has utilised many sources of Maratha history hitherto unexplored. The chapter on Shivaji's navy is of special interest to us.

A few articles on Maratha history were published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The following are the most useful for our purpose :

1. Ranade—*Currencies and Mints under Maharatta Rule.*
2. J. E. Abbott—*A preliminary study of the Shivarai or Chhatrapati Coins.*
3. P. V. Mawji—*Shivaji's Swarajya.*
4. Codrington—*Seals of Satara Kingdom.*

So far as my information goes, no attempt has yet been made of sifting and examining these scattered materials on scientific lines and of presenting the results in a handy and intelligible form to the ordinary student. No one will contest that such an endeavour is worth making. In the following pages, it has been my aim to present a fairly accurate sketch of the Maratha government, its principle and working. I have, for the sake of convenient treatment, divided the history of the Maratha administrative system into two periods. The first period opens with the rise of Shivaji and

closes with the accession of Shahu. The second period begins with the accession of Shahu and ends in 1818, when the Peshwa's territories were finally annexed to the British dominions. The administrative system of Shivaji practically continued unchanged till the death of Rajaram, and the Peshwas also found it convenient to leave the old system intact with a few changes in the central government. Otherwise, the administrative system of Shivaji was, for all essential purposes, identical with that of the Peshwas. It will, therefore, be my duty to indicate the few differences that existed in theory and practice between the governments of the two periods. But there is another interesting enquiry to be made. Shivaji was not the creator of a new system. He modified and reformed what he had inherited from his Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors. Every administrative system has its roots in the past and the Maratha system was by no means an exception. I have made an attempt to trace the growth and development of the Maratha institutions from their old Hindu prototypes. But my account does not claim to be complete and should not be treated as the last word on this comprehensive subject.

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## GLOSSARY <sup>1</sup>

- Abhayapatra—a paper promising security or impunity.
- Abhiṣeka—literally ceremonial ablution, coronation.
- Aptā—a tree, *Bauhinia tomentosa*, for the origin of aptā worship, see Valentia, Vol. II.
- Bāgāyat or bāgāit—ground planted with fruit-tree or vegetables.
- Bakhśisnāmā—a deed of gift.
- Bhārgava Rām—an incarnation of Viṣṇu who exterminated the fighting race for no less than twenty-one times.
- Bāzār—a market.
- Belbhandhār—a solemn oath on leaves of Bel-tree and turmeric. On one occasion even such an oath was dismissed as of little consequence by a Maratha Chief with the sarcastic remark that *bel* was but the leaf of a common tree and bhandhār he ate every day.
- Beraḥ—<sup>2</sup>a class of professional robbers, otherwise called Rāmośī.
- Bhanḥārā—a feast given to the Gosāvīs or the Bairāgīs.
- Bhusār—a generic term for the cereals, the grasses and the esculent culms.
- Chāmbhār—a shoe-maker or skin-dresser.
- Dānpatra—a deed of gift.
- Darakhdār—a holder of a hereditary public office especially Diwān, Mazumdār, Faḍnīs, Sabnīs, Karkhānīs, Chitnīs, Jāmdār and Potnīs.

<sup>1</sup> Compiled mainly from Molesworth's Marathi-English Dictionary.

**Dasrā**—the tenth of the lighter half of Āsvin ; for a description of the festivities celebrated on this day, see Valentia, Vol. II, Parasnis, Poona in Bygone Days and Gupte, Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials.

**Dewāli**, more correctly Diwāli or Dipāvali—a festival with nocturnal illuminations. For a scholarly discussion of its origin, see Gupte, Hindu Holidays.

**Dhangar**—they are shepherds and herdsmen and weavers in wool.

**Dharṇā**—"The person who adopts this expedient for the purpose mentioned, proceeds to the door or house of the person against whom it is directed, or wherever he may most conveniently intercept him ; he there sits down in *dherna*, with poison, or a poignard, or some other instrument of suicide, in his hand ; and threatening to use it if his adversary should attempt to molest or pass him, he thus completely arrests him. In this situation the brahmin fasts ; and by the rigour of the etiquette, which is rarely infringed, the unfortunate object of his arrest ought also to fast ; and thus they both remain until the institutor of the *dherna* obtains satisfaction." Lord Teignmouth, quoted by Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 391. Lord Teignmouth laboured under the idea that only Brahmans could institute a *dharṇā*. This is a mistake, even a Muhammadan creditor could sit in *dharṇā* at the gate of his Brahman debtor.

**Farmān**—a royal mandate, commission, or patent.

**Gālichā**—a small variegated carpet of wool upon a cotton ground.

**Gaṇeś and Gaur**—Gaṇeś is the elephant-headed son of Śiva and Gaurī. He is the god of wisdom and remover of all difficulties. For the ceremonies connected with Gaṇeś and Gaurī, see Gupte, Hindu Holidays.

- Gardi—an infantry soldier trained in European methods of warfare.
- Ghāṇā—an oil mill.
- Ghāsdānā—a contribution like the Chauth levied by Maratha chiefs.
- Gondhī—a caste or an individual of it. They are musicians and singers and makers of Goṇḍhaḷ.
- Gunhegāri—a fine.
- Guṛav—a caste among Śudras. They are employed in the service of the temple and are worshippers of Śiva.
- Hakkadār—Any one having a claim or a right.
- Harijāgaraṇ—vigil kept in the lunar days named *ekādaśī* in honour of Hari or Viṣṇu.
- Harkī—money paid to the court, in token of gratification by the successful suitor or litigant.
- Hāsīl—a tax or duty.
- Hom—offerings made to gods particularly in form of libation thrown into fire.
- Hoṇ—a gold coin, also called Pagoda. See Prinsep, Useful Tables, price commonly between three and five Rupees.
- Huzur—the royal court or presence-chamber : also the royal person or the regal office and excellency as personified or as viewed concretely answering to *His Majesty, The Government, etc.*
- Inām—a grant in perpetuity.
- Jābtā—a regulation, law, statute, also a schedule ; a describing statement.
- Jāsud—a scout.
- Jawār—a plant and its grain, *Holcus sorghum*.
- Jirāyat also Jirāt—a land fit for agriculture as distinguished from bāgāyat land.
- Kanyādān—giving away of a daughter.

Kārkun—a clerk, scribe.

Kārkhānā—a royal establishment as Prof. Dowson translates it. Prof. Sarkar translates kārkhānā as a factory in his *Mughal Administration*, but the Marathas classed even the zenana as a kārkhānā (see Ramchandra Pant Amatya's Rājñīti) and therefore Prof. Dowson's translation is quite appropriate.

Kasbā—the chief town of a Parganā.

Kaṭyār—a dagger.

Kaul—a writing of assurance, agreement or engagement as granted by Government, but in the Deccan this word was sometimes used in a still wider sense, see Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary.

Khār—salt, mineral or vegetable.

Khārīp—the autumnal harvest.

Khelāt—a robe of honour.

Khijmatgār—a servant.

Khot—a farmer of land revenue, for particulars see Bombay Gazetteer.

Killedār—officer in charge of a fort.

Koḷī—either a hillman of that tribe or a caste or individual thereof who supply water.

Kumbhār—a potter.

Kuṇbi—a peasant.

Lohār—a blacksmith.

Mahāl—a small subdivision, or a Government department as in the twelve Mahals.

Majālasī—a royal court or an assembly; also an assembly in general of great, learned or respectable persons.

Māḷī—a florist, a gardener.

Maṅtra—an incantation or a mystical verse, a spell,

Mārtanḍa—the sun god.

Maujā—a village.

- Māwalī—an inhabitant of Māwal.
- Mokāsi—the holder of a mokāsā (rent-free land) or the farmer of the revenue of it on the part of the person holding or of the state.
- Mokdam properly Mukaddam, a title of the Pātil or the managing authority of a village.
- Muhūrta—the second marriage of a Śūdra widow.
- Mujāvar—a sweeper of a mosque.
- Mukkām—A residence or encampment.
- Mušāhirā—a salary or a stipend.
- Naivedya—an offering of some eatable to an idol.
- Nala (Nālā)—A deep ditch.
- Nāṅgar—a plough.
- Nazar—a present to a superior.
- Nhāvī—a barber.
- Oḍhā—a pit.
- Pāgotā—a turban.
- Pānsupārī—a term for betel leave and all the ingredients composing the roll, a small bribe.
- Pārasnīs—a Persian Secretary.
- Pariṭ—a washerman.
- Parwāri—a village watchman, gate-keeper or porter.
- Pāṭ—a second and inferior sort of marriage among widows of the lower classes.
- Paṭṭī—a tax or cess.
- Polā—an agricultural festival, bullocks are on that day exempted from labour, variously decorated and paraded.
- Prāyaścitta—a penance.
- Rabī—the vernal crop.
- Rājināmā—agreement.
- Rāmoṣṭ—see under Beraṭ.
- Rupees—Chāndvaṭ seems to be the Chandory Rupee of Prinsep's list; its weight was 172 grains and its

intrinsic value 95'939. Malhārśār derived its name from Malhar Rao Holkar its weight also was 172 grains but its intrinsic value was 93'646. The old Surat Rupee weighed 144'50 grains and its purity was 99'367. See Prinsep's Useful Tables.

Sanad—a commission or a warrant.

Sangā—a cloth.

Saṅgam—the confluence of rivers.

Sarañjām—villages granted for maintaining an army.

Sarkār-kūn—a minister.

Sāyvān—an awning, canopy.

Seer (Ser)—a Bombay seer = 11 oz.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  dr. 40 seers make a maund, a Poona seer = 1 lb. 15 oz.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  dr.

Shanti (Śānti)—an appeasing ceremony.

Sherni (Śerṇī)—same as Harkī.

Shelā (Śelā)—a sort of scarf.

Shiralshet (Śirālśeṭ)—a corndealet who became king for about an hour, an earthen image of him is worshipped and then thrown into a well or tank.

Shirpav (Śirpāv)—a turban bestowed by a Raja or grandee as a mark of favour.

Shradh (Śrāddha)—a funeral ceremony consisting of offerings of water and food to the manes.

Sinhastha—the position of the planet Jupiter in the sign of Leo.

Sonār—a goldsmith.

Sūtār—a carpenter.

Swāmi—Master equivalent to your Majesty or your Highness.

Tabrūk—presents from a Pir's shrine by way of a blessing.

Tagri (Tāgṛī)—a balance or pair of scales.

Ṭāk—a weight equal to about a grain.

- Tāñḍel—boatswain.
- Tape—a small subdivision or district.
- Ṭhānā—the head station of a tālukā: also a post, station or lodge under the civil authority.
- Til—*Sesamum orientale*, the plant and the seed pot have been nicely shown in a plate in Forbes, Oriental Memoirs.
- Ṭilak—a mark made with coloured earth or unguents upon the forehead.
- Toran—a lintel.
- Tuḷāśī—A shrub venerated by the Hindus. *Ocymum Sanctum*.
- Upādhye—A priest.
- Varāt—An assignment or order upon the revenues or a treasury.
- Varṣhāsan—An annual allowance or stipend granted to Brahmans.
- Vavri (vāvḍī)—a paper kite or ornamental paper work.
- Wafa—(Vāphā) literally the pit which receives the boiled juice of the sugarcane, hence an indefinite measure.
- Wakil—an envoy or deputy.
- Watan—an hereditary estate, office, right, due; any hereditary right whether in land or in office.
- Watandār—one who has a watan.
- Yādī—a memorandum, a list, roll.
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## TIMES OF INDIA ON DR. SEN'S WORKS

With one statement made by Lord Meston it would be impossible to quarrel. He referred to the new school of Indian investigators, "versed in modern criticism and exploring the field with honesty and sincerity," which he regards as one of the best fruits of the new Nationalist movement. With historians like D. R. Bhandarkar, **Surendranath Sen**, \* \* \* —to mention only a few of those who have done admirable work—India may well claim to have established a school of research worthy of herself and her past history.—*Times of India*, quoted in the *Pioneer* of Friday, May 20, 1921 mofussil edition.

## OPINIONS

**Prof. A. Berriedale Keith :** " I have now had the opportunity of reading your treatise on the Administrative System of the Marathas. It contains a very large amount of interesting information, carefully put together, and rendered illuminating by comparison with the description of early Hindu institutions derived from the Dharmasastra literature. It undoubtedly sheds much light on the course of administration prior to the advent of British supremacy, and the impartiality and good sense of such personal judgments as you express deserves recognition."

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**C. H. Keith Jopp.** " I think it will prove useful to the student of Maratha history."

**The Hon'ble Justice C. A. Kincaid.** " I have spent several delightful hours reading your most valuable work 'Administrative System of the Marathas.' It is full of erudition and should long remain the classic text on the subject. I do not fancy any one else would have the industry as well as the learning, to write another such book. I congratulate you warmly on your great achievement."

**S. M. Edwardes** (in *The Indian Antiquary*, January, 1924). " Much original research in Maratha history has been conducted of late years by Indian scholars, who have thrown a flood of light upon the circumstances and character of the administration founded by Shivaji and subsequently usurped by the Peshwas. In this respect the work of men like the late Professor H. G. Limaye and Messrs. Rajwade, Sardesai, Parasnis and others has been invaluable. Dr. Surendranath Sen has already established his authority in the same field by his excellent translation of the bakhar of Kistnaji Anant Sabhasad, which is unquestionably the most credible and trustworthy

of the various old chronicles of Shivaji's life and reign. He has now placed students of Maratha affairs under a further obligation by this careful exposition of the administrative system in vogue in the Deccan in the pre-British period.

The value of his latest work seems to us to lie in its impartiality and in its careful avoidance of extreme diction in cases where the author's views differ from those already expressed by both English and Indian writers. He treats Grant-Duff and Ranade with equal impartiality, and does not hesitate to point out their errors of deduction: he appreciates fully the good features of Shivaji's institutions, but is equally explicit as to their short-comings: and he devotes a distinct section of his work to explaining by carefully chosen quotations and examples that much of Shivaji's administrative machinery was not a new product of his unquestionably resourceful mind, but had its roots deep down in ancient Hindu lore.

As to the actual facts disclosed in Dr. Sen's work, their number is so many and they are so interesting that it is hardly possible to deal with them in the brief compass of a review.

In conclusion, let it suffice to remark that Dr. Sen has produced an admirable work of reference for students of the history of the Deccan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

**G. S. Sardesai**, (*Vividha Dnan Vistar*): All students of Maratha History must read the works of Dr. Sen.

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**Sir Verney Lovett** (*in the Asiatic Review*). "The book contains much interesting information."

**R. A. Leslie Moore** (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institutions*). "This book is the result of a wide and careful study of original documents, chiefly Maratha and English, and only needs a more comprehensive glossary."

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Conqueror has always been more attractive to historians than Shivaji the Administrator, and less than justice has been done to his constructive ability. Dr. Surendranath Sen has written a scholarly analysis of the Maratha administration under Shivaji and the Peshwas, and in spite of a natural bias in favour of his own country-men he can claim to have proved that the Maratha Government will at least bear favourable comparison with and was in some respects superior to, those of contemporary Europe."

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1924**—"Dr. Surendranath Sen has given us a most careful and comprehensive work and has shown that the work begun so well by Ranade is being continued in competent hands. The fact that the Maratha kingdom lasted for a century and a half should be sufficient to dispel the idea that the Marathas were mere bands of marauders. It comes as a surprise, however, to see what a wealth of material there is for the study of their constitutional and administrative history. The author investigates the origin and development of their institutions, analysing the influence of traditional Hindu systems of polity and of those of their Muslim neighbours. The book is a most valuable addition to the publications of Calcutta University."

**Times of India, 15th August, 1923.** "We can hardly find adequate words in which to express our approval of this work and our admiration of the writer's industry. \* \*

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**Pioneer, Sunday, the 2nd September, 1923.** "The most noticeable characteristic of this book is a pleasing sobriety of judgment. We have seen much of history written rather from the standpoint of present politics than of past happenings, and we heartily welcome the thoroughly impartial standpoint which Dr. Sen assumes. We are

disposed to congratulate him the more warmly, in that the Maratha period of Indian history offers an almost irresistible temptation to the 'patriotic' scholar to discover what is not to be found, and to interpret hard realities in the light of glowing aspirations. The author has confined himself to two principal tasks :he desires, in the first place, to defend Maratha rule from some of the aspersions ignorantly cast upon it; and he traces the connection between the salient features of Maratha institutions and the traditional characteristics of the typical Hindu polity. We may say at once that he has discharged both these tasks with learning, moderation, and a rare sense of historical perspective. \* \*

We congratulate Dr. Sen upon an excellent and most scholarly piece of work."

**The Englishman.** *Tuesday, 5th June, 1923.* "Displaying an impartial spirit, the author has embodied the results of his five years' toil into a very readable volume which is well up to the traditions of modern historians."

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**Rangoon Mail.** *Friday, 8th February, 1924.* "In Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Maratta History and Marathi Literature and author of Administrative system of the Marhattas (from original sources), we have one more evidence of the genuine spirit of historical research that abounds in the Bengal of to-day. \* \*

The Volume is a thoroughly enjoyable one and has the supreme merit of avoiding extra-learned spurious technicality. We welcome the author because he is an honest student of Indian history : we welcome him because he has the art of simple narration : we welcome him because he has really studied his source in a critical and comparative spirit : and we welcome him because men like him of unassuming patriotic impulse are some justification, however slight, of the foreign-ridden University Education now in vogue in this country. Dr. Sen is one of that honest group of earnest students and researchers whom Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has brought together under



great handicaps in the Post-Graduate Department of the University of Calcutta and the more young men of Dr. Sen's type take up the burden of Indian historical research out of non-Indian hands, the better for the cause of Indian culture. Dr. Sen's book ought to forge one more link between the great Bengali and Marathi communities in India."

**Vividha Dnan Vistar**, *June, 1923*. "The road indicated by the late Justice Ranade has been rendered more wide and less thorny by Professor Sen."

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