The Deliverance or the Escape

of

Shivaji the Great from Agra



Rao Sabeb G. K. alias BABA SAHEB DESHPA The Editor of the Senant of India with the best Compliments of - G. K. Deskpande.

21. 8.29. (opinion camaste solicità) Fragments from the History of the Marathas. Series No. 1.

The Deliverance or the Escape

of

Shivaji the Great from Agra

BY

Rao Saheb G. K. alias BABA SAHEB DESHPANDE,

OF THE CLAN VISHWAMITRA.

Retired Deputy|Supdt. of Police, Intelligence Bureau

Home Dept. Government of India.

1 st Edition 1929.

Published by-

Rao Saheb G. K. Deshpande. Vishramdham D. G. Post,

Poona No. 4.



Printed by-

A. S. Gokhale, at the Vijaya l 570 Shanwar Peth, Poon

FORE-WORD



Rao Saheb G. K. alias Baba Saheb Deshpande, the author of this book is a very old friend of mine. I have known him these forty vears and more. I saw him first as a student in the Deccan Education Society's New English School. Poona. He was even in

his boyhood a warm admirer of the founders of the Institution but particularly thought very highly of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar and Messrs. Agarkar and Tilak. He was a very diligent student and won easily the topmost piace in Languages and History. He was a very amiable companion, was always full of high and noble ideals. His masculine optimism endeared him to all. He took most intense interest in the Drill classes and stood all the

trials of hard work set to the Drill-students by Mr. Dixit, the then inexorable Drill-Sergeant in the New English School. Under him the New English School Drill classes all in white uniform presented an engaging and unique appearance. Mr. Caine M. P. who visited the New English School in 1888-89 (if I mistake not) humourously styled these squads as the "Congress Army." Baba Saheb was the Senior Captain of this band of young volunteers. This boy Captain had the honour of shaking hands with H. E. Lord Reav, the then Governor of Bombay, as the Senior Captain commanding a full company of volunteers. H. E. Lord Reav was immensely pleased with the Drill classes in the N.E. School.

2. After his Matriculation, most of us wished him to join the Fergusson College. I am sure, he might have distinguished him self in his college career. But Fate ordered otherwise. After being refused admittance in the army he was persuaded by his venerable father to join the Police service of which the father of Baba Saheb was a distinguished subordinate officer. His Drill exercises in the New English School stood him in good stead. He joined the Police Department with a

musket on his shoulder! His physique and his regular habits helped him a great deal no doubt. But his tact, his energy, his sense of duty. his industry, the intelligent delight he took in the profession of his own choice, soon marked him out as one having in him the making of a competent officer. Mr. M. Kennedy, the then Superintendent of Police of the Poona District, immediately picked him up. took him into his own confidence, and taught him, young though Baba Saheb was, all the fundamental principles and secrets of the department. The sterling honesty and purity of character, coupled close industry and dispatch, at once made him trusted by every one of his officers. Suffice it to say, that he rose from grade to grade aud at last secured a post of a very high responsibility. His bold attitude in the discharge of his duties, his intrepidity, his unshakeable sternness of character was marked, appreciated and highly admired by all his superiors. By his work he showed, that Government service was in no way a bar to further the rational interests of the Ryots. By his good work and persuasive eloquence he was able to bring round even Kolis, Ramoshis, and Bhils, the so called criminal tribes, to trust him. He induced them to lead a more moral life. He was not only popular where ever he was posted, but was admired, loved, and became the Ryots' friend and philosopher.

- 3. He was kind enough to tell me in 1896. that he entered the Police service with the object of purifying the service and that of teaching the people and the Government that the Police were the real guardians of peace and order. No doubt, agitation and discontent were rife in the land then, but wherever Baba-Saheb was, there was practically no disturbance. It was the lot of Baba Saheb, the trusted servant of Government, to investigate Political crime. The duties were arduous and would allow no rest. But even then he could snatch an hour or two to read and study Philology and History, his favourite subjects. Of his deep studies in Philology and other kindred subjects, I shall say nothing here. shall only say a word or two in regard to his Historical studies.
- 4. A cursory survey of the Historical books he has read and the fine splendid contection of choice books he has in his library, would convince even a fastidious student of History, of what amount of keen interest he takes in History and especially the History of

the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas like the Policeservices, have been much maligned, both by foreigners and by some of us. Indians. Baba Saheb wishes to correct these prejudiced impressions and this inimical attitude- An hour's serious conversation with him on History is always educative, refreshing and enlightening. He does not mince matters nor does he ever try to gloss over blemishes in the otherwise strong and stalwart character of the Mahratta race. He is able to quote a hundred and one instances in which a Mahratta. soldier and a Mahratta diplomat would be shown to stand second to none, here, as well as elsewhere. The high sense of chivalry for instance shown by the great Shivaji on several occassions, the devoted loyalty of Balaji Awji and Khando Ballal, Baji Deshpande, Murar Baji, Prayag Prabhu, Tanaji Malusrey and others, the high patriotism that was discovered in Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaii Iadhao, Parashram Trimbak and Pralhad Niraji, Ramchandra Nilkanth and Shankraji Narayan, the superior generalship. ci Baji Rao I. and Mahadji Shinde, the astutediplomacy of Balajipant Nana Saheb Peshwa and Nana Fadnavis, the plainspokenness of Ramshastri Prabhune, the religious fervour of Shri Ramdas, and Narayan Maharaj Dixit of

Kayagaon—but why multiply instances?—are to be marked, to be studied and to be always kept in sight, says Baba Saheb, when we are reading the History of the Mahrattas. And I believe, he is perfectly justified in telling us all these facts. Solid, indubitable facts are every day coming to light and are being corroborated, thanks to the patriotic labours of Rao Bahadurs Sane, and Parasnis, Messrs Rajwade, Patwardhan, Khare, Potdar, Apte, Divekar, Bendre, Joshi, Purandhare, Shankar Rao Deo, Sardesai, and others. We must begin to unlearn what we have been taught by our Historians. We are not a nation of what Professor Sir Iadunath Sarkar and Mr. Shejwalkar are pleased to say a nation taking delight only in "Finesse". We must from hence begin to see, that we Mahrattas were and would be Nation-builders, that we were on the threshold of raising a well-organised Indian Empire, that we were adepts in adapting ourselves to the environment and adopting the latter to our own national character. No mere freebooter can be a Shivaji, no wiseacre can be a Balaji pant Nana Saheb Peshwa. We have some defects, but, they are accidental and will be removed.

5. It is this lesson • that Baba Saheb proposes to teach the young Maharashtrians.

In this booklet, that has outgrown into a stout volume,—which is No. I of the series "Fragments from the History of the Mahrattas,"—Baba Saheb treats of a thrilling and romantic episode in the life of Shivaji, illustrating several peculiar types in the Mahratta character.

Every careful student of the History of the Mahrattas knows that, Shivaji "the mountain rat" of Aurangzeb, was, by his superior abilities, unerring tact, stern discipline, astounding patriotism, and by his amiable and God-loving temperament, able to weld the "separatist" Mahrattas into a united nation-our Maharashtra. His magnetic influence did and could command and secure the unstinted loyalty of strong, stalwart soldiers like Baji Deshpande, Tanaji Malusrey, and others and of statesmen like Moropant Pingle, Nilkanth and Abaji Sondeo, Raghunath Hanmante, and others. To be only seen by him was to be electrified by him. And so almost all his colleagues and servants devoted themselves heart and soul to labour for and to further the noble cause Shivaji had at heart. Many of them readily and willingly risked their lives and all, in successfully carrying out hazardous tasks their favourite leader had assigned to them. But one word of Shivaji was sufficient to rekindle in them all noble qualities of a hero. With these willing co-operatores Shivaji shared, it is needless to say, all the worries and hardships on the battlefield and the council chamber. No wonder then, that Shivaji like Napoleon, was all in all to them. No wonder, Shivaji was able with this hearty co-operation to found an independent Swarajya, inspite of stout and persistent opposition from the Mussalman powers of the Deccan and the Mogul power of the North.

6. In this story of the wonderful deliverance, Hiroji Farzand risked his life. "Bajis you will have many, sire, but Shivaji we have but one," said Baji Prabhu Deshpande, the Mahratta Leonidas at a critical moment and saved the life of Shivaji by devoting his own! Hiroji Farzand followed Baji; Tanaji and Pratap Rao followed suit. This heart stirring sense of thorough loyalty was phenomenal and could be evoked only by a Shivaji, Paji Rao I, Madhao Rao I or Mahadji Shinde. Glorious times these when even a private soldier or a clerk could be a hero, a proto-type of Shivaji!

But the uphill task of rousing the depressed and depreciated Mahrattas at once individualistic and indifferent, was in the beginning hard and arduous, demanding close and constant super-vision. But thanks this impossible feat was achieved by our Themistocles, the great Shivaji.

The story here narrated treats of Shivaii's deliverance (or rather the nation's deliverance). Here is depicted the Porus-like kingly behaviour of our unbending Shivaji in the presence of exacting Aurangzeb. Shivaji's intrepidity and his high sense of honour in the Mogul Darbar, his shrewdness, his presence of mind, his fertility of resources while in prison, the loyal services of Hiroji Farzand and Madari Mehtar and the far-seeing policy of Shri Ramdas are clearly in evidence here. Shivaji's escape is an unparalleled event in the History of the world. I may be bold to say it has changed the History of India if not that of the world. No wonder Shivaii came to be regarded as an incarnation of the gieat God Shankar. No wonder his safe arrival at his mountain capital of Raigad encouraged all his followers to work with redoubled energy for the emancipation of their land and to hate the crafty and fanatic

Aurangzeb, the incarnation of despotism, all the more bitterly for having intended to entrap Shivaji, their idol.

7. The collection of various notes and appendices, is, to say the least very informative and illuminating. In one of them there is an explicit suggestion that throws a flood of light upon the workings of Shivaji's mind, and solves the question as to why Shivaji went to Agra, inspite of the brilliant chances of defeating the Moguls in the Deccan.

The Mogul Emperor and Shivaji, the rising star of Maharashta were the bittermost opponents of one another. In 1665 both of them talked of a friendly peace! But this amity was merely a cloak to cover mutually exclusive personal objectives. Aurangzeb hoped to lure Shivaii into the Imperial service and to make a cat's paw of him. The reduction of the two Mahomedan kingdoms and the settlement of the wild Afgan tribes through Shivaii, were the objectives of Aurangzeb, Shivaji gladly accepted the terms of peace on condition that he would be made Commander-in-chief of the Mogul and Mahratta forces to be sent against the two once powerful kingdoms in the Deccan. Of his success here in this expedition, Shivaji was as

sure as ever, The subjection of these Southern kingdoms apparently in the interest of the Empire but really promoting the cause of the Mahratta Swarajya, Shivaji thought, would swell the prestige of his name and fame and would facilitate the work of weaning away Rajput kings and princes from the Mogul cause and thus converting them into soldiers fighting for their own nation. Rajputs and Mahrattas combined would easily, he thought, as is now published in his letter to Jaising, break down and shatter the invincible Mogul Empire. National emancipation was Shivaji's objective. A grand and noble ideal indeed!

Well, peace-conditions were settled and Jaising became to all intents and purposes Shivaji's man. Shivaji then went to Agra as settled. But the intriguing and insolent stupidity of the untrusting and untrustworthy Aurangzeb gave a new turn to and facilitated the course of wonderful events treated here, which eventually brought on the demolition of the three centuries old Mogul Empire-Shivaji's ideal, of which he himself laid the foundation, was realised not by him but by Madhao Rao I and by Mahadji Rao Shinde. It was alas! too late then. The East India Company had become very strong and in the

long run ousted the Mahrattas the only competing nation, from their dominating position in India. But this is another story.

8. I may add that the momentous event of "Deliverance" full of bristling romantic acts and facts has been exhaustively treated by Baba Saheb. Every available information has been collected. All these facts rotate round the pivot of deliverance and illustrate and illumine the basic political principles on which Shivaii the superman acted. The wonderful career of Shivaji trenched at various points upon the commercial and political interests of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English, and careful perusal of the interested and interesting observations made by these foreigners (vide notes and comments appended), is sure to prominently bring out, of course, after necessary correctives, the real character of our epoch-making superman.

I hope and trust that this story would rekindle the flame of an all comprehensive, sturdy and optimistic patriotism among—us and enable us to live a higher, and nobler life. Baba Saheb has been endowed with two excellent gifts. He wields a powerful pen. He also commands a powerful tongue. The story

he narrates here unmistakably proves his full command over both matter and manner. His constructive imagination unerringly sees through the internal motives of the great persons of whom he writes. Also his public speeches on the History of the Mahrattas are marvellously educative, attractive, impressive and inspiring. He carries away the whole audience, young and old, with him by the torrent of words loaded with facts and figures. Our Maharashtra ought to thank its stars for having secured the loyal seavices such an earnest public worker of striking At an age when man thinks of rest which in Maharashtra at present means doing nothing, Baba Saheb works night and day, a year in and a year out with the energy of an emotional young man but with a sober head over his shoulders. All honour to him! His masculine patriotism his noble fervour, and his firm and undving faith in the ultimate uplift of the Mahrattas and through them of India, easily capture the minds of all those, that fortunately come into his close contact.

"Be up and doing" is his inspiring message to young India.

Rao Saheb Deshpande wants no introduction in Maharashtra at least. But he in his own goodness asked me to write a Fore-Word' and I have scribbled these lines. I now raise up the curtain, and here you see Shivaji Maharaj at Rajgad, finding out ways and means to proceed to Agra, the Lion's Den in Hindusthan.

C. G. BHANU

Poona, Shravan Vadya 8th Gokul Ashtami, Shak 1851. 28th of August 1929.



INTRODUCTION.

Our Bhârata Itihâsa Sanshodhak a Mandala has two kinds of publications—(1) "Sweeya" or "Our Own" series and (2) "Puraskrita" or "Extra" series. The first includes books specially undertaken by the Mandala itself and generally comprises all books and works such as old Mss. and research notes and essays together with original "documents" of all sorts with the necessary critical apparatus The second series has been recently started to include publications which also contain historical materials and observations, but the Mandala incurs no financial liabilities in their behalf and hence these books are not given to members and subscribers of the Mandala by way of return. Naturally the authors and publishers of books in this second series enjoy a greater latitude, both with regard to the choice of their subjects, as well as the presentation of their materials and observations.

The Mandala exercises in the case of the latter class of books, only general editorial control and does not bind the writer or publisher by any rigid regulations. The object obviously is to encourage and foster a desire to work and learn to make sacrifices in the cause of research. This series has provided a good outlet for the energy

and enthusiasm of many workers in the field of Mahratha History and Literature. The very fact that during the period of only a few years since its inception, about a dozen scholars and workers have availed themselves of this new outlet and published more than a dozen books, some of which have been very highly spoken of and very well received by the public, proves that the series meets a real want.

We are very glad to include in this series the present volume by Rao Saheb G. K. Deshpande. This volume has been written by Mr. Deshpande in English with a view to acquaint a wider public with his views on a subject at once most romantic, most thrilling and most inspiring. Mr. Deshpande has been a silent, yet a very assiduous student of the history of his own land and people for overthirty years. Those who know him well, need not be told of his untiring energy and love of work. It was one of his most cherished ambitions in life to present the inspiring story of the life of Shri Shivaji Maharâj in English. He was slowly preparing himself for this great task.

The present volume is an attempt to describe the wonderful escape of the great Mahratha here from the clutches of the most powerful and fastute Emperor of Delhi—Aurangzeb. This exploit must a once have raised Shivaji very high in the estimation of his contemporaries, Indian and European, and no

It would not be, however, out of place here, to sound a note of caution. A really critical life of Shivaji the Great is yet to be written. What has been up till now presented to the world as his life is neither exhaustive, nor thoroughly critical. Fresh materials are accumulating every moment, fresh points are presented every now and then, fresh avenues of search opened up almost everywhere. We have yet hardly perhaps touched the fringe. This is, therefore, the time for us to search, collect and analyse more material first, before we hope to write a thoroughly critical and complete biography of the great hero. It is necessary, at the same time, to bear in mind that all cannot have this patience of scholars and a general desire is keenly expressed to have a readable yet reliable story of Shivaji Maharaj as early as possible. Such people will welcome with avidity all such attempts as the present volume of Mr. Deshpande. We would therefore earnestly request the readers of this volume to be as critical as possible yet equally sympathetic, so that Mr. Deshpande will be spurred on to undertake fresh journeys into the same enticing field with renewed vigour.

DATTO WAMAN POTDAR.

Hon. Secretary, B. I. S. Mandala. Poona City.

Gokul Ashtami,	
28th of August 1929. (
Poona, }	
B. I. S. Mandala.	



Rao Saheb G. K. alias BABA SAHEB DESHPANDE.

PREFACE

Gentle reader, I crave your indulgence to read this book. I don't claim any originality of thought nor do I claim any scholarly attainments. As an humble student of the history of the Maratha people, I have made this attempt to write, with what success I leave it to you to judge. I have tried to collect and collate as much information. piece by piece as I could, and have ventured to place it before you. I was tempted to read more and write on this subject after reading James Douglas's "Bombay and Western India." The passage which inspired me to work on this chapter of Maratha History runs thus:-"Shivaji's appearance at the Court of Delhi (Agra) in the year 1666, was a wonderful phenomenon. It occurred only once and was never to do so again. Where are our poets. painters and romancists that they cannot revive for us the elements of this story and body forth the spirit of the time, a story in which the deepest pathos, the wildest ambition, tragedies known and unknown, love strong as death and hatred cruel as the grave. are all lying together in one mighty heap

ready for the great magician? If Scott had been in India, he would have soon worked up the subject with all his boast of heraldry and pomp of power into glowing colours, for the period, the place, and the persons, engaged in this transaction, render it one of the most attractive in the history of India." If the writer of this inspiring paragraph were alive to-day, and had had an opportunity to read this book. I am afraid he would have been sorely disappointed. Any how an attempt has been made to draw the attention of a budding Scott in India, a budding Ravi Varma, a budding Haribhao Apte, to handle this subject and to materialise the pious hopes of James Douglas!

2. Shivaji—the great Shivaji—is every thing to the Maratha people. As the sun is to the world, so is Shivaji to Maharashtra and to India as well. He was born just in time to save his people and his country from utter rack and ruin. Needless to say, how naturally he has been enthroned in the hearts of a loving and grateful people. It is no crime to love one's own mother or one's own country as also one who liberated his own people from bondage. The liberator of his own people in any country, is an object of great veneration

and love. All independent people do adore and venerate the memory of such a liberator. So, any important event in the life of such a liberator, is an object of great interest to a student of history and James Douglas, a Scotsman to the core, was perfectly right in admiring Shivaji and giving expression to his thoughts in the way he did in the paragraph quoted above. We here in India, do revere the memory of Robert Bruce and Sir William Wallace, as also the memory of those great souls, who in England and elsewhere, fought against foreign aggressions. We unhesitatingly give every great soul in every country. his due, because we have been taught in the sacred Bhagvat-Geeta, that every great soul is a nearer approach to the Great Divinity. A man that passionately loves his own mother. and who thereby understands the real sentiment of love, will be the last man to speak ill of any body's mother. So also with patriots. It is therefore not unnatural on the part of the Maratha people or Indians in general, to revere the memory of Shivaji, the hero and liberator of Maharashtra.

3. Richard I. the Lion-hearted king of England (1189-1199) met a similar fate, viz., capture and incarcefation in a foreign land

while returning from the Wars of the Crusade in the Holy Land. He had a romantic life and his still more romantic escape was the talk of all Europe in those days. Who would not like to hear with interest the thrilling story of his escape even in our own times?

A similiar story from the north of Europe, viz.,—Sweden, that of Charles XII (1697-1718) is also most interesting. He fights with the Russians and is defeated in the battle of Pultowa in 1709. He escapes to Bender where after three years' protection, he is made a prisoner by the Turks in 1713. His escape from Constantinople is as romantic and has the same thrilling effect as that of Richard I, or Shivaji the Great.

But to us in India the escape of Shivaji the Great from Agra, is greater in importance and consequence than the escape of the 2 above-named Sovereigns of 2 different countries in Europe. They were kings of independent countries. They had their own Governments and their own people, born and bred up in independence, would have turned Heaven and Earth to back them up and liberate them. Such was not the case in India at the time of the incarceration of Shivaji by Aurangzebat Agra, in 1666 A. D. The Hindus in general

were an enslaved people. The Rajput Princes were Feudatories of the Great Mogul. They were dependant on the Sovereign at Delhi and had lost much of their spirit of independence and were content to dance attendance on that Sovereign. And even though some spirit of independence may be lurking in them they had not the courage to exhibit it collectively. A noble soul, a spirited Rajput, some times rebelled and revolted against the slights offered to him, his religion and his race and paid it with his life and for a time stirred the hearts of his countrymen; but all was quiet again. No permanent impression could be made on a people who had resigned themselves to their fate and had submitted to the foreign voke in utter despondency and helplessness with the patience and equanimity of philosophers.

4. Shivaji had felt the pulse of his people. He had diagnosed the disease of his people and country rightly. It was not a very serious case. There was danger, yet there was hope. He had been advised to resign himself like others and to await philosophically the result, viz., the dissolution of his own people. He was not the man to be guided by others. He had his own ideas and convictions. He was born

to guide and help. He had a clear vision. He saw that if he were to take the lead and accomplish what was deemed impossible in those days, he might still gather round him a band of men who would work miracles. Hetook the initiative, he worked hard and incessantly to convince some of his people that he had a sacred mission to perform and that mission was the liberation of the 'ailing' patient,' viz., his people and his country. personal magnetism attracted the sort of people. The long 'ailing patient,' received timely help. Apathy disappeared gradually and sympathetic people rounded the 'ailing patient,' inspired with hope. An atmosphere of confidence was created after a long spell of indifference. irresolution and diffidence. The rallied, yet Shivaii toiled on till the complete restoration of the patient's health. There were times when the patient showed symptoms of partial or utter collapse and yet Shivaji ever optimistic and full of hope toiled on patiently to achieve his object. The proverb "Heaven helps those who help themselves," proved literally true in his case. He was always full of confidence though he was surrounded by people who were always diffident of themselves. He had not only to keep himself free

from the contamination of such people but, he had to bring them round to his views, not an ordinary task indeed. Herein lay the greatness of the man. He had to perform a marvellous feat and he did it and hence his greatness.

5. Having welded together a band of hopeful people who came round to his views after great personal exertions, he left the beaten path and entered on a career at once hazardous and dangerous. Owen and Kincaid give him most unstinted praise for the turn he gave to his people and for having accomplished his object, atonce deemed absurd. irrational and impossible. While he engaged in the noble cause of the emancipation of his people he had to suffer all sorts of indignities at the hands of some of his own people and others. He was called a banditchief, a robber, a hell-dog, an infidel and what not and his life was always in danger: orders having been issued by Bijapur and Delhi to extirpate his followers whereever they were met. Says Owen:-"Shivaji and his people even in their warfare, were by no means mere bandits. A halo of heroism, patriotism, and religious zeal invested their proceedings and induced them to regard the son of Shahaji as

a predestined, divinely favoured, indeed, as an inspired deliverer". Say Kincaid and Parasnis:-"But great organizer and military genius that Shivaji was, it is in far seeing statesmanship that he stands supreme. In all history there is no such example of modesty in the face of continued success. He won victory after victory against Bijapur and the Moguls vet his head was never turned. He realised always that he had yet to meet the full power of the Mogul Empire. His one aim was to secure freedom of his country-men". Says Dr. Sen:—"But the causes of Shivaj's military success are not far to seek. Superior discipline, superior leadership and the unquestioning confidence of his men account for the brilliant victories which the great Maratha obtained over the Moguls, the Portuguese, the Bijapuris, and the Haidrabadis, not to mention the petty poligars who acknowledged suzerainty. The ideal, Shivaii set forward before his people was a Hindvi Swrajya (Hindu Empire), a Maharashtra Padshahi (Maratha kingdom), but above all a Dharma Rajya, a kingdom of righteousness."

6. It was therefore natural on the part of Bijapur and Delhi to make every possible attempt to crush Shivaji. If the subjugated

people had been properly treated and their contenment secured by a wise policy like that of Akbar and Ibrahim Adilshah, no attempt to seduce a loyal people would ever have succeeded even though a towering personality like Shivaji had taken the lead. But the people were already tired of the foreign yoke and they were waiting for an opportunity to revolt. The question was as to who should lead them. They found such a leader in Shivaji and the prophecy mentioned by Wilks as current in the south, was thus proved literally true. Every defeat of a regular army of Bijapur or Delhi, under the leadership of Shivaji or any of his best gene rals, gave new impetus to his men and gradually they gained in strength and confidence in themselves. Success made them bold and when they knew that the Imperial or Bijapur troops were certainly not invincible as they had been made to believe, they attacked them in force and with a determination never to be shaken. Once their prestige was rudely shaken, the Bijapur and Mogul troops became demoralised and disheartened. Afzul Khan and Shaista Khan paved the way for the final destruction and dissolution of their own kingdoms.

It was after the night raid on the camp of Shaista Khan and his utter discomfiture and humiliation at Poona at the hands of Shivaji, that Aurangzeb was seriously alarmed and he thought of going to the Deccan himself and once for all remove this thorn which was giving him so much trouble.

He however seems to have changed his mind, "possibly he had been afraid of Sivaji, afraid that he would circumvent him or asass-sinate him," (page 16. A History of the English settlements in India by J. Talboys Wheeler) and thought of sending to the Deccan Mirza Raja Jaising the greatest Hindu general in the Empire. He was in every way fitted for such a duty. He was asked to entrap Shivajii through his deplomacy and to send him to Agra.

The task was not an ordinary one. The Maratha Chronicles graphically describe his state of mind and his continued and strenuous efforts to achieve success in this direction Shivaji seems to have appealed to him earnestly as a Hindu to desist from being the agent of a man who professedly was the enemy of the Hindu religion. Whatever i may be, it looks as if Jaising wanted to kiltwo birds with one stone. He succeeded

after strenuous efforts to induce Shivaji to goto Agra to have a personal interview with
the Emperor. Herein he carried out the
behests of his master. But he was very particular about the safety of the person of Shivaji. He had warned his son Ramsing to take
every possible care of him and to see that noharm came to him. It is said that Jaising
buoyed Shivaji with hopes, viz., that he waslikely to be appointed Viceroy of the Deccan
with a view to crush the two Mahomedan
States which were an eyesore to Aurangzeb.

7. I don't for a minute believe that Shivaji was so much frightened by Jaising that he was forced to submit to his superior generalship. If the Maratha Chronicles are critically read it will be clear that Jaising had not very high hopes of conquering Shivaji's country and especially his forts after the strong resistence he met with at Purandhar. He was not prepared to sit before every mountain-fort for months together and thus waste his time, his men and money.

Shivaji's idea in going to Agra seems-to be:--

I. To impress the Emperor and to obtain from him as a reward for his late services the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. It was after the night raid on the camp of Shaista Khan and his utter discomfiture and humiliation at Poona at the hands of Shivaji, that Aurangzeb was seriously alarmed and he thought of going to the Deccan himself and once for all remove this thorn which was giving him so much trouble.

He however seems to have changed his mind, "possibly he had been afraid of Sivaji, afraid that he would circumvent him or asass-sinate him," (page 16. A History of the English settlements in India by J. Talboys Wheeler) and thought of sending to the Deccan Mirza Raja Jaising the greatest Hindu general in the Empire. He was in every way fitted for such a duty. He was asked to entrap Shivaji through his deplomacy and to send him to Agra.

The task was not an ordinary one. The Maratha Chronicles graphically describe his state of mind and his continued and strenuous efforts to achieve success in this direction. Shivaji seems to have appealed to him earnestly as a Hindu to desist from being the agent of a man who professedly was the enemy of the Hindu religion. Whatever it may be, it looks as if Jaising wanted to kill two birds with one stone. He succeeded

after strenuous efforts to induce Shivaji to go to Agra to have a personal interview with the Emperor. Herein he carried out the behests of his master. But he was very particular about the safety of the person of Shivaji. He had warned his son Ramsing to take every possible care of him and to see that no harm came to him. It is said that Jaising buoyed Shivaji with hopes, viz., that he was likely to be appointed Viceroy of the Deccan with a view to crush the two Mahomedan States which were an eyesore to Aurangzeb.

7. I don't for a minute believe that Shivaji was so much frightened by Jaising that he was forced to submit to his superior generalship. If the Maratha Chronicles are critically read it will be clear that Jaising had not very high hopes of conquering Shivaji's country and especially his forts after the strong resistence he met with at Purandhar. He was not prepared to sit before every mountain-fort for months together and thus waste his time, his men and money.

Shivaji's idea in going to Agra seemsto be:—

I. To impress the Emperor and to obtain from him as a reward for his late services the Viceroyalty of the Deccan.

- 2. To crush the two Mahomedan States in the Deccan ostensibly for the Emperor but really for the benefit of his own people.
- 3. If he could get his object served, then to strengthen his position and to offer a bold front to Aurangzeb.
- 4. While at Agra to get himself thorougly acquainted with the state of things there and if possible to cultivate close friendship with all the Rajput Princes in attendance at the court.
- 5. To impress on these Princes the necessity of hearty co-operation with him with a view to subvert eventually the Mahomedan power in India,

Tod has been very particular in mentioning that if the Raj Rana of Mewar, Jaising of Amber and Jaswantsing of Jodhpur had joined hands with Shivaji, the Mogul Power would have been shattered even though Aurangzeb—one of the greatest of Mogul Monarchs—was then on the Mogul throne.

8. I have tried to place every possible information that I could collect in this connection before you, my kind readers. I invite you to read the notes and the text carefully with a view to come to the right conclusion.

The events at Agra having taken a different turn, Shivaji had to change his tactics and even though in a position of great danger, he soarranged matters that he out-witted his great opponent in a way the latter never forgot. In this could be clearly seen his sagacity and farsightedness, though he was on the point of losing his precious life.

- The Marathas of Maharashtra will ever remain grateful to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales for laying down the foundation of the Shivaji Memorial in Poona and thus paying a tribute to the hallowed memory of the Liberator of Maharashtra. Had it not been for the lead taken in this connection by their Highnesses the late Shahu Chhatrapati Maharai of Kolhapur and Madhao Maharaj Shinde of Gwalior and H. H. Rajaram Maharaj Chhatrapati, the present Ruler of Kolhapur, the memorial in the form of the excellent statue of the Great Shivaji would not have been a success. All honour to them! Times have changed and the mist of ignorance having disappeared from before the eves of callous persons, Shivaji's life promises to be read with great interest in future.
 - 10. I have to acknowledge with a deep sense of gratitude, the help that I have

received at the hands of Mr. K. R. Kanitkar M. A. B. Sc., Principal of the Fergusson College and Mr. S. G. Vaze, B. A., of the Servant of India Society for giving me permission to make use of the books from their valuable libraries and thus enabling me to write this book on a most important event in the life of Shivaji the Great.

I am also much indebted to-

'(I.) Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B. A., the Author of the Rivasats. (2.) Dr. Balkrishna, M. A. Ph. D. Principal of the Rajaram college, Kolhapur. (3.) Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A. I. E. S., Principal of the Deccan College, Poona. (4.) Mr. P. M. Limaye, M.A., Prof. of History. Willingdon College, Sangli. (5.) Mr. V. N. Kumbhare, M.A. Prof. of History, Fergusson College, Poona. (6.) Mr. V. G. Kale, M.A., Late Prof. of History and Economics, Fergusson College, Poona. (7.) Mr. D. V. Apte, B.A., Member, Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona (8.) Mr. C.V. Vaidya M.A., LL.B., Author of Mediæval India. (9.) Mr. D. V Potdar, Prof. Sir, Parashram Bhau College, Poona. and (10.) Mr. D. V. Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. Editor of the 'Mahratta,' for carefully going through the manuscript of this book and giving me valuable hints whereever they were thought necessary.

I don't know how to express my sense of deep gratitude to my old and venerable Guru, Mr. C. G. Bhanu, B.A., late Professor of History in the Fergusson College who in his usual kindness acceded to my request to write a foreword to this book. May God in His mercy spare him for a long time for us and give him strength enough to give us the benefit of his deep studies and experience.

Had it not been for the great interest, that my master and Guru Mr. M. Kennedy, C.S.I., took in training me to my duties and watching over me as a Guru does his pupil and taking great delight in seeing me advancing gradually in my knowledge and experience, I would not have been able to achieve anything. I take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to him for what he did for me.

I have to thank sincerely my friends Messrs. V. G. Gadgil, D. V. Kale, M.A., and V. S. Bendre, for correcting the proofs preparing the index and giving me every possible help in connection with this work. I have also to thank my nephews, V. S. Balkundi, B.A., and S. R. Deshpande for the help they gave me while this book was being written.

I have to apologise most sincerely to all living authors of the books I have so often consulted and earnestly hope that they will forgive me for drawing freely from their valuable books, without their permission.

I cannot sufficiently express my sense of gratitude to Shrimant Bala Saheb Pant Pratinindhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, who has been good enough to give me every encouragement in writing this book and actually helping me with a block of the Peacock throne of the Great Mogul.

Mr. A. S. Gokhale, of the Vijaya Press, needless to say, deserves my sincerest thanks for the promptness with which he undertook to print this book and to see it through the press as quickly as possible.

I must thank Mr. N. C. $K \in lkar$, B. A., LL. B., for allowing me to reproduce my articles on 'Shivaji's escape from Agra,' published in the 'Mahratta.'

I have also to thank the Secretary of the Bharata Itihas Sanshodhak Mandala for the honour he has done me by kindly accepting this book as No. 18 of the Extra series of the B.I.S.M. and for writing a note in recognition of the same.

G. K. DESHPANDE.

Das-Vishramdham, Poona No. 4. Shravan Sudha 15 Shak 1851. 20th of August 1929.

INDEX

Abaji Sondeo, 45 Abdullakhan, (see Afzul Khan) Abul fazl, XI Acworth, n 61 Adilshahee, 25, 34, 77, 88 Afghanistan, 101 Afzulkhan, 7, 9, 60, 84. 111, IX Agra, 34.—a crisis, n 105; interview accounts, pp. 52-96 :- Sh.'s object in going to, 44, n 71-72 Ahmadnagar, 16 Akbar, X, XI Ali Kuli Khan. Sh. adventure with, 125. Allam i-Afzalkhan, XVI Amber, 85 Annaji Datto, 45 Arch (low) at Sh. entrance, 70 Arlington, n 49 Ashirgadh, 82 Attock, 4 Aurangabad, 10. 16, 46, 82 Aurangzeb, 1, 2, 7, 13, 18, 31, 40, 116, II;— a bigot 92:-character, n 95-97:connives at Sh.'s escape. 54:—objects of :Deccan war, n l; congratulates Sh., n. 29;-Darbar, n. 81-82;—a failure, n. 11;

-fanaticism, n 7;-firm on throne, 48;—and Hindus. n. 105-107; —and oaths. n. 71;—policy, n. 50; on Sh.'s, death, n. 6 Babar, 1 Badshahnama, n. 80, XIV Bahirji Naik, 14, n. 28 Balaji Aoji Chitnis, 105-109 Barcelor, 18 Bassein, 14 Bath of recovery, 112. Bebadal Khan, XV Bernier, 54, 59; n. 82, XVI Beveridge, n. 28. Bhaganagar, 126 Bhandarkar's commemorative Essays n. 62 Bijapore, 8, 9, 33, 42, VII, 82: n. 49. Bombay Secretariot, selection, n. 36 Bukhari. n. 80 Burhanpur, 82 Bussatin-i-salatin, n. 67 Careri, Dr. J. E. G., n. 54 Chakan, 10, n. 32, Chandrarai, n. 57 Chhatra Sal. IV Chaul, 14, n. 49. Cyclopædia of India, n. 17. Dadaji Konddeo, n. 5 Dagger, asked by Sh., 89

Danda Rajpoor, 14 Dara Sekoh IV, 40 Darbar-i-Akabari, n. 46 Daulatabad, 82 Deccan, 2, 19; Character, n. 54:-Civil Wars, n. 44:described, n.14-15:-Viceroyalty, 91 Delhi, 43, VII Deshpande, R. S., G. K. 'Call to arms' n. 57: Dilerkhan, 19, 28, 30, 81 Dilkash, III. Diwan i-Am49, X Dohad, 48 D'Osleans : Joseph 'History of Shivaji, n. 36 Douglas. J. Bombay and Western India'n. 14. Durgadas, 12;—picture, 90 Dutch, 15. Elliot and Dowson, 18, n. 3 etc. ' History Elphinstone, οí India'n. 14. Empire, death warrent of n. 22. English, 15 Escallioti. 'Letter to Brown 'n. 44. Factory Records, n. 29. Fazal Khan, 9. Fida-e-Khan, 62.

Fleet Shivaii's, 16 Fonda, n. 69 Forbe, 'Oriental Memoirs.' n. 16 Forts of Sh., n. 66 Fryer, John, 'Account India,' n. 13, n. 54 Gagabhatta, 124 Gary, n. 49 Gaya, 121 Ghats, n. 16 Ghusalkhans, XIII Goa. 18 Gokarna Mahableshwar, 18, 127 Golconda, 8, 19, 42, 47, n. 49, VII Gory, H., letter, n. 39 Graham, 'Kolhapur,' n. 15. Grant Duff, 'History of the Marathas', n. 4, 19 Guirat, 73 Gwalior, 3, 82, 101 Hampers of Sweets & escape. 106 Hannibal, 12 Hiroji Farjand, 108, n. 95 Horses, gift by Sh., 112 Indian Antiquary, n. 35 Iraq XV 7afarkhan, 102, n. 91 Jagannath, poet, 7

Jaysing, Miza Raja, 7, 19, 21, 22, 25. 27, 28, 38, 39, 44, 81, 117, n. 45; Jayshah 1:-anxious for Sh. n. 67-bribes Sh. ministers, n. 76;-double dealing, 93;-murdered, 98:-promises to Sh. n. 89:--proposes a compromise, 57;-and :Sh. release 102. Janiira, 28 Jaoli, 84 Jaswantsing, 11, 18, 42, 61, 85, IV, VI;-abilities, n. 37:-and his plot, n. 37 Jaziya, n. 8 Jedhe Shakawli, 108 Jijabai, 45, n. 5 Jiwal, 17 Johansing, IV Junner, 18 Kalyan, 14 Kandahar, 56, 72, 79 Kashirao, 119 Kelna, n. 68 Khafikhan, 10, 18; 'History of Aurangzeb', n. 33: on escape, Ill: on Maratha rise n. 18-19 Khan-i Alam, n. 81 Khan Jahan Bahadur, 106-07

Kincaid and, Parasnis History of the Maratha People, n. 5-Kiratsing, 29 Konkan, 14 Krishnaji, 122:-Bhaskar. 111 Kutub Shahi, 34, 77 Loha Gad, 83 Lakhoji Jadhavrao n. 4 Lanepool 'Aurangzeb', n. 1, n. 8:-on Sh. escape, n. 88 Latif S.M. 'Agra, Histo. and Descriptive" XIII. Madari Mehtar, 115 Maharashtra, 3, n. 3, 55. Malwan, 18 Manucci, 98, 108;-on Sh. escape, n. 92.93; n. 47 Marathas, 2, n. 55;—'leaders' union, n. 3;-cf. Rajputs, n. 13;-soldiers, n. 55:-War of Independence, n. 2:-a united common wealth, n. 13 Martin, 'History of India; n. 8 Mathura, 79, 118 Mawlees, 21, n 17; n. 56 Meadows Taylor, 'Manual of Ind. Hist,' n. 49 Mecca, 14, 17

Mewar, VI of Mill lames. 'History India'n, 50 etc. Mir Jumla, 47 Modern Review. 24, 64. 'The Montgomery Martin. Ind. Empire'n. 51 Moro Trimbak Pingle, 45. 119, 120 etc. Moti Bowriya, n. 85. Mukhlish Khan, 65 Murar Baji, 22, n. 58 Murry, 91 Muazzam, Prince, 17 Namdar Khan, 62 Narsingdeo Bundela, n. 106 Nasik. 15 Nation, decline accounted for n. 21 Naubat Khan, XII Navakot, 61 Netaji Palkar, 13, 33, 69, 93. n. 68, 69;-bribed. n. 57 Niraji, 121;-Raoji, 109. Orme 'Historical Fragments, n. 6 Owen S. J. 'Fall of the Mughal Empire,' n. 1, 19 etc, India on the eve of British conquest' n. 3 etc. Oxenden, n. 67

Pabal, 17 Pachad Mss., 84 Panhala (Parnalla), 8, 17. 83, n. 30 Patna, 124 Peacock throne, 49, XIV Persia, 25, 53:—King of, 63 Phaltan, n. 69 Phirangoji Narsale, 10 Phulad Khan, .6, 51, 70, 98 Pisurlekar, Prof; n. 41 Poona, 10, 113; n. 32 Portuguese, 14; n. 54 Potter, and escape, n. 97 Prahlad Niraji, 109 Pratap Gad, 8 Prataprao, Gujar,-1,3, 105 Prayag, 119 Prophecy, n. 9 Purandhar, 22, 31, 50;--casting guns at, n. 57 Ragho Ballsl Korde, 77, 100, 102, 114, Rahulla Khan, 68, 106 Rajapur, 70 Raj Gad, 18, 45, 82, 87, 120 Rajputs, I, 44 119:-Mathas a Ramdas. help, n. 100 Ramsing, 27, 33, 44, 48, 51 66, 70, 85, n. 88 Ranade, Justice 39, n. 3 Roe Sir Thomas, XI

Rustum Jaman, 9 Sabhasad, n. 80 Sadi, III Safi Shikhan Khan, 46 Sahebji Dorhi, n. 80 Sahvadri, n. 17 Sambhaji, 60, 65, 70, 98;a hostage? n. 91. 92 Sangram Durga (See Chakan) Sarkar, Jadunath, 8, n. 23, 41,66 Sen, Dr. 27, n. 18, 27 ShahAbbas II, 32, n. 66 XVI Shahaji, 67 Shah Rukh, Mirza, XVI Shahu, 98 Shaista Khan, 9, 11, 13, 50, 113, III, IX:—family account, n. 31;-wife, 58 64, 100 Shedgaonkar Bakhar, 124 Shiopura, 49, n. 81 Shiva Bharata, n. 70 Shiva Digwijaya, 28, n. 71 SHIVAJI,—absence kingdom, 45, 128:-achievment, n. 19:--adventure with a faujdar, 125:ancestry, n. 4-5;-an all India man, 129; appearance at Agra, n. 83:-army n. 56;—arrest, efforts for,

116:—no bandit, n. 44: and Bijapur, n. 31;-bows in Darbar, 80;-cf. Aurang 8: Babar. zeb. n. 75, Gustavus Adolphus. n. 51;—Hannibal n. 39, Julius Cæsar, n. 51. Sir Napier Charles n. 40: William Wallace, n. 40: Timurlane, Alexander. n. 52:- Choice of career. 5:-the commander, n. 41:—cavalry, n. 27; discipline in army, n. 51 Escape. 110 consequοf n.100: ences mahants n. 101:-family to be brought to Agra, 103:—family locked up in Sinhagad (?), 81-as General n. 49-genius and instinct, n. 6, 94;—as a Gossain, 118; growing power, n. 58;... humanity, n. 24;-idea of a central Hindu Power. n. 9;—image, n. 108; inability against Jaising, n. 71;—infantry, n. 26; intended murder of, 99:-Kept in a tent. knowledge of character, n. 7-letter to Shaista

Khan, n. 36"-literacy, 120-life by country men, n. 53:-life material for, n. 108;-magnetic power. n. 92; at Mathura, 121;methods, n. 28;—military organisation and genius n. 17, 26;—modesty, n. 11:-Nazar to Auarang. 50, 65, 74, 76;—object in sending away dependents 107;-Patil's wife, n. 103; -personality, n. 6:---perturbed, 94; -picture, 90:-plans of escape, 104; -and the Portuguese, n. 41:-praised by Aurang for Surat, n. 70;-Protector of Hindus. 48:--a Raiput, n. 47, 48;-religion, n. 8, 9, 23;-re. 94:-sourcefulness, n. return to Raj Gad, 127; -a soldier, n. 59:--strategem, n. 51:-strength, n, 9;-Suicide? 59. 94; Supernatural powers, 113;—Swooning. 89:-Sword, n. 51:qualities, 129; worshipped as God, n. 59. Siddi Johar, 9, n. 30; Sikhs, 3

Sinhagad, 11, 83 Smith Mr., account, n. 43 Sophi, 57 Sullivan 'Conquerors, Warriors etc. of India' n. 8 Surat, 14, 53, 65, 72, 81 n. 42:-Brahman meets Sh. 123 Takakhao and Keluskar, 'Life of Sh. maharaj n. 46 Takht-i-Taoos. XIV Tanaji, Malusaray, 46, 79. 109. Tathawda, n. 69 Tavernier XVI Temples, 41 Terru Edward X Thevenot, 13, 58, n. 35 Thornton, E. 'History of Br. Emp. in India, n. 50 Thursday, used by Shivaji. 105 Timur, XVI 'Rajasthan' n. 27-Tod, on Agra, n. 83-84 Tone. col. n. 13; n. 78 Torna, 81. Trimbak pant Dabir, 114 Trotter, 'History of Indisn. 25 Tulapur, 98 Ulagh Beg, Mirza, XVI Umara, running amuk, n

84-85

Vedic Magazine n. 8.
Vengurla, 17
Vijapur, 53
Visaji, 119,
War of Independence, 2
War of Succession, 48
Wheeler J. Talboys, 'A short
History of Iddia' n. 6

Wilkes, Col., n. 9
Yesaji Kank, 46
Zaubil Beg, XVI
Zebunnisa, 75, 91, 97, n. 86
Zina-tun-nisa Begum, 97
n. 87



List of Illustrations

I.	Shivaji the Great	1	Frontispiece	
2.	Professor C. G. Bha	nu	Foreword	
3.	Rao Saheb G. K. alia Babasaheb Des		P	reface
4.	Professor H. G. Lima	aya, Dedic	atory	Page
5.	Afzul Khan		Page	7
6.	Aurangzeb		"	9
7.	Shaista Khan		,,	9
8.	Raja Jaswantsing		,,	11
9.	Mirza Raja Jaising		"	20
10.	Diwan—1-Am	Page X, A	ppend	lix B
11.	Peacock Throne	" XIV	,,	C



Shivaji the Great, the Liberator of Maharashtra

Photo Kindly Lent by the Trustees of The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Copy Right.

APPENDIX-A.

Shivaji's letter to Jaising.

- 1. O Sardar of Sardars, King of Kings, Manager of the mango-trees of the garden of Bharat.
- 2. O piece of the heart and consciousness of Ramchandra, the Rajputs hold up their heads owing to thee.
- 3. The grandeur of the Empire of Babar's dynasty is rendered all the more powerful owing to thee and it is its good fortune to receive thy help.
- 4. O Jay Shah, whose fortune is ever young and whose intellect ever old, be pleased to accept the salutations and blessings of Shiva.
- 5. May the Creator of the world protect thee. May He show thee the path of Religion which is Justice.
- 6. I have heard that thou hast come to make battle upon me and to subjugate the Deccan.
- 7. Thou desirest in this world to make thy face glow with blood drawn from the hearts and the eyes of the Hindus.
- 8. But thou knowest not that thy face is painted in black, because owing to it, this country and religion are in danger.

- 9. If thou considerest for a moment or givest thought to thy hands and thy strength,
- 10. Then thou wilst discover whose blood lends the glow and what will be the colour of the glow in this world and the next.
- 11. Further, if thou hadst come of thy own accord to conquer the Deccan, my eyes and my head could have been laid on earth for thee to tread upon.
- 12. I would have marched with my whole force at the stirrup of thy horse and would have yielded up to thee the country from one end to the other.
- 13. But thou hast in fact come to conquer at the instance of Aurangzeb and under the instigation of those who desire to destroy the Hindus.
- 14. I do not know how I shall deal with thee.

 If I join thee, there is no manliness in it.
- 15. For, brave men are not time servers. The lion pursues not the policy of the fox.
- the Hindus on both sides will suffer.
- 17. The greater sorrow is that my sword, which thirsts for the blood of the Mussalmans, should be drawn from the scabbard for some other purpose.
- 18. If the Turks had come to fight this battle, then indeed the prey would have come to the lion in its lair,
 - 19. For, they are Rakshasas in the guise of men devoid of justice and religion, and sinful.

- by Afzul Khan, and Shaista Khan proved no better,
- 21. Thou art engaged to fight me because he (Aurangzeb) himself is not fit to bear battle with me.
- 22. He desires that no strong persons should be left surviving among the Hindus in this world,
- 23. That lions may fight among themselves and disabled, so that the fox may rule the forest.
- 24. How is it that his secret policy is not transparent to thy brain? It is clear that thou art under the influence of his magic spell.
- 25. Thou hast seen much good and evil in this world; thou hast reaped both flowers and thorns in the garden of life.
- 26. Is it not meet that thou shouldst fight uspeople and bring the heads of Hindus to death?
- 27. After having attained ripe wisdom in action, do not then exhibit (the folly of) youth, but remember the saying of Saadi:
- 28. "The horse cannot be ridden on all the roads; sometimes discretion is the better part of valour". (Lit sometimes it is more fitting to throw down the shield and fly).
- 29. Tigers attack the deer and other animals. They do not indulge in a fratricidal war with lions.
- 30. Or, if thy cutting sword has true water, if thy prancing horse has true spirit,

- 31. Then do thou attack those who are the enemies of religion and abolish Islam root and branch.
- 32. Had Dara Shekoh been King of the country, he would have treated his people with kindness and favours.
- 33. But thou deceivedst Jaswantsing; thou didst not first consider the high and the low in thy heart.
- 34. Thou art not satisfied with having played the fox and hast come to fight the battle with the lions.
- 35. What dost thou get from this running about and labouring under the Sun? Thy desires lead thee to a mirage.
- 36. Thou art even as a mean creature who exerts his utmost and captures a beautiful damsel,
- 37. But, instead of tasting the fruit of that garden of beauty himself, delivers it into the hands of his rival.
- 38. How canst thou feel proud at the mercy of that mean man? Dost thou know how the services of Johansing were rewarded?
- 39. Dost thou know by what means he desired to bring calamities to Prince Chhatra Sal?
- 40. Dost thou know what calamities that sinful man has left inflicted on other Hindus also?

- 41. I believe that thou hast attached thyself to him and hast laid down for him the self-respect of thy family.
- 42. But what is the value of this net in which thou art caught for the sake of the Rakshasa? This bond that binds thee is not stronger than the cord of the paijama that you wear.
- 43. In order to attain his ends, he hesitates not to shed the blood of his brother, or to take the life of his father.
- 44. Or, if thou appealest to loyalty, remember thou also thy conduct in reference to Shah Jahan.
- 45. If fate has endowed thee with any intellect or if thou seekest to pride thyself on thy manhood or manliness,
- 40. Then dot hou heat thy sword at the fire of distress of the land thou wast born in, and wipe off the tears of the unhappy ones who suffer from tyranny.
- 47. This is not the time for fighting between ourselves since a grave danger faces the Hindus.
- 48. Our children, our country, our wealth, our God, our temples and our holy worshippers,
- 49. Are all in danger of existence owing to his machinations and the utmost limit of suffering, that can be borne, has been reached.
- 50. If the work goes on like this for some time, there will not remain a vestige of ourselves on the earth.

- 51. It is a matter of supreme wonder that a handful of Mussalmans should establish supremacy over this vast country.
- 52. This supremacy is not due to any valour on their part. See, if thou hast eyes to see.
- 53. See, what policy of duplicity he plays with us, how differently he colours his face from time to time.
- 54. He claps our own chains to our feet; he cuts our heads with our own swords.
- 55. The most strenuous efforts should be made at this time to protect Hindus, Hindusthan and the Hindu Religion.
- 56. I desire to make an effort and bring about stability and strive my utmost for the sake of the country.
- 57. Polish thy sword and thy intellect and prove thyself a Turk to the Turks.
- 58. If thou joinest hands with Jaswantsing and divestest thy heart of the layers of trickery,
- 59. And if thou bringest about unity with the Raj Rana (of Mewar), then indeed there is hope for great things.
- 60. Do you all rush and fight from all sides; tramp down that serpent under the rock;
- 61. So that he may for some time occupy himself with ruminating on the consequences of his own actions; and may not further entangle the Deccan in his meshes;

VII

- 62. And I may in the meantime with the aid of these and other lance bearing heroes make away with the other two Sultans (of Bijapur and Golkonda);
- 63. So that I may rain the shower of swords from the thundering clouds of my army on the Mussalmans;
- 64. So that, from one end of the Deccan to the other, I may wipe out the name and very vestige of Mahomedanism;
- 65/66. Thereafter, with the assistance of wise statesmen and the army, like the river swirling and foaming as it emerges from the mountains of the Deccan, I may come out into the plains;
- 67. And forthwith present myself for service with you, and then after that hear you render your accounts.
- 68. And then we four may again inaugerate a grim war and devote the battlefield to it;
- 69. And then the tide of our armies may be made to reach the crumbling walls of Delhi,
- 70. So that nothing may be left of the Aurang (throne) or the Zeb (lust), so that nothing may remain of the sword of his tyranny or the net of his policy of duplicity or dissimulation;
- 71. So that we may flow a river full of pure blood, and with that we may satisfy the souls of our ancestors; and

VIII

- 72. With the grace of God, the Just and the Giver of life, we shall entomb him (Aurangzeb) in the bowels of the earth.
- 73. If two hearts combine, they can burst a mountain, they can dispel and scatter the whole armies.
- 74. This is not a very difficult task, we only want good hearts, good eyes, and good hands. These are the really necessary things.
- 75. I have much to tell thee in regard to this matter which cannot in sooth be put on paper.
- 76. I am desirous of having a talk with thee so that no unnecessary pain or labour may be involved.
- 77. If such is thy desire, I shall come to thee and hear what thou hast to say.
- 78. Thy maiden of speech may open her mouth in privacy, and I may take guard against the words being divulged;
- 79. So that we put our hands to the plough of effort and practise some incantation on that mad Rakshasa.
- 80. I swear by my sword, by my horse, by my country, and by my religion, that no harm shall befall thee in this.
- 81. Or, we may find out some other way to attain our object and make our names in this world and the next.

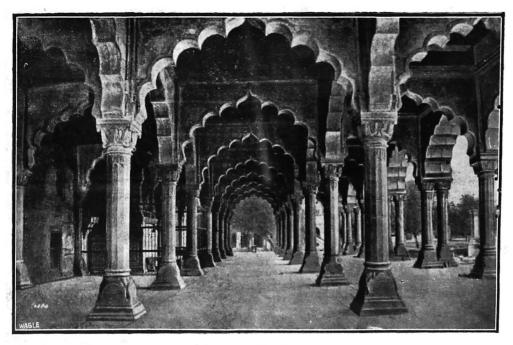
- 82. Be not suspicious owing to the incident of Afzul Khan—the report spoke not truly.
- 83. He had secretely kept twelve hundred warlike Habsee cavalry to accomplish my death.
- 84. Had I not raised my arm against him first, who would have written this letter to you?
- 85. But I do not believe any such thing of you; there is no inherent enmity between us.
- 80. Or, if I receive the desired reply from thee, I shall present myself before thee alone at night,
- 87. And I will show thee the secret letters which I cleverly extracted from Shaista Khan,
- 88. So that I may remove all doubts from thy mind and rouse thee from thy sweet sleep;
- 89. I may show thee the true result of thy dreams and then receive any answer;
- 90. Or, if this letter does not appeal to thee, then indeed I am ready with my sword to deal with thy army.
- 91. To-morrow, the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the crescent moon of my sword shall flash forth. That is all. God be with thee.

Reproduced from the Shivaji Souvenir 3-5-1927. pages 172 to 178, with the permission of Mr. G. S. Sardesai the reputed author of the Riyasats and Editor of the Shivaji Souvenir.

APPENDIX—B

The Diwan-i-Am

On one side of the great courtyard is the Diwan-i-Am or Hall of Public Audience, the judgment seat of Akbar, where the court receptions were held and business was transacted. Here the monarch daily sat on his throne raised, on an estrade, as we still see it, and surrounded with inlaid work of marble-Here he gave audience to his splendid court, received the tributary ruling Chiefs of Hindusthan and the amdassadors and envoys from foreign countries, administered justice and issued orders. At the foot of the alcove, on which the throne was placed, is an immense slate of white marble raised some three feet above the ground on which the ministers took their stand to present and hand up petitions to the Emperor and to receive and convey his commands. It was formerly fenced with silver rails, but they have now disappeared. The hall is 192 feet in length by 64 in breadth. It is an open portico or loggia, the roof being supported by three rows of high pillars placed at regular intervals and connected by saracenic arches of white marble, which give it a majestic appearance. Towards the eastern side is the elevated oblong nitche or gallery before mentioned in which the King took his seat on a throne. The throne described by Edward Terry, Chaplain



Diwan -E- Am.

Lakshmi Art, Bombay, 8.

of Sir Thomas Roe, was "ascended by steps plated with silver and ornamented with four silver lions, spangled with jewels, which supported a canopy of pure gold." The pavilion is of pure marble, with beautifully carved recesses, and inlaid with mosaics. The court Hall in Akbar's time was properly scented with sweet perfumes and fragrant odours-On this subject, Allami Abul Fazl writes in the Ain:-"The court Hall is continually scented with ambergris, taloe-wood, and compositions according to ancient recipes or mixtures invented by His Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censors of various shapes, while sweet smelling flowers are used in large quantities." The seat Royal was separated by successive railings, the innermost of which, railed from the ground and enclosed by a red rail, was occupied by Princes Royal, ambassadors,high officers of state and nobles and grandees of the first rank. The space within the outer, railing was filled with Chiefs of secondary dignity while a large open area outside the second railing was assigned to the multitude. All stood in respectful silence and enjoyed a full view of His Majesty's person. In this vast court the Ahdis or exempts of the guard, paraded in full armour, while horses and elephants richly caparisoned, were arrayed further on, adding greatly to the brilliancy of the spectacle, which was truly royal.

The ceremony of prostration after the fashion of the Tartar Moguls, was, revived by Akbar, and

was performed during the reign of his successors. As a man entered the first rail which separated the commonalty from the nobility, he was conducted to the seat Royal by two heralds, one on each side. -carrying gold maces set with rubies and emeralds. who repeated the King's titles in a loud, monotonous voice. Here he made his first reverence. He then passed through the nobility to the red rail, where he made his second reverence: then, led to the platform, he made his third reverence, and at once found himself among Princes, Rajas, Maharajas, Nawabs, Grandees, Nobles and Lords of great fortune and wealth. The passage intervening between the Naubatkhanah or the Music gallery and the royal throne comprised one hundred and twenty yards; and people were required to bow down lower and lower as they approached the monarch Nothing upon earth surpassed the grandeur and solemnity of the scene. The presence of the King. the presiding figure of the whole assembly, so glowing with emaralds, diamonds, precious metal, pearls and rubies as to represent one solid mass of gold and gems, and the concourse of the ruling chiefs, foreign ambassadors, and picked nobility of the Empire-all brilliantly clad and displaying in their sumptuous attire the best and choicest riches of the country—inspired deep awe. One unbroken silence prevailed. All stood in solemn silence, motionless like statues, not a soul daring to cast his eyes on the King, no one venturing to raise his

XIII

voice except the masters of ceremonies, and thatonly to announce to the assembled multitude the King's high sounding attributes and epithets. The-Emperor was prepared to hear the meanest of hissubjects who desired to make any representation to-His Majesty. If any petition was raised from afar in the assembled multitude, it was instantly broughtto the Emperor and the contents read to him.

To the right and left of the Hall are galleries of lattice work through which the ladies of the Harem peeped to see the proceedings of the court. A door at the back of the throne admitted the Emperor and his confidential servants to the interior of the Zenana or Seraglio.

The grand Hall of the Diwan-i-Am opens into a more retired chamber, called the Ghusalkhanah or the place to wash in. Ghusalkhanah, although strictly meaning a bath-room, was the name applied to the more private apartments in a Mogul palace. Few persons were permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the Diwan-i-Am. The Hall is however very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted and raised four or five feet from the pavement, like a large platform. It is in this place that the King seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports and deliberates on important affairs of state. Agra-Historical and Descriptive by K. B. Syed Mubammad Latif, pp. 77, 78 and 79.

XIY

APPENDIX—C.

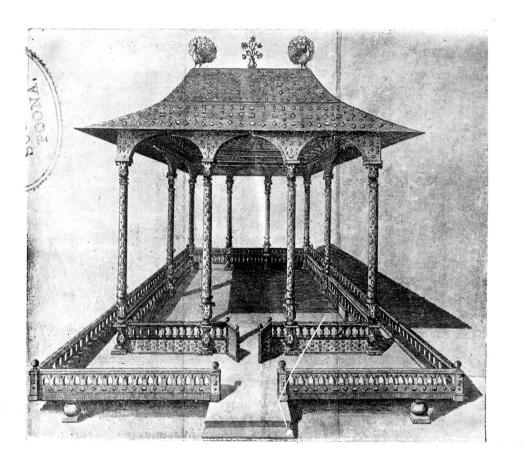
The Peacock Throne

OR

Takht-i-Taoos.

In the centre of the Diwan-i-Am stood the famous Peacock Throne, an excellent description of which is given in the Badshah Namah:—

"Since from time immemorial and year in and year out, various jewels of great price, each of them worthy to be an ear-ring for Venus and a belt for the Sun, were kept in the Imperial Treasury; early in the beneficent reign, it had occurred to the inspired mind of the Emperor that the collection of such rare presents and accumulation of so many precious things was only meant for the adornment of the Empire and to increase its ornamentation. Therefore they ought to be in a place where spectators might enjoy the world enlightening beauty of the produce of the ocean and the mine, and also they should be an added lustre to the Palace. Orders were issued that all kinds of rubies, diamonds, pearls and emeralds, the value of which was estimated at two hundred lacs of rupees, as well as those jewels in charge of the provincial treasury officers, should be brought for His Majesty's inspec-



tion, excepting only the private jewels, kept in the jewel office of the Heaven-like palace.

Great and valuable jewels the weight of which was fifty thousand mithquals (equal to 1 and 3/7th drams) and the price of which was eighty six lacs of rupees, were selected and entrusted to Bebadal Khan the superintendent of the goldsmith's office, in order that the jewels might be studded in a slab made of one lac of tolas of pure gold, which is equal to two hundred and fifty thousand mithquals, and the price of which was fourteen lacs of rupees. This slab was 3½ gaz by 2½ imperial gaz with a height of 5 gaz.

It was desired that the inside of the ceiling of the throne should be mostly enamelled and the rest set with jewels, and that the outside should be adorned with rubies and other precious stones. It was to be supported by 12 emerald coloured columns. Above the ceiling 2 images of peacocks set in bright gems were to be made, and between them was to be fixed a tree of rubies, diamonds, emeralds and pearls. To ascend the throne three steps studded with beautiful gems were to be prepared.

In the course of seven years this Heaven-like throne was completed at the cost of one hundred lacs of rupees which is equal to three hundred and thirty three thousand tumans of "Iraq" and to four crores of "Khani" current in Trans-Oxiana, Mayaran-u-Nahar.

Of the eleven slabs covered with jewels and erected round the throne for leaning against the central one on which the Emperor, a Soloman in rank, leans by placing on it his truth seeking hand, was estimated at ten lacs of rupees. And of the jewels set in the throne there was a ruby in the centre, valued at one lac of Rupees, which Shah Abbas, king of Persia (1585-1628) had sent to his late Majesty (Jahangir) as a present by the hand of Zanbil Beg. His late Majesty had sent it by Allami Afzalkhan to the world conquering Emperor. His Majesty, the second Lord of the happy conjuction, as a reward for "subduing the Deccan." At first, the sublime name of His Majesty the Lord of happy conjuction, (Timur) the pole star of the Faith and of Religion and that of Mirza Shah Rukh, and Mirza Ulagh Beg, were written over it. After some time it fell into Shah Abbas's hand who also put his own name on it and when it was received by His late Majesty, he added his own name with that of his illustrious father. Now it has received fresh light and brightness, and inestimable adornment from the exalted name of the King of Seven Climes and the Emperor of Throne and Crown."

Tavernier's description of the Peacock Throne of the Great Mogul at Agra.—Appendix III, page 471 of Bernier's Travels.

XVII

"It should be stated that the Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the Hall of the First Court, is nearly of the form and size of our camp-beds; that is to say, it is about 0 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large Badakshan ruby cut en cabuchon with four emeralds round it; which form a square cross. Next in succession: from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds and in another the emerald is in the middle and four Badakshan rubies surround it. The emeralds are table cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all being showy stones, but very flat. There

XVIII

are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the King's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others that are placed at his sides are flat. There is to be seen, moreover, a sword suspended from this throne, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones is respectively enriched.

I counted the Badakshan rubies on the great throne and these are about 108 all cabuchons, the least of which weighs 100 carats, but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flows; the largest may weigh 60 carats and the least 30 carats. I counted about one hundred and sixteen; thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, above the canopy which is a quadrangular shaped dome, there is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue saphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of

XIX

50 carats or there abouts, and of somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne, which is opposite the court, there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight. With rubies and emeralds round it, and when the King is seated he has this jewel in full view. But that which in my own opinion is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At four feet distance from the throne, there are fixed, on either side, two umbrellas, the sticks of which of 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies and pearls. The umbrellas are of red velvet, and are embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.



BOOKS CONSULTED.

A—Acworth.—Ballads of the Marathas. Atmaram.—Das Vishramdham.

B-Bell. Evans. Major-Life of General John Briggs.

Belvalkar.—Dr. Bhandarkar's Commemorative Essays.

Bendre, V.-Sadhan Chikitsa.

Bernier.-Travels of.

Beveridge.—History of India.

Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Varshik Iti-vritta, Sammelan Vritta, Ahwal.

Bhave.—Shedgaonkar'e Bakhar.

Bhushan.—Shivraj Bhushan Kavya.

Bombay Gazetteer volumes.

Bruce, J.—Annals of the East India Company.

)

Burway.-Marathas and the Moguls.

Bussatin-i-Salatin.

C—Careri, Francis Gamelli.—Travels of, in 1695.
Carrey, Abbe. Traveller.—Notes on Shivaji.
Chitnis, M. R.—Shiva Chhatrapatichi Sapta—
prakaranatmak Bakhar.
Chitne and the Shipain Mahaming his Bakhar.

Chitragupta.—Shivaji Maharajanchi Bakhar. Cyclopædia of India Vol. III.

D-Dandekar and Nandurbarkar.—Shivadigvijaya,
Darbar-i-Akbari.

Deming, W. S.—Ramdas and Ramdasis.

Deshpande, G. K.—Call to Arms, Appeal to the Marathas.

Divekar, S. M.—Shiva Bharat.

Douglas, James.-1 Bombay and Western India.

2 Book of Bombay.

Dow, A.—History of Indosthan.

Duff, James-Grant. Captain—History of the Marathas.

E—Elliot and Dowson.—History of India as told by its own Historians, vol. VII.

Elphinstone, M.S.—History of India.

F—Forrest.—Selections from the letters and despatches and other state papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Home series 2 volsand Maratha series.

Foster.—The English Factories in India.

Fryer, Dr. John—A new account of the East India and Persia.

G-Girdhar Swami.—Shri Samarth Pratap.

Graham.-Kolhapur.

Grant, J.—An Historical and Political view of the Deccan

Gribble.—History of the Deccan.

H—Hanmant Swami.—Ramdas Swaminche Charitra.

I-Indian Antiquary.

J-Jervis.—Statistical survey of the Konkun. Joshi, D. S.—Historical writings Flower IL K-Kayasta Prabhunchi Bakhar.

Keluskar.—Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj.

Kennedy.—History of the Great Mogul.

Kincaid and Parasnis.—A History of the Maratha people.

L-Lalkavi.—Chhatraprakash.

Latif, Syed Mahomed.—Agra, historical and descriptive.

M-Manucci, N.-Storia do Mogor.

Martin, Montgomery.—History of India.

Marshaman.-History of India.

Mawji P. and Parasnis.—Sanada and letters.

Mill, J. & Wilson.—History of India.

· Modak, B. J.—History of Bijapur.

Moor.—Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Mahratta Empire.

Murray.—History of India.

Modern Review.—Ramanand Chatarji.

Moinuddin.—History of the Taj.

O-Orme.-Historical Fragments.

Owen, Prof. S.-1 The Fall of the Mogul Empire.

2 India on the Eve of the
British Conquest.

1

, Orleans, Father Joseph — History of Shivaji,

P-Purushottam Kavi.—Shiva Kavya.

Pissurlekar.—Historical Records Commission, Note on the attitude of the Portuguese towards Shiyan.• Prinsep, V. C.—Imperial India.
Pendse.—Life of Shivaji.
Parasnis.—Itihas Sangrah.
Pogson.—History of the Bundelas.
Poole, Lane.—Life of Aurangzeb.
Prabhuratna Mala.

R—Rajvade.-Marathyanchya Itihasanchi Sadhane-Ranade, Justice M. G.—Rise of the Maratha Power.

Rawlinson.—Shivaji, The Maratha. Raddi.—Shivaji.

S-Sane.—Sabhasad Bakhar, 2 Marathi Samraiyachi Chhoti Bakhar.

Sardesai, G. S.—1 Maratha Riyasat 5 vols. 2 Shivaji Souvenir.

Sarkar, Prof. Sir J.—1 History of Aurangzeb.

2 Studies in Mogul India.

3 Shivaji and his Times.

4 Jaising and Shivaji in Modern Review.

Sen, Dr. S.—1 A preliminary Report on the Historical Records at Goa.

2 Life of Shiva Chhatrapati (Sabhasad)

3 Military system of the Marathas

4 Administrative system of the Marathas

Scott, J.—History of the Deccan.

Scott, Waring.—History of the Marathas. Shiva Pratap

Sullivan, Sir, E.—Conquerors, Warriors and Statesmen of India.

T—Takakhav and Keluskar.—Life of Shivaji Maharaja.

Tavernier.—Travels in India.

Taylor, Meadows.—History of India.

Thevenot.—Travels in India.

Thornton, E.—History of British Empire in India.

Tod, Col. J.—History of Rajasthan.

Tone, Col. W. H.—Illustrations of some Institutions of the Maratha People.

Trotter.—History of India.

V-Vedic India.

W-Wheeler, Talboys.—A Short History of India, History of the Settlement of the East India Company in India.

Wilks.—Historical sketches of the South of India.



ERRATA

TEXT.

Page	5	Line	8	for	discomfitted	read	discomfited
	16		8	"	daubbed	**	daubed
, 11	20	D.	29	"	theM ogul	"	the Mogul
"	27	1,	23	"	their	"	his
**	43	"	3		inaugerate		inaugurate
"	44	"	ģ	"	achive	"	achieve
"	47	"	26	"	deserted to	"	deserted
"	47	"	20	"	acacrica to	3 3	and joined
	56		7		whiech		which
"	58	"	28	17	belived	"	believed
,,		**		"	confirm	"	conform
"	62	**	9	"	slartling	"	
,,	81	39	5	"		97	startling
"	83	"	16	,,	swollowed	"	swallowed
,,	90	"	6	"	honourary	"	honorary
"	91	"	.2	"	Murry	"	Murray
"	91	>>	17	"	discomfitted	"	discomfited
,,	94	**	11	"	honourary)	honorary
"	94	22	13	>>	indispensible	"	indispensable
					NOTES.		
Page	1	Line	.21	for	supremn	read	supreme
	7	"	20	,,	1.5	"	Mogul
"	15	"	30	"	1 1	"	also has
**	16	"	10	"	to wers	"	towers
"	16	"	24	,,	•	,,	had
"	18	"	13	"	westsrn	"	western
17	22	"	4	, ,,	epuality	"	equality
19	25	"	12	"	msrathas	"	Marathas
79	26	-	1	"		"	1
**	28		23	-	abiases	"	.1 •
11	32		20	,,		"	
"	32 32		25	*	• 6	"	. 1
,,	35	,,,	16	,	hal!ma.l	91	1 1. 1
"	39	"	8	,	hant disance): !c	1
17	45		12	,	: -		*
"	45		19	7		91	
,,	46		25	,		31	1
23	53		5	,		>1	*******
>>	79		34	,		**	
**	96		28	,	_ Courtsey	"	
"	118		1	7		• • *	awan, tad
"	110) ,,	•	>:	werafer.	<i>*</i> "	CACCUICU