

HISTORY
PART III—MARATHA PERIOD
CHAPTER 1*
RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER
(1630-1707)

POLITICAL BACKGROUND.

A RACE OF MEN CAN BE CALLED A NATION only when they have a State or compact territory of their own, united under a universally accepted government not subject to any other power, besides a certain community of life and though among the general population. The Marathas had formed such a Nation and State in the far-off past. But with the fall of the Yadavas of Devagiri, early in the 14th century, a foreign sovereignty, alien to them in race and religion was imposed on the land; and henceforth the population lived as scattered units under a number of barons of their own race—some large like the Yadavas of Sindkhed or the Mores of Javli, but most others petty owners of a few villages. All of them owed allegiance to the Sultan of Gulbarga or Ahmadnagar, paid him tribute, and served in his wars with their personal contingents in hope of reward. The mass of the Maratha people continued to live in seclusion in their villages, following their immemorial way of life, administering all local affairs through the hereditary village officials, and deciding their disputes by means of the village jury (*Mahazan*) who reported their findings to the district or provincial governor for confirmation and execution. The change of dynasties at the capital was to them no more than a two days' talk.

But this static condition of society was rudely disturbed when the authority of the central government dissolved, the Sultan became a puppet, factions nobles fought each other for selfish gain, and in the country-side every ambitious man raised his hand in lawless violence against his neighbours. Village life became unsettled and decay seized the seats of the country's wealth—production and the centres of culture and social progress. Fiscal oppression due to *doamli* (rival authorities administering the same place) impoverished the rulers and the ruled alike, quite apart from the foreign invasion which the anarchy invited.

The law suits about the right to the hereditary village offices, the partition of family-lands or service-emoluments among kinsmen, the

*This Chapter is contributed by the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

encroachment of one village-headman (*desmukh*) on his neighbouring villages —all these ever-rising cases could not any longer be decided by a common judge nor such a judge's decision enforced by a strong executive magistrate. From this anarchy and decay of social order the house of Bhosle delivered Maharashtra in the dim twilight following the death of Malik Amber (1626) and the dissolution of the Nizam Sahi monarchy.

KEYNOTE OF MARATHA HISTORY, 17TH CENTURY.

The creator of the modern Maratha nation was Sivaji Bhosle, whose life, 1627-1680, bridges the gulf in Deccan history, between the extinction of the Ahmadnagar Sultanate and Aurangzeb's coming for the last time to the Deccan to wear out his life and empire there. Within two years of his death (1707) the Government of Delhi gave up all attempts to rule Maharashtra.

Before the rise of Sivaji the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccani kingdoms ; he welded them into a mighty nation. Since the fall of the Yadavas of Devagiri, they had been mere hirelings, mere servants of aliens; they served the State, but had no lot or part in its management. Sivaji founded a State in Maharashtra and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments. And this he achieved in the teeth of the opposition of four great powers like the Moghal Empire, the Bijapur Sultanate, the Portuguese and the Abyssinians of Janjira.

Sivaji was the son of Sahaji Bhosle and climbed to greatness on his father's shoulders. True, the Maharaja Sahaji best known in history was a ruler of the Kanarese country only and lived to the end of his days as a vassal of Adil Sah, no longer administering any part of Maharashtra (after 1648). But his wonderful resourcefulness, unflinching opportunism, and pioneer spirit of adventure made Sivaji's success easy, some may even say, possible. The noon-day splendour of the son's career has thrown into the shade the morning brilliancy of the father's achievement. Sahaji was the founder of Greater Maharashtra.

Sahaji (c. 1595-1664), the son of Maloji, received his early training in war under his paternal uncle Vithoji, in the service of the Ahmadnagar Sultan, and after Vithoji's death (1623), succeeded him in the command of the family contingent. The discerning eye of Malik Amber first appreciated Sahaji's genius, and there are reports that this young captain launched the tactical move which led to the Nizamsahi victory at Bhatvadi (Oct. 1624). After Malik Amber's death (14¹, May 1626), he served that Regent's son and successor Fath Khan for a few years. But a hopeless decay and disorder now seized the Nizam Sahi Government. Sahaji's father-in-law Jadhav Rav, the highest Hindu vassal of Ahmadnagar, was murdered at Court on 12 August 1630. The Sultan and his vazir plotted against

¹10th May as given by Shri Sardesai.

each other, and Sahaji, unwilling to face a dark future, went over to the Moghal side in November of the same year, and was assigned *jagirs* in Junnar, Sangamner and Bezapur (Bijapur) from the Moghal Government. But he had first to conquer these places which had been seized by the Bijapuris from the dead Nizam Sahi Government. His career of conquest and plunder in the Poona district was checked by a Bijapuri army, and he was for a time driven to seek refuge with the governor of Junnar. On the retirement of the Bijapuri invasion, Sahaji built a new fort Sahgad (on the site of the ruined Bhimgad, misspelt *Pemgad*), raised troops, and again set out on conquest. Abandoning the Moghal service (June 1632), he began to seize the districts of Nasik, Trimbak, Sangamner and Junnar, and parts of North Konkan. In concert with the Bijapuri generals he offered opposition to the Moghals when they besieged Daulatabad fort, the last stronghold of the Nizam Sahis. But that fort fell on 17 June 1633, and the last crowned Nizam Sah, Husain was taken away to die in Gwalior prison.

The Moghals captured the Sultan but not his kingdom. At once Adil Sah and Sahaji Bhosle seized as much of the ownerless Nizam Sahi kingdom as they could. With the consent of a widowed Nizam Sahi Queen, Sahaji crowned a boy prince as Murtaza Nizam Sah II in his own stronghold of Sahgad (Sept, 1633). In the name of this puppet Sahaji carried on the Government for three years, seized districts and forts, and levied a large army. Thus, he quickly occupied all the old Ahmadnagar territory from Poona and Cakan to Balaghat, and the environs of Junnar, Ahmadnagar, Sangamner, Trimbak and Nasik, plundering on all sides. His ally was Murari Pandit, the local Bijapuri commander and the favourite of the Adil Sahi Vazir Khavas Khan. He gained the trust and even the personal love of Murari by his cleverness and ability, as we see in the tradition of Sahaji having weighed an elephant by the Archimedian principle, for Murari's *Tula Dan* at Pabal (23 September 1633).

He made himself the master of the forts of Junnar, Jivdhan, Bhor, Mahuli, Kohij, etc., and practically all Tal-Konkan from Mahad to the frontier of the Javhar State. He next removed his royal puppet from Sahgad to Junnar and himself lived in the latter fort in great wealth and power; twelve thousand of the disbanded former troops of Ahmadnagar gathered round him.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1634.

We possess an accurate account of the political geography of Maharashtra in this year in the recently published Diary of the Viceroy of Portuguese India, which embodies the reports¹ that he received from his Brahman intelligencer posted in Bijapur during that year. The division was this: of the total Nizam Sahi territory worth 84 lakhs of *hon*, roughly one-fourth each was held by the Moghals, Adil Sah and Sahaji, and the remaining quarter was being scrambled for. Adil Sah had annexed 20¼ lakhs of *hon* worth (besides Solapur

¹Reprinted by P. S, Pissurlencar in *Antigualhas*, Vol. I, fasc. 1 (1941).

and Ausa, worth seven and one lakhs respectively held by two of his independent Muslim nobles) ; the Moghals had seized 21 lakhs of *hon* worth, and Sahaji 20³/₄ lakhs worth, including Junnar (three lakhs *hon*), Sahgad (one lakh) Nasik (one lakh), Cakan (one lakh), Camargonda (³/₄ of a lakh), nearly three-fourths of Tal-Konkan. (eleven lakhs) and minor places (three lakhs in all), but not Poona (75,000 *hon*) nor Indapur (50,000 *hon*), nor Nilanga (one lakh) which then lay in the Adil Sahi portion (as also did Caul in Konkan). His roving operations helped to baffle the Moghals in their siege of the fort of Parendia (24 Feb.–21 May 1634), under Prince Suja, who was starved out.

During 1635, the new Moghal viceroy of Ahmadnagar, Khan-i Dauran kept Sahaji in check. Next year the scales were hopelessly turned against Sahaji. Sah Jahan arrived at Daulatabad (21 Feb. 1636) determined to settle this Deccan business once for all.

A vast force of 50,000 Moghal horsemen under the best generals was launched to overawe Golkonda, invade Bijapur, and crush Sahaji Bhosle. The Maratha chief was driven away to Lohgad and his village of Camargonda captured. Saista Khan at the head of 8,000 troops wrested the *parganas* of Sangamner taluka from Sahajis men and pursued Sahaji himself to Konkan. The city of Junnar was captured, but not the fort where Sahaji's family had sought shelter (middle of March 1636).

After some skirmishes and military demonstrations, the Bijapur Government was forced to make peace with the Emperor (May 1636) on the following terms :—

(1) The Nizam Sahi State was to be abolished even in name. All its territory was to be divided between the Moghals and Adil Sah,— the latter getting Solapur, Vangi, Bhalki, Chidgupa, the Poona district, and North Konkan. (2) Adil Sah recognised the over-lordship of the Emperor of Delhi. (3) Sahaji was to be expelled from Maharashtra and not to be taken into Bijapuri service unless he ceded to the Moghals the forts of Junnar, Trimbak and some others.

The full force of the imperialists was now turned on Sahaji, who fought long in the broken North Konkan; but after a long chase by Khan-i-Zaman, a general of Sah Jahan and Randulla Khan his Bijapuri ally, the Maratha chief was forced to capitulate at Mahuli about end of October, giving up to the Moghals his puppet Nizam Sah and his royal property, seven forts (Junnar, Trimbak, Tringalwadi, Harsgad, Jivdhan, Cavand and Hadsar), with all his territories in Maharashtra except his small *jagirs* in the Poona district—which he was to hold merely as a revenue-paying vassal of Adil Sah. His new over-lord made to him a formal grant of the Poona *jagir*, on 25 Feb. 1637.

Thus Sahaji Bhosle made his exit from Maharashtra. He later built up a vast estate, a kingdom except for the lack of independence, but that was in the Kanarese country, and he had no further connection

with Maharashtra except as a petty *jagirdar* without political power, his *locum tenens* being subject to the authority of the Bijapuri district governor. The creation of a national state in Maharashtra was the work of Sivaji and became an accomplished fact in 1674, ten years after the death of Sahaji.

SHIVAJI.

Sivaji was the second son of Sahaji and Jija Bai (a daughter of the Jadhav lord of Sindkhed). He was born¹ (10 April 1627) in the fort of Sivneri which overlooks the town of Junnar, and there the mother and the son lived till 1637, when they were removed to Poona by Sahaji's order. After entering Bijapuri service at the end of 1636, Sahaji was sent away to the Mysore plateau to conquer fresh territories for his sovereign and *jagirs* for himself; he was granted Bangalore in 1639 and made it his seat. His favourite wife Tuka Bai Mohite and her son Vyankoji accompanied him, while Sivaji and his mother were left behind. But he appointed Dadaji Kond Dev as manager of his Poona *jagir* and ordered him to remove Sivaji and Jija Bai and maintain them there. In 1640-41 Dadaji paid a visit to Sahaji at Bangalore, with his master's family. Here Sivaji was married to Sai Bai Nimbalkar, and a portion of the Poona *jagir*, yielding about a lakh and a half of rupees in revenue, was formally bestowed on Sivaji as Sahaji's deputy while the father lived, and as full owner after his death. An administration in four departments under four heads² sent by Sahaji from Bangalore was set up in Poona. Dadaji, as the guardian of the minor, presided over the law-court, along with Sivaji and Jija Bai, and latterly Sivaji only. On the death of Dadaji (7th March 1647), Sivaji became his own master at the age of twenty.

Dadaji Kond Dev was an exceptionally capable and active administrator. His own charge included the part of the Poona district from Cakan to Indapur, Sirval, and the frontier of Wai, but not Supa (which was managed by another agent of Sahaji). The country had been desolated by anarchy and ceaseless warfare for a full generation, cultivation and population had been greatly reduced, and wolves in large packs infested the villages on the Sahyadri hill-side. Dadaji very wisely offered rewards for killing them. He conciliated the Maval hill-men by rewards and kind treatment, and induced them to settle in the valleys and extend the cultivation by offering very liberal terms of rent such as a few pice per *bigha* for the first four years, a few annas for the next three years, and the familiar full rate of Malik Amber's assessment only from the eighth year onwards. Thus the whole country was brought under tillage. His strict justice and vigour in punishing wrong doers suppressed lawlessness in the country and caused his name to be still remembered. Dadaji established complete mastery over the Mavals adjacent to the Poona district. The local headmen (*desmukhs*) were mostly won over by

¹ The more widely accepted date is 19th February 1630.

² The Chancellor (*Pesva*), the Accountant-General (*Majumdar*), the Foreign Secretary (*Davir*), and the Paymaster of the Forces (*Sabnis*).

tactful handling and rewards; those who defied his authority were attacked and forced to submit. Thus peace and prosperity were established in that region, and it became a source of wealth and martial strength to the owner of Poona.

Sivaji grew up in solitude away from courts and cities, a mateless child without brother, sister or father. The isolation of their life drew him and his mother very close together and intensified his love for her till it became almost an adoration for a deity. She imparted her own deep religious spirit to her son. From a very early age Sivaji was thrown on his own resources and learnt to carry out his own ideas unaided, and to take the initiative. He became skilled in fighting, riding and other manly games. From the sturdy and brave race of the Mavle people, Sivaji drew his earliest comrades, his many devoted followers, and his best soldiers. In the company of Mavle chieftains of his own age, young Sivaji wandered over the hills and forests of the Sahyadri range, hardening himself to a life of strenuous exertion. He began to love independence and loathe a life of servile luxury.

Sivaji's early tentative efforts.

The hill forts have played a part in the history of Maharashtra unequalled by any other country. The whole of the Western Ghats often terminate towards the top in a wall of smooth rock the highest points of which form natural fortresses, where the only labour required is to get access to the level space on the summit. Various princes at different times have cut flights of steps up the rocks, fortified the entrance with gateways, and erected towers to command the approaches. In many of them there are springs of the finest water or tanks filled during the rainy months.

Each fort was held by a *killedar* who was almost always directly under the Sultan's Government and independent of the *jagirdar* of the surrounding country. A few villages below the fort were assigned to the *killedar* for feeding his garrison and their cattle. Thus Sivaji found in these numberless hillforts so many hostile garrisons planted in the midst of his own *jagir* territory, and he could not form a compact State unless he wiped out this rival authority.

After 1642, the Government of Muhammad Adil Sah fell into increasing decline owing to the Sultan's drunken habits, and alcoholism led to his being stricken down in 1646 with paralysis which kept him a bed-ridden invalid till his death ten years later. His chief ministers and best generals were all this time busy extending his dominions in the Western Karnatak (Ikeri, Basavapattan, Sera), Central Mysore (Bangalore, Srirangapatan, Bellur, Nandiyal) and the Eastern Karnatak (Vellore, Jinji, etc.). But the Poona district lying in the neglected north-western corner and being a recent acquisition by the Moghal treaty of 1636, had not been really brought under the control of the Bijapur Government.

We have definite evidence that in 1644 Sahaji had turned refractory and his agent Dadaji Kond Dev was seizing territory in the Sinhagad region, so that an Adil Sahi force had to be sent against him.

A little later, about 1646, Sivaji gained the fort of Torna by tricking its Adil Sahi commandant. He also built some new fortifications in the neighbouring hills. But no notice of these acts was taken at the Bijapur court. After the death of Dadaji, Sivaji got possession of some outlying parts of his father's *jagir* such as Cakan, Indapur, and Baramati, and also secured the fort of Kondana by bribing its Adil Sahi governor.

Soon afterwards his progress was suddenly stopped by the news of the arrest of his father before the fortress of Jinji (25th July 1648) order of the Bijapur Government. The cause was that the Bijapuri Prime Minister and Generalissimo had evidence of Sahaji's intrigues with his master's enemies, the Qutb Sah and Sri Ranga Rayal. The captive was brought to Bijapur, but kept in honourable detention in charge of a Muslim noble. In the meantime, the Bijapuri forces tried without success to wrest Kondana from Sivaji and Bangalore from Sambhaji, his elder brother. At last Adil Sah wisely made peace, conciliated Sahaji and restored him to his estates and honours (16 May 1649), on condition of his surrendering Bangalore, Kandarpi, and Kondana. So, Sivaji stayed his hand against Bijapur for some years, after gaining the fort of Purandar by intervening in the disputed succession of its three brother-owners and then turning them out of the fort to live outside on a small land-grant (8th October 1648).

But seven years later he had increased and consolidated his power and felt that he had nothing to fear from Bijapur now, as the Adil Sahi Government was threatened with absorption by Prince Aurangzeb, the Moghal Governor of the Deccan. He first laid his hand on the State of Javli, the heritage of the More family (named after Candrarav More), which covered practically the whole of the Satara district. This principality by its position barred the path of Sivaji's ambition in the south and south-west of his small Poona *jagir*. Moreover, the Mores were jealous of the upstart Bhosles and naturally formed the core of local opposition to Sivaji's further advance at the cost of their common sovereign, the Adil Sah. But Sivaji by a daring combination of diplomacy and rapid movement resulting in the killing of the two leading More chieftains, seized their capital (15th January 1656) and annexed the whole principality, including the rock fortress of Rayagad, which was to be his future capital. Two miles west of Javli he built a new fort, Pratapgad, and here he installed his patron goddess Bhavani.

A few months later, Aurangzeb invaded Bijapur on the plea that Ali Adil Sah II, was not a genuine prince of the royal house. A famous captain like Sivaji could not be ignored by any side in such a crisis, and he received tempting offers from both. In the end he felt it more profitable to side with Bijapur and enrich himself than to join the Moghals, who were too deceitful to be relied upon and too strong to be defied afterwards.

Two of Sivaji's captains, Manaji Bhosle and Kasi, crossed the Bhima and plundered Camargonda and Raisin, then in Moghal hands (end of April 1657). An attempt to loot the *peth*

of Ahmadnagar was defeated, but Sivaji in person entered the city of Junnar by escalade on a dark night (30th April) and carried away an immense amount of booty. The Maratha plunder in the Ahmadnagar district was stopped by a rapid march and great victory of the Moghal general Nasiri Khan on 4th June. Then began counter raids by the Moghal cavalry into Sivaji's own possessions. Then the monsoon stopped the fighting.

When in September the Bijapur Government made peace with Aurangzeb, Sivaji decided to conciliate the Moghals. His envoy Raghunath Pant met Aurangzeb (25th January 1658) and secured a letter of pardon for the Maratha chief. Aurangzeb then set out on his march to Hindustan to fight for his father's throne, and for two years after the Moghal power merely bided its time in the Deccan, while a jealous quarrel among the Bijapuri nobles about responsibility for their defeat in the recent war with Aurangzeb, led to the murder of the good Prime Minister, Khan Muhammad (11th November 1657) and deranged the Adil Sahi administration.

The field was clear, and Sivaji was not slow to rush into it. As soon as the rains ceased he burst into Konkan. The northern part of this coast-strip formed the Kalyan or modern Thana district, and was governed by a Bijapuri noble, Mulla Ahmad of the Navayat clan. In the absence of the governor at Bijapur, Sivaji easily seized Kalyan and Bhivandi (24 October 1657), and next the fort of Mahul (8 January 1658), once Sahaji's last refuge. Then, having set up his own administration in the Kalyan district, he pushed southwards into the Kolaba district, as far as the neighbourhood of Mahad, where he stopped. Thus he became master of the whole of North Konkan except the sea-ports and the adjacent lands on the west coast, which still belonged to Bijapur, the Siddis, and the Portuguese. The country southwards from Mahad was won later.

During the years 1658 and 1659 the war among Shah Jahan's sons for the throne of Delhi kept the Moghal Government too busy to attend to the Deccan. The Adil Sahi court seized this respite to bring its rebel vassals to order. An army was detached to suppress Sivaji. Its commander was Afzal Khan (original name Abdullah Bhatiari) who had shown conspicuous courage and ability in his master's wars, and now occupied the foremost place in the council of the regent queen Bari Sahiba. But the recent invasion of Bijapur by Aurangzeb had so weakened that Government that only ten thousand horse and foot could be spared to follow Afzal Khan in this arduous enterprise.

As early as April 1659, the Bijapur Government sent a circular letter to the *desmukhs* of Maval to join their forces to Afzal Khan's and help him in overpowering Sivaji. Some of them responded to the command, but a few also yielded to Sivaji's appeal in the name of Hindu independence to side with him. Leaving Bijapur at the end of the monsoons, Afzal Khan first raised money by sacking the famous Hindu temples and demolishing their idols, at Pandharpur Jejuri and Tuljapur (September). Then marching towards Wai, the seat of his *subhedari* he seized the chief of Phaltan and extorted

2½ lakhs of rupees from him, and let terror and sacrilege loose on Sivaji's possessions. As the official history of Adil Sah records "The Khan's cavalry rode over the country of Siva. Many of the enemy were slain, and the rest fled into holes".

Sivaji immediately withdrew from Poona and took post with all his troops in the broken and wooded Javli district, whence it was impossible for Afzal Khan to expel him by force. The Khan's new policy was to lure Sivaji into a trap and then seize or kill him. He sent his steward Krsnaji Bhaskar to Sivaji, with this message; "Your father has long been a great friend of mine. Come and meet me and I shall use my influence to make Adil Sah pardon you and confirm you in the possession of the forts and Konkan territory that you have seized".

Sivaji was in a terrible dilemma as to how he should reply to Afzal Khan, who had established a reputation for treachery and atrocity; he had slain Kasturi Ranga, the Raja of Sera, after inviting him to a conference for making surrender (1639) and was implicated in the murder of the Vazir Khan Muhammad when coming to wait on the dowager Queen of Bijapur. Besides, it was widely known and even reported to the English merchants of Rajapur, that "because the Queen knew, with that strength (only 10,000 men) he was not able to resist Sivaji, she had counselled him to pretend friendship with his enemy, which he did." *

Sivaji also learnt through his own spies among Afzal Khan's officers that the Khan meant to arrest him by treachery. So, he made up his mind to fight in self defence, rather than yield to such delusive calls of friendship.

With masterly cleverness he completed his arrangements for turning his enemy's weapon against him. He agreed to visit Bijapur and make his submission if only Afzal Khan first gave him a personal assurance of safety. It was settled that the two chiefs should meet in a tent pitched below the fort of Pratapgad, leaving their troops behind, and there exchange oaths of submission and protection.

On 10th November 1659, Afzal Khan was the first to reach the tent ; Sivaji arrived after some time, both very slenderly attended. Sivaji mounted the raised platform, the Khan advanced a few steps and opened his arms to receive him in his embrace. Suddenly, Afzal tightened his clasp and held Sivaji's neck in his left arm with an iron grip, while with his right hand he drew his short straight sword and struck at the side of Sivaji. The hidden chain armour under the Maratha chief's coat rendered the blow harmless. Feeling himself about to be strangled, Sivaji promptly ripped open the bowels of the Khan with the steel tigers' claws which were fastened to his left hand with iron rings. As the wounded man relaxed his hold, Sivaji drove his thin sharp dagger into his body, wrested himself free, and ran away to his own followers standing below. Afzal's head was cut off and his few attendants killed.

* Revington's letter to the E. I. Co., 10th December 1659.

Then, running up to Pratapgad, Sivaji fired a signal gun. At once his troops lying in ambush round the source of the Koyna fell upon the panic—stricken leaderless soldiers of Afzal, encamped carelessly in the low valley. The invaders were easily routed and all their camp and baggage plundered by the Marathas.

Then the victorious Marathas poured into South Konkan and the Kolhapur district, capturing many places including the fort of Panhala (December 1659—February 1660). But here he was promptly besieged by the Bijapuri general Siddi Jauhar (created Salabat Khan) and compelled to make a hair-breadth escape in the dark night of 13th July. His garrison yielded the fort on 22nd September to Adil Sah.

Regular war with the Moghals.

Aurangzeb, after being firmly seated on the throne of Delhi, sent Saista Khan, one of his highest generals, as Governor of the Deccan, to suppress Sivaji. This noble entered Poona on 9th May 1660, after brushing aside the Maratha opposition on the way. Then he took the fort of Cakan after a siege of 54 days, but at a cost of 868 men killed and wounded on his own side (15 August). Early next year he wrested parts of the Kalyan district from Sivaji's men. Though his lieutenant Kartalb Khan was surprised and defeated at Umbarkhind (3 February 1661), Saista Khan recovered Kalyan itself in May. But Sivaji remained master of the southern part of the coast down to Danda-Rajpuri.

On 5th April 1663, Sivaji struck a blow which created as much terror and bewilderment among the Moghal soldiery as his slaying of Afzal Khan had done at the Adil Sahi court. In that dark night, with only 200 men he noiselessly penetrated into Saista Khan's harem in Poona surprised and wounded him and retired in safety. In the scuffle one son and one captain as well as forty attendants and six wives and slave-girls of the Khan were killed and the Khan himself had his fingers cut off. The Marathas lost only six men killed. Henceforth, supernatural powers were ascribed to Sivaji; no place was believed to be proof against his entrance and no feat impossible for him.

Aurangzeb in anger transferred Saista Khan to Bengal; (December), but while the change of Subhedars was taking place at Aurangabad, the capital of Moghal Deccan, Sivaji crowned his success by the sack of the city of Surat (6th—10th January 1664). With marvellous rapidity and secrecy, he made long marches and quite unexpectedly appeared before Surat on 6th January. No defence was offered, the governor and some chief men took refuge, in the fort, leaving the whole city to be pillaged by the Marathas at ease, only the English and the Dutch factory-houses were saved by, the valour and gun fire of those foreigners. The city, consisting mostly of grass huts and wooden cottages, was three-fourths burnt down. The plunder yielded him above a crore of rupees, as he "scorned to carry away anything but gold, silver, pearls, and diamonds and precious ware".

Throughout the year (1664) Sivaji reigned triumphant and ranged over the South Coast and Bijapur territory without a check.

As the English merchants reported, "He is very nimble and active, imposing strange labour upon himself, he flies to and fro with incredible dexterity. Report hath made him an airy body and added wings, or else it were impossible he could be at so many places as he is said to be at all at one time".

The new viceroy of Moghal Deccan, Prince Muazzam, was a sluggard and so was his lieutenant Jaswant Singh of Marwar. Their siege of Sinhgad failed (May). So, Aurangzeb sent his ablest Hindu and Muslim generals, Mirza Rajah Jai Singh of Amber and Dilir Khan, to put down Sivaji.

By rapid marches Jai Singh arrived from North India, and reached Poona on 3rd March 1665, relieving Jasvant Singh the Moghal commander there. With marvellous foresight and skill and combination and promptitude of blows, he immediately set out on the campaign which he brought to a happy end in three months only, before the monsoon rains could start and enforce suspension of fighting. His clever diplomacy kept Bijapur back from assisting the Maratha chief, and united all the enemies of Siva on his side. Seductive offers were made to Siva's followers to desert him, and above all Jai Singh combined all power in his own hands to pursue his objective with singleness of aim, as the road to success.

Leaving Poona only ten days after his arrival, he reached his base between Sasvad and Purandar (only four miles from the latter) on 31st March, and immediately laid siege to Purandar fort, where the families of Sivaji's officers were sheltered.

Purandar is a double fort, with a crest 4564 feet above sea-level, and a lower fort or *maci* on a broad ledge round the waist of the hill, 300 feet below the crest, and four miles long in its winding circuit. From its north-eastern corner runs a spur for a mile eastwards in a narrow ridge ending with the outwork called Rudra-mal (now Vajragad). This Vajragad commands the *maci* on its northern face where the garrison lived, and Jai Singh decided to capture it first, so as to make the *maci* untenable by gunfire from Vajragad.

By incessant bombardment, the Moghals demolished one tower of Vajragad; Dilir Khan's Pathans stormed the lower end, and forced the garrison to capitulate (14th April). Fire was opened from the position thus won, upon the *maci* of Purandar, while Jai Singh's flying columns ranged through the Maratha country, plundering the villages and preventing relief from coming to Purandar. The Maratha efforts to raise the siege were many, but they failed in the end. Advancing along the spur, Dilir Khan laid siege to the *maci* and on 30th May stormed the White Tower, and two days later the Black Tower that guarded the entrance to the *maci*. Already Murar Baji Prabhu, the gallant *Killedar*, had fallen with 300 of his Mavle infantry in making a desperate sortie upon Dilir Khan's trenches.

Purandar was now doomed. And Sivaji very wisely, decided to make the best term he could by a personal visit to Jai Singh. Of the interview between these two great historic personages we have

graphic contemporary accounts in Jai Singh's Persian despatches to the Emperor and the Memoirs of Niccolao Manucci, a Venetian gunner in the camp of Jai Singh. *

The meeting took place on 11th June and Sivaji spent a couple of days there as Jai Singh's guest, while the terms were being settled., Jai Singh knew the strength of his own position and his pressure was inexorable. By the Treaty of Purandar, signed on 12th June 1665, Sivaji agreed :—

(1) To cede to the Moghals 23 of his forts with their adjacent lands yielding four lakhs of *hon* a year.

(2) To retain only 12 of his forts and their lands of the annual value of one lakh of *hon*.

(3) To serve the Delhi Government as a loyal vassal, by sending a contingent of 5000 horse under some officer of his own, to fight in the Emperor's wars, these to be paid for by the assignment of a suitable *jagir* from the Moghals.

In addition, Jai Singh made a secret engagement with Sivaji, by which the Delhi Government promised to confirm Sivaji in the possession of lands worth four lakhs of *hon* a year in the Konkan lawlands (Payin-ghat), and five lakhs in the uplands (*Balaghat*) after he had himself conquered them from Adil Sah, provided that he paid to the emperor a *nazarana* of forty lakhs of *hon* in thirteen annual instalments.

So, Purandar was surrendered to the Moghals, on 12th June and the other forts followed. What Sivaji retained included Rajgad, Rairi (Rayagad), Pratapgad, Javli, and Vardhangad. The Moghals gained possession of Purandar, Sinhgad, Lohgad, Mahuli, Kohij, Songad, etc., besides retaining Poona, Kalyan, Trimbak, Cakan and Sivner (Junnar) which they had seized earlier.

Sivaji allied to the Moghals.

After closing the war with Sivaji, Jai Singh set out on the invasion of Bijapur on 19th November 1665. Under the terms of the Treaty of Purandar, Sivaji accompanied him with a contingent of 2000 Maratha horse and 7000 Mavle infantry. At first the advance was unresisted, and the Bijapuri forts on the way, Phaltan, Thathvada, Khatav and Mangalvedhe, were easily gained by the Moghals. The first battle took place on 25th December, when a detachment under Dilir Khan and Sivaji advanced ten miles from Jai Singh's camp and rought a Bijapuri army under Sarza Khan, Khavas Khan, Jadav Rav of Kalyani, and Vyankoji (the step-brother of Sivaji). The Deccanis evaded the charges of the heavy cavalry of Delhi, but harassed them by their " Cossack tactics " of loose fighting. The enemy retired at the end of the day, but as soon as the Moghal detachment set out to return to their camp, the Bijapuris turned back and galled them from the rear and the wings.

* Storia do Mogor, ii, 136.

After two days, Jai Singh resumed his march, and on the 28th fought another battle of the same kind, with the same result. On 29th December, he arrived within 12 miles of Bijapur, and came to a halt, as the country round had been devastated by the Bijapuris the wells filled and all trees cut down. A Bijapuri detachment under the famous general Sarza Khan was raiding the Moghal dominions in Jai Singh's rear. It was impossible to take Bijapur fort by siege or corruption of the Adil Sahi nobles. So, Jai Singh in despair, began his retreat on 25th January 1666.

He sent Sivaji to make a diversion on the west by trying to wrest Panhala from Adil Sahi hands. On 16th January, Sivaji delivered an assault on Panhala, three hours before sunrise. But the surprise failed, the garrison offered a stubborn defence, and Sivaji had to retire baffled after sacrificing a thousand of his men on the hillside. For this result, Netaji Palkar's failure to turn up at the right time and attack his sector of the fort was responsible, and he was punished by dismissal from his post of Sivaji's Master of the Horse (*sar-i-laskar*) or second-in-command. The degraded officer at once went over to the Bijapuri side and began to raid Moghal territory. But Jai Singh lured him back (20th March) with large promises of reward. The Marathas had no further part in Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur, which ended in complete failure; not a single fort taken by him during his advance remained in Moghal hands at its end. After much indecisive moving about, Mirza Raja died broken down and in disgrace, at Burhanpur on his way back to Delhi (28th August 1667).

Jai Singh had persuaded Aurangzeb to adopt the policy of inviting Sivaji to visit the Emperor in person and there conciliating him with high favours, so that in future he might be always on the Moghal side and counteract the alliance between Bijapur and Golkonda for wresting the Moghal territorial gains in the Deccan, because Sivaji's adhesion would have made such an anti-Moghal confederacy invincible. With many promises of high gains in territory and dignity as the gift of the Emperor, Jai Singh at last induced the Maratha chief to pay that visit to the imperial Court at Agra, which ended in completely revolutionising the destiny of the Maratha race.

The recently discovered Jaipur State records in the Rajasthani dialect and Jai Singh's full Persian correspondence which Jadunath Sarkar was the first to bring to light, have entirely set aside the hitherto prevalent story of this historic visit to Agra. In the light of the most authentic contemporary evidence, we see that it began as a comedy of errors due to Rajput incompetence but developed into a tragedy through Aurangzeb's crooked policy; thus the honest and highly politic plan of Jai Singh in which the journey originated was nullified, and Sivaji was turned into an eternal enemy of the Moghals.

After making masterly arrangements for the safety of his territories during his absence and their orderly administration even if

he were treacherously arrested or killed, Sivaji left Rajgad on 5th March and arrived one stage short of Agra on 11th May 1666. He was to have been presented to Aurangzeb at that Emperor's birthday *darbar* in the morning of the 12th. But owing to his host Kumar Ram Singh Kachva's bungling, there was confusion in the customary arrangements for welcoming him by advancing (*istiqbul*) and he met the Kumar in the heart of city, at noon, after the public *darbar* in Agra fort-palace had broken up, and there was no time left for instructing him in Court etiquette. Ram Singh, in order not to miss this auspicious day, hurried Sivaji on to Agra fort, where the Emperor was now holding the select Audience (*Divan-i-Khas*).

Sivaji was presented to the Emperor, who received his gifts but said not one word of welcome in return. Then the Maratha chief was led back from before the throne and made to stand in the third row of nobles, the *five-hazaris*, even behind Jasvant Singh. He felt so much humiliated that he angrily protested to Ram Singh, ran away from the presence to a corner behind the pillars, and refused to accept a Moghal *mansab*. His wrangle with Ram Singh who tried in vain to pacify him, created a disturbance in the Court, and threw Sivaji himself into a fever. So, the Emperor told Ram Singh to take Sivaji back to his tent, without a formal leave-taking, and there pacify him.

Immediately after this strange scene, the Court-party opposed to Jai Singh, the nobles who had suffered from Sivaji's aggressions, and even the Emperor's aunt and eldest sister combined to urge Aurangzeb to punish Sivaji for his rudeness and thus avenge Saista Khan. Aurangzeb's inner council induced him to accept the policy of either killing Sivaji or confining him in a fortress. But Jai Singh's solemn promise to Sivaji that he would be allowed to return home in safety and Kumar Ram Singh's insistence that he himself should be killed first before Sivaji was harmed, stayed the Emperor's hands, and he wrote to Jai Singh to learn what promises that Raja had actually made to Sivaji. In the meantime, Sivaji was kept in detention in charge of Ram Singh, but with a guard of the Agra police-prefect's men round his tents.

Finding that he had nothing to hope for from the justice or generosity of the Emperor or his ministers, Sivaji turned to effecting his own deliverance. He sent home most of the officers and escort that he had brought with himself to Agra, and then in the night of 19th August escaped from his tent with his son Sambhaji (a boy of nine) concealed in big baskets of sweets which he had been daily sending out for distribution to holy men. By moving in the disguise of an Hindu ascetic, with breathless speed, through unfamiliar jungle routes, he reached his home in safety, but there fell ill from the effect of the privations he had to undergo during his flight.

For full three years after his return from Agra (1667, 1668 and 1669), Sivaji's lived very quietly, and in peace with the Moghals. He used this respite to organise his government, provision and repair

his forts, and consolidate and extend his power on the western coast, at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis. Prince Muazzam, the new viceroy of Moghal Deccan, was an indolent pleasure-seeker. Sivaji appealed to the Prince's favourite Jasvant Singh to become his patron, and at their recommendation Aurangzeb recognised Sivaji as a Raja and a loyal vassal (early 1668). A Maratha contingent under Pratap Rav joined the Moghal prince at Aurangabad. The peace was broken at the end of 1669 by Aurangzeb's confiscation of Sivaji's new *jagirs* in Berar, and his secret orders to seize Sivaji's son when attending Muazzam's court at Aurangabad as his father's deputy.

Sivaji opened his offensive with great vigour and immediate success, as the Moghal power in the Deccan was paralysed by a deadly quarrel between Prince Muazzam and his chief general Dilir Khan. In March 1670, the English factors at Surat wrote, "Sivaji marches now not as before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes". He recovered many of the forts he had ceded to the Moghals by the Treaty of Purandar, especially Kondana, in capturing which the gallant Tanaji Malusare fell (4th February 1670). In October he looted Surat a second time, carrying off 66 lakhs of rupees worth of booty. When returning from Surat with his plunder, he was intercepted by Daud Khan between Vani and Dindori (17th October), and an obstinate battle was fought with heavy loss on both sides; Ikhlas Khan Miana was wounded here.

The Marathas flushed with victory burst into all directions. The Pesva recovered the fort of Trimbak; Pratap Rav (Sivaji's commander-in-chief) captured Ahivant and three other forts in the Candor range, and made a daring and successful raid into Khandes and Berar, looting Bahadurpura (two miles from Burhanpur) and Karinja, a city famous for its countless wealth, from which a crore worth of booty was carried off. Moro Trimbak Pingle at the same time raided West Khandes and Baglana; Salhir, the chief fort of Baglana was taken (c 5th January 1671). But next month the Moghals recovered Ahivant from the Marathas.

After the recess of the monsoon months, Aurangzeb's new generals Bahadur Khan and Dilir replaced the slow Mahabat Khan. Dilir seized Poona and massacred all its inhabitants above the age of 9 years (end of December 1671). But the Moghal force besieging Salhir was defeated with heavy slaughter, and all its camp and baggage taken by Pratap Rav and the Pesva, and soon afterwards Mulhir was captured, completing Sivaji's conquest of Baglana, (February 1672).

Then the energies of the Marathas overflowed into the *Koli* country or Kolvan; here the Javhar and Ramnagar (Dharampur) States were conquered (June-July 1672), thus giving Sivaji a short and easy route from Kalyan up North Konkan to Surat. That great port now became subject to constant extortion by Maratha armies, while the Nasik district no longer remained safe for the Moghals.

In November of this year, Sivaji's cavalry made a lightning raid into Berar and Telangana, the Moghal forces being baffled in their attempt to come up with them. But in the end the invaders were expelled without having been able to gain much (December).

Ali Adil Sah II died on 24th November 1672 and soon afterwards the government of Bijapur fell into weakness and disorder, which Sivaji fully utilised. He took Panhala (6th March 1673) and Satara (27th July), while Pratap Rav Gujar raided the inland parts of Bijapur Kanara, looting Hubli and many other rich cities. Sivaji himself, at the head of a vast army, plundered and occupied Kanara, (October—December 1673). The Moghal viceroy could do nothing serious, and the rising of the Khaibar Pass Afghan clans called away Aurangzeb himself from Delhi (April 1674), leaving his Deccan representative without hope of support. Sivaji seized this political lull to crown himself, as a sovereign king, on 6th June 1674.

Conquest of West Kanara Coast.

Sivaji's annexation of the Kanara coast was effected in 1675, but it had been preceded by many years of raiding and small local conquests. After the fall of Afzal Khan, he had first pushed into the Ratnagiri district, but spared Rajapur port, as belonging to his family friend Rustam-i-Zaman (1660). It was however occupied on 3rd March 1661, and so also was Kharepatan. All the country northwards, forming the petty State of Sringarpur was now annexed by him. Desultory fighting followed for some years. In 1663, he made a dash to Vengurla by way of Kolhapur and Kudal, exacting blackmail but giving the local people his safe assurances. Vengurla was held by a garrison of his own (June). Throughout the second half of 1664 Adil Sah renewed his attack on Bednur, and the coast region was disturbed, which enabled Sivaji to reign victoriously and uncontrolled, daily increasing in strength.

Lakham Savant, the chief of Kudal, had earlier made peace by accepting Sivaji's vassalage, but he now conspired with the Bijapuri General Khavas Khan to recover his principality. In the first battle, early in October 1664, Khavas repulsed Sivaji after a bloody contest. Sivaji, however, turned aside to intercept, defeat and kill Baji Ghorpade, the chief of Mudhol, who was bringing reinforcements to Khavas, and then sacked the town of Mudhol, massacring all the Ghorpades found there (end of October). Khavas fled away from Kudal and Banda, and Sivaji burst into the Savantvadi district, the petty *desais* of which were driven into Goa territory for refuge, and the country placed under a *desai* loyal to Sivaji. He next plundered Vengurla and Hubli (December). None could check him in his conquering and plundering career in this region. On 8th February 1665, he embarked at Malvan in his fleet and sacked Basrur (Barcelore), the chief port of the Bednur kingdom, but spared

Karvar for a contribution. Indecisive fighting went on for some years afterwards, the places frequently changing hands between Sivaji and the Bijapuri barons.

In 1673, Sivaji made his second incursion into the upland of Bijapuri Kanara; Pratap Rav sacked Hubli (May). Bahlol Khan the Bijapuri general, was enveloped at Umrani (15 April) but bought a safe retreat from Pratap Rav. Next year Pratap Rav was killed in making a rash charge on Bahlol Khan with only six horsemen at Nesari (24th February 1674), but Anand Rav rallied the Maratha army, raided Sampganv (20 miles from Bankapur), and defeated Bahlol Khan in March. The Adil Sahis were able to expel the Marathas from the Karvar country. Sivaji himself set out on Dasara day (10 October 1673), with a vast force, robbed many rich towns, including Bankapur and reached Kadra, but was defeated and forced to evacuate Kanara, early in December. But in April next (1674) Sivaji was back in the Karvar country and kept his hold on Kudal. In 1675, Sivaji took the frontier fort of Phonda from Bijapuri hands after a hard fought siege (8th April—6th May) in consequence of which all the Karvar district as far south as the Gangavati river, passed from Bijapuri possession into Maratha hands. The Bednur Rani promised Sivaji an annual tribute. His possession of South Konkan and North Kanara remained unchallenged till his death.

Sivaji celebrated his coronation in June 1674 with full Hindu ceremonials, at a cost of nearly fifty lakhs of rupees, mostly in the form of money gifts and other presents to holy Brahmins and his own ministers, and charity to nearly fifty thousand Brahmins assembled in Rayagad for four months. There were two coronations on different dates, celebrated according to Vedic rites by Gaga Bhatta and Balam Bhatta and according to Tantrik rites by Niscal Puri. The significance of the coronation lay in Sivaji's assertion of the claim that the Bhosles were pure *Ksatriyas* entitled to all the privileges of the twice-born castes, and that he was a suzerain monarch (*Cakravarti*, *Chatrapati*) and no longer the vassal of any other Power, Adilsah or the *Padsah*. The performance of the long forgotten *Vedic* ritual was a trumpet blast informing the Indian world that a Hindu Svaraj was born once more.

Sivaji's Conquest of Eastern Karnatak.

The war in the Deccan having now receded to the South, Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar were found to be posts too far north to serve as a convenient base for the Moghals. So, the new viceroy Bahadur Khan (1672-1677) encamped at Pedganv on the Bhima eight miles south of Camargonda, where permanent cantonments grew up, to which the name of Bahadurgad was given.

After the death of Ali Adil Sah II (1672), the Bijapur government rapidly broke up, the boy Sultan was a puppet and factious nobles quarrelled for monopolising power and wealth. The Moghal Subhedar found it more profitable to side with one or other of these Adil Sahi factions than to face the risky and difficult duty of fighting Sivaji. The Maratha King's clever diplomacy by secretly bribing Bahadur Khan

ensured Moghal neutrality for some years; while Bijapur was paralysed and Golkonda became his ally. Seizing this opportunity, Sivaji made his grandest conquest, that of the Eastern Karnatak.

The dominions of the fallen Vijaynagar empire in that quarter had been mostly seized by Adil Sah and Qutb Sah. Bijapur had annexed northern and eastern Mysore, and the Madras Plain from the Palar river southwards to the Kolerun, i.e., from Vellore to 20 miles north of Tafijore, while Golkonda had seized the country north of the Palar river, namely from Cicacole to Madras. South of the Kolerun lay the kingdoms of Tanjore (conquered by Sivaji's step brother Vyankoji in 1675) and Madura. The Qutb Sahi minister Madanna Pandit, planned to conquer Bijapur Karnatak with the help of Sivaji, and a secret alliance between the two sovereigns was arranged by Sivaji's envoy, Pralhad Niraji.

Leaving his capital at the beginning of 1677, Sivaji reached Hyderabad early in February, maintaining strict discipline among his vast army and preventing any robbery or molestation of the villagers on the way. He was welcomed by Abul Hasan Qutb Sah, and during a month's stay at Hyderabad made an offensive and defensive alliance with that Government, according to which the Sultan agreed to pay him a subsidy of four and a half lakhs of rupees a month and assist him with a contingent of 5,000 horsemen and some guns and ammunitions to co-operate in the conquest of the Karnatak. In return Sivaji promised to his ally such parts of his conquests as had not formerly belonged to his father Sahaji. For defending him against the Moghals, Qutb Sah promised to the Marathas one lakh of *hon* every year.

Descending into the Madras plains, Sivaji took the strong fort of Jinji by treaty with its Bijapuri Governor Nasir Muhammad Khan (May), promising him a money compensation, and laid siege to Vellore (which was yielded to him for a price as late as August 1678). As the Maratha incursion swept over the country, only a few fortified places offered any resistance, the rich men every where fleeing to the woods or to the European trading cities on the coast. Ser Khan Lodi, the Adil Sahi Governor of the North Trichinopoly district (with his capital at Vali-Kandapuram), was defeated in battle (20th June) and forced to give up all his territories. Then marching to Tirumala vadi, on the north bank of the Kolerun river, Sivaji halted and called his brother to an interview with him. Vyankoji came, but rejecting Sivaji's claim for the surrender of three-fourths of what Sahaji had left at the time of his death, the Tanjore Raja cleverly escaped to his own dominions (22nd July). Finally, in November, Sivaji set out on his return, exacting money from every place on his way, and leaving an army under Santaji Bhosle to administer his new conquests. He reached Panhala at the beginning of April 1678.

The territory annexed by Sivaji in the course of this expedition covered an area of 180 miles by 120 miles, with 86 forts and

a revenue of 44 lakhs of rupees; Jinji was the seat of its Governor. On his return journey he took easy possession of his father's *Jagir* districts of Kolar, Uskota, Bangalore, Balapur and Sera, in the eastern and central parts of modern Mysore. These latter areas were, however, restored to his brother Vyankoji a year later, as a friendly act.

Soon after his return from the East Coast, Sivaji had a rupture with the Golkonda Government. Qutb Sah had borne all the expenses of this expedition, but Sivaji had not kept his promise by giving him a single one of the forts conquered there, nor shared the fabulous booty of that land of gold. So, the Sultan of Golkonda arranged a mutual arrangement among the ministers of Bijapur and helped them with funds to prepare for a war to "confine Siva to Konkan". But this anti-Maratha coalition was broken up; the slothful Bahadur Khan had been replaced by that active and unyielding enemy of Sivaji, Dilir Khan, who wrongly decided to capture Bijapur in alliance with the Afghan faction at the capital, instead of crushing Sivaji first by the united forces of the three Muslim Powers.

Sivaji's eldest son, Sambhaji was a brave but capricious, selfwilled and depraved youth, and his father had to detain him under watch in Parali fort. If we can believe the story told later by the poet Kavindra of Nevasa, who was an eulogist of Sahu Chatrapati, Sivaji had been instigated by his wife Soyra Bai to grant Maharashtra and the old dominions to her son Rajaram (a boy of ten) and offer the newly conquered and unsettled Karnatak territory to Sambhaji as his heritage, and Sambhaji naturally objected to it. Dilir Khan, knowing of the division of Sivaji's ministers into two factions for the rival heirs, sent secret messages to Sambhaji and induced that prince to escape from Parali to the Moghal Camp (13th December 1678).

With his new Ally Dilir Khan stormed the fort of Bhopalgad (45 miles south-west of Pandharpur) where Sivaji's stores and the families of his chief subjects were lodged for safety (2nd April 1679), and treated the prisoners with brutal ferocity. At the end of the rains, he opened his invasion of Bijapur whose Vazir Siddi Masaud made a defensive pact with Sivaji. The invasion was a failure and Dilir had to retire in disgrace. Even Sambhaji was induced to return to his father (4th December).

In November Sivaji effectually helped the defence of Bijapur by raiding Moghal territory in the rear of Dilir Khan, with 18,000 horsemen, plundering and burning all the places on the way. At Jalna his troopers sacked the hermitage of the Muslim Saint Sayyad Jan Muhammad, where the property of the rich men of that city had been deposited for safety. As the Marathas, loaded with booty, were retreating they were enveloped by Moghal pursuers under Ranmast Khan and Kesari Singh, but escaped after fighting bloody rearguard actions and fleeing through hill-tracks for three days and nights.

After reaching Rayagad (early in December), Sivaji tried to reform Sambhaji by persuasion, but found it necessary to continue his detention at Panhala.

On 4th April 1680, Sivaji died after a short illness, when still in his 53rd year.

Sivaji's achievements and character.

The Maratha State, backed by the nation, was the creation of Sivaji. The secret of his success lay in his inborn genius for action and leadership and the nobility of his character. His conduct was marked by a high standard of morality, and he remained throughout life abstemious, free from vice, and devoted to religion. As a king he extended his toleration and bounty to all sects, opened the public service to talent regardless of caste or creed, and ensured efficiency and purity of administration. A new vista of expansion and glory was opened to all able men of the country. He had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a spell over all who knew him, choosing the best instruments by an unflinching judgment of his servants' characters. No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times.

At the time of his death, Sivaji's kingdom included all the country (excepting the Portuguese possessions) from Ramnagar to Karvar; its eastern boundary embraced Baglana in the north and then ran southwards through the middle of the Nasik and Poona districts, encircling the whole of the Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts. These formed the natural expansion of his "Old Dominions" or '*Svaraj*'. A recent but permanent acquisition was the Western Karnatak or the Kanarese-speaking country from Belganv to the Tungabhadra opposite Bellary. East of this last province he had conquered a large slice of the Eastern Karnatak from Koppal to Vellore and Jinji, or much of modern Mysore and portions of the Madras districts of Bellary, Citter and Arcot, which was ruled by a viceroy at Jinji.

Outside these parts of his kingdom, there was a wide belt of neighbouring territory, where his army invaded every year after the *Dasara* day and exacted tribute (called *Khandani* or *Cauth*), because popularly calculated at one-fourth of the land-revenue). It was his policy that his soldiers should "feed themselves at the expense of foreign parts for eight months in the year".

Sivaji was a statesman and not a mere conqueror. We obtain a vivid picture of his civil administration and military organisation in the *Adnyapatra* of the *Amatya* and the *Sabhasad Bakhar*. His council of eight ministers (*Asta Pradhan*) consisted of the *Pesva* (President), *Mujumdar* (Auditor-General), *Vaqenavis* or *Vaqnis* (Court Diarist), *Surnis* (Secretariat Superintendent), *Dabir* (Minister for Foreign Relations), *Senapati* (Commander-in-Chief), *Pandit Rav* (Ecclesiastical head), and *Nyayadhis* (Chief Justice). It was in no

sense a Cabinet, and hardly a Council, because it very seldom met all together, and the king consulted the ministers, when he chose, only individually, except in great crises, which were rare (when it acted like the Privy Council of England on a king's demise). Each Pradhan was only a departmental head.

Reign of Sambhaji.

1680-1689.

After the death of Sivaji at Rayagad Annaji *Surnis* and other ministers crowned his second son Rajaram there (21 April 1680). But the army chiefs under Hambir Rav Mohite refused to obey this boy of ten who was a mere puppet in the hands of a ministerial faction; they went over to Sambhaji, who seized control of Panhala fort, and coming to Rayagad gained peaceful possession of the capital (18 June). The leaders of the party against him were at first imprisoned, but later released. In August 1681, a dangerous conspiracy to murder Sambhaji and give the throne to Rajaram was detected and relentlessly suppressed; Annaji Datto, Balaji Avji Prabhu and a few other officers were executed for complicity. Sivaji's widow Soyra Bai, the mother of Rajaram died in prison either by suicide or poisoning.

Thus the able and experienced local men trained by Sivaji were excluded from his son's Government, and Sambhaji fell under the influence of a Kanauji Brahman, on whom he conferred the title of Kavi-kalas (the Pinnacle of Poets), as his only faithful adherent. By this *vazir's* advice the Raja became a worshipper of the Tantrik cult, and the birth of an heir to him (Sahu, on 18, May 1682) after the adoration of the goddess Kali, confirmed the dominance of Kavi-Kalas over the Raja's mind. This sect was abominated by nearly all the Brahmans of Maharashtra, and as a result the reign of Sambhaji was disturbed by frequent plots against him. This is attested by the records of the English merchants of Bombay and the French of Pondicherry.

Hence, the reign of Sambhaji was a period of arrested growth for the Maratha State. Its inner strength was paralysed by the mortal antagonism between Sambhaji's followers and Rajaram's partisans. And this internal weakness was utilised by Aurangzeb, who was present in person in the Deccan with all his best generals and forces. This nearness of his enemy imposed caution on Sambhaji's movements, except westwards, against the Siddis and the Portuguese. Bijapur and Golkonda were now too weak to help him, and soon ceased to exist as independent States.

Sambhaji's troops only carried out the customary raids into Moghal territory wherever they could, every year after *Dasara*, but these sporadic activities were mechanical and did not lead to any extension of his State, nor even its strength. At the end of January 1681,

they looted the suburbs of Burhanpur for three days, digging up the floors of the houses for buried treasure, without any obstruction. In October an attempt to enter Ahmadnagar was defeated.

Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, rebelled against his father in Rajputana, but being defeated fled away from Ajmer to Sambhaji for shelter. He reached Pali (ten miles east of Nagothna) on 1st June 1681, and was hospitably entertained by Sambhaji, who visited him on 13th November. But even with such a valuable pawn in his hands, Sambhaji could do nothing against the Moghal empire. Akbar was a proud, thoughtless, self-indulgent youth, and Sambhaji could never trust him. None of their plans for invading North India or Rajputana in Aurangzeb's absence matured, as the interests of the two allies were not the same. At last, weary of Sambhaji's inaction, Akbar in anger went off to the Goa frontier and lived at Banda (in Savantvadi) and then at Bicolim (which was then a Maratha territory), trying to sail to Persia in a Portuguese ship. Kavi Kalas and Durgadas placated him with fresh promises of Maratha support, and in Sambhaji's war with Goa the Moghal prince acted as a peace-maker (1684). He spent a whole year at Sakharpe (in the Ratnagiri district) and Malkapur and finally left India," in utter despair, in February 1687 for Persia, where he died in exile (November 1704).

Leaving Rajputana in the middle of the year 1681 after patching up a peace, Aurangzeb arrived in the Deccan at Burhanpur, on 13th November, and took post at Aurangabad on 22nd March next year, directing the operations of all his forces. He thus served as a constant check on any grand design of the Marathas. Up to the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda (1686 and 1687) his war with the Marathas went on languidly with no decisive result.

While Sambhaji was busy personally bombarding Janjira (1682), a Moghal force under Sayyad Hasan Ali Khan descended from Junnar into North Konkan and took possession of Kalyan, burning all the Maratha villages on the way. Sahabuddin Khan (afterwards created Firuz Jang) laid siege to Ramsej (April), but failed after repeated attempts, and at last the siege was raised in October. Ranmast Khan reoccupied North Konkan (November) defeating the Pesva and Rupaji Bhosle in many battles. Prince Azam invaded Maharashtra from the east, and once in his absence his heroic wife Jahanzeb Banu inspired her Rajput escort under Anurudh Singh Hada to defeat the Marathas in a great battle, in which 900 Rajputs fell and many Marathas too. The year 1683 saw a strange inactivity on the part of the Emperor, he accomplished nothing notable, because his mind was upset and he could trust nobody.

Sivaji's unrivalled genius was shown by his organising a Maratha navy and creating a chain of sea-forts on the western coast. His first capture of Kalyan (1660) was followed by his forming

a dockyard there and building a navy for the protection of his subjects on the coast strip and promoting marine trade. An Abyssinian Colony, settled in the 15th century on the rocky island of Janjira, with some land-possession on the coast, such as Danda-Rajpuri, Tala dominated the sea. While Sivaji held the eastern or inland part of the Kolaba district, these Abyssinians (called Siddis) held the western or coast strip. Hence there were frequent skirmishes and cruel raids between the two Powers. Every enemy of Sivaji could count on the help of the Siddis. In 1660 he arrested the coast for a time and even captured Danda, but his annual attacks on Janjira from the mainland always failed, and the Siddis even recovered Danda in 1671. The same chronic fighting continued throughout his reign and Sambhaji's also. A grand assault in 1675-76 failed to dislodge the Siddis, with heavy loss in men and munitions to the Marathas; and also their frequent battles at sea (1676-80) had no decisive result.

The impossibility of capturing Janjira induced Sivaji to create a naval base near it. He fortified the little rocky island of Khanderi (called Kennery in the English records). This post was maintained in spite of many naval battles with the English and Siddi fleets, in which the young Maratha navy triumphed once or twice. But the Siddis fortified the neighbouring island of Underi, defeated the Maratha navy under Daulat Khan and thus neutralised the post at Khanderi (January 1680). Throughout Sambhaji's reign, the policy of the English Council in Bombay was "to keep fair with both" the Siddis and the Maratha Raja by all contrivances. Thus the Siddi fleet with convenient shelter in Bombay harbour close at hand, formed a constant menace to Sambhaji's coast villages. They had sacked Apta twice, in 1673 and 1681. In December 1681—January 1682, Sambhaji in person bombarded Janjira with heavy guns, for 30 days. The attempt failed, and also two battles at sea, in July and October next.

Then Sambhaji invaded the Portuguese dominions for their help to his enemies, especially the Moghal armies invading North Konkan. In April 1683, he raided their territory of the North, i.e., Daman, burning many towns. Caul was assaulted by the *Pesva* without success (August). The Viceroy of Goa attempted to take Phonda by escalade, but was driven back in a disastrous retreat (1 November), losing many hundreds of seamen and Kanarese sepoys. Sambhaji next invaded Goa. On 14th November 1683, his men occupied the island of Santo Estevao (2 miles north-east of Goa), beat back an attack by the Viceroy in person, but evacuated it on the 16th. In December, the Marathas entered and plundered the districts of Salsette and Bardes, for a month. But the invasion of the region by a Moghal army under prince Sah Alam, by the Ramghat pass, drove Sambhaji away in flight to Rayagad. A peace was arranged between him and the Portuguese at Phonda by Kavi Kalis and Prince Akbar (20 January 1684) on the basis of the mutual restitution of conquests.

The invasion of Sah Alam failed through lack of provisions to do any harm to Sambhaji.

While Aurangzeb was involved in the sieges of Bijapur and Golkonda (1685-87), Sambhaji frittered away his strength in small predatory incursions, having "too many irons in the fire" to effect any decisive success. There were frequent desertions to the Moghal side. His rebel vassals kept South Konkan and Kanara in turmoil, while Harji Mahadik, his Viceroy of Jinji, became practically independent on the East Coast. The Moghals gained some successes, such as burning Pacad (at the foot of Rayagad), and capturing Kondana (December 1684). It was recaptured by the Marathas in the succeeding year.

In the midst of this gathering darkness, Sambhaji, attended only by Kavi Kalas and a small escort at Sangamesvar, was surprised and captured by an able Moghal officer, Saikh Nizam, after forced marches in secrecy (1st February 1689). A month later, Sambhaji and Kavi Kalas were cruelly mutilated and killed by order of Aurangzeb at Koreganv (11, March).

The ministers crowned Rajaram at Rayagad on 8th February, but that fort was besieged by Zulfiqar Khan and captured on 19th October, when Sambhaji's wife Yesu Bai and son Sahu became prisoners of the Moghals. But Rajaram had already slipped out of the fort, and he reached Jinji in disguise on 1st November 1689.

RAJARAM.

In the year 1689 Aurangzeb seemed to have reached the summit of his success. Bijapur, Golkonda, Rayagad had all fallen to him and their kings were his prisoners. But though he had crushed the Maratha King, the heroic Maratha people rose up and in eighteen years totally defeated the power of the Moghal empire directed by its ablest head. In November 1689, Rajaram reached Jinji and set up his independent government there, while his ministers left behind with full power of initiative most effectively organised the national resistance to Aurangzeb in the homeland. The disappearance of one common head and central Government among the Marathas only multiplied Aurangzeb's difficulties, as every ambitious Maratha captain, armed with a signed grant of Rajaram, fought and raided in a different quarter on his own account. Aurangzeb could not put an end to this people's war, because there was no Maratha Government or State-army for him to attack and destroy once for all. The Marathas were no longer mere banditti or local rebels, but the one dominating factor of Deccan politics,—an enemy all pervasive across the Indian peninsula from Bombay to Madras, and elusive like the wind, yet overwhelming large Moghal forces like a whirlwind (as Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav proved so often). The Moghals could not defend every place, and the forts won by them were easily recovered by the Marathas as soon as the Emperor's army retired from them leaving only small garrisons. The local officers

of the Emperor were driven to buy peace from the Maratha captains by secretly promising them an annual blackmail of one-fourth of the revenue. Many imperialists made a concert with the enemy and enriched themselves by robbing the Emperor's own subjects. In fact, the Moghal administration, like that of the Chatrapati, was now dissolved, and outside the petty village-communities there was *do-amli* or rather anarchy. The whole country was fast turning into a wilderness through ceaseless warfare. Every year Aurangzeb's camps in the Deccan lost one lakh of soldiers and camp-followers through war, pestilence or famine, and three times that number of transport animals. The economic exhaustion of the Deccan was complete, "the fields were left devoid of trees and bare of crops, their places being taken by the bones of men and beasts " (Manucci, an eye-witness).

Rajaram was a sickly, softnatured youth, and his State was run by his ministers. At Jinji his chief confidant and real prime minister was Pralhad Niraji, on whom the title of Regent (*Pratinidhi*) was conferred, while the *Pesva* Nilo Moropant Pingle had no power. But the administration of the kingless Maharashtra land was very ably conducted by Ramcandra Nilkanth¹ (of Bavda) holding the office of *Amatya*, and Sankaraji Malhar the *Saciv*, and after 1701 by Parasuram Trimbak who rose to be Regent. Among the generals the men of supreme genius were Santaji Ghorpade. Dhanaji Jadhav and Nemaji Sinde.

Siege of Jinji.

On reaching Jinji, Rajaram took over the government from Harji Mahadik's widow (a daughter of Sivaji), but suffered from extreme financial distress. But the Moghal cause, too, was weakened by the dismissal of the old Qutb Sahi officers in control of the Eastern Karnatak and the rebellion of the Rajput contingents against Aurangzeb's order for temple destruction.² Zulfiqar Khan arrived with a vast imperial army and began the siege of Jinji (September 1690) which at first drove the Maratha forces in that province into the defensive.

The three fortified hills of Jinji cover such a vast area that a blockade of them was impossible and the Moghals simply sat down before one gate of it and fired at the defences opposite, but the garrison got supplies by a round-about jungle path on another side. Nor was Zulfiqar in earnest to take the fort, because he had made a secret pact with Rajaram for sparing each other while making an outward show of fighting. Aurangzeb's death was soon expected and in the inevitable dismemberment of his heritage, Zulfiqar planned to make himself independent ruler of the Deccan *subhas*, and placate Rajaram by recognising Maratha independence and ceding the Bijapur *subha* to him (Martin's *Memoires*). Thus the so-called siege dragged on for eight years (September 1690—January 1698), with

¹ Ramcandra was given the tide of *Hakumat-panah* or Dictator, all other officers having to obey him like the king.

² Memories of Fr. Martin, iii, 59.

varying success for the two sides. At last under threat of Aurangzeb, Zulfiqar captured the fort on 8th January 1698, after secretly enabling Rajaram to escape from it with all the combatants before its fall. The Bhosle Raja of Tanjore greatly helped his kinsman Rajaram with money and provisions” throughout the siege.

In December 1691, Zulfiqar received reinforcements under his father Asad Khan and Prince Kam Bakhs, the youngest son of Aurangzeb, but could gain no decisive success that year or the next. The coastal country, however, was continually pillaged by the camp-followers and irregular plunderers of both the sides. In 1692, the excessive rainfall reduced the Moghal army to the greatest distress. Early in December two vast Maratha forces, totalling more than 30,000 cavalry, raised in Western India by Ramcandra *Amatya* arrived in Eastern Karnatak. One division of it, under Santaji Ghorpade surprised and captured Ali Mardan Khan, the Moghal *faujdar* of Conjeveram (13 December) with all his property. The other division under Dhanaji Jadhav attacked Zulfiqar’s siege camp and captured Ismail Khan Maka, commanding the western outpost with all his property, and replenished the garrison.

Worse than these disasters, the imperial camp was torn by dissensions between the general and the Prince. Kam Bakhs resented the dominance of Zulfiqar and Asad Khan, and planned to flee to Rajaram. His position being untenable, Zulfiqar abandoned his big guns and fell back from the trenches to his base four miles behind. Here he placed the prince under detention, and went through almost daily fights with the exultant Marathas outside. At last his food being exhausted, he bribed Rajaram’s ministers and effected a safe retreat to Vandivas (23 January 1693). The siege of Jinji was abandoned for the time.

In February 1694, Zulfiqar set out to conquer the South Arcot district, and coerce and exact a large tribute from the Raja of Tanjore. Towards the close of this year he resumed the siege of Jinji, in the same insincere manner. In 1696, Santaji and Dhanaji who had returned from a visit to Maharashtra, pressed Zulfiqar very hard, and forced him to remain on the defensive in Arcot fort. The civil war between Dhanaji and Santaji enabled Zulfiqar to issue forth in 1697, exact tribute from Tanjore and return to Vandivas (June 1697). In November, he renewed the siege of Jinji in right earnest and took it on 8th January next. Rajaram, escaping in time, reached Visalgad in safety in February. Thus the capture of Jinji was undone.

People’s War in Maratha Homeland, 1689-1699.

In 1689, Rajaram after slipping out of his beleaguered capital Rayagad had come to Panhala and there the strategy of national defence was matured. The Moghal power was to be distracted by transferring the Raja and his Government to the far off Eastern Karnatak, while the Delhi forces were to be harassed on the Western

side by another party of his officers under the supreme direction of Ramcandra Bavdekar (*Hakumat Panah* or Dictator) and his energetic assistant Sankaraji Narayan *Saciv*, without having to refer to the distant *Chatrapati* for orders.

At first Aurangzeb's success had been uninterrupted; the Moghals had by the end of the year 1689 gained Salhir, Trimbak, Sinhgad, Rajgad, Panhala and Rayagad. In North Konkan, Matabar Khan, the able *faujdar* of Kalyan, captured many forts. The west coast was mostly under Moghal sway. Caul was lost and the Marathas evacuated Khanderi island for Gheria.

But the Maratha revival started even before the year 1689 was out. Sankaraji struck one or two hard blows.¹ On 25th May 1690 they gained their first resounding success by capturing the Moghal general Rustam Khan with his family and entire camp after killing 1500 imperialists, near Satara. In the same year, Ramcandra recovered Pratapgad, Rajgad and some other forts. Even Panhala was recovered in 1692; the long desultory siege of this last fort by Aurangzeb's grandsons (1692-96) ended in failure.

In 1692, there was a renewal of Maratha activity with conspicuous success in many quarters. Santaji Ghorpade made rapid raids far to the east over the Bijapur plains. He and Dhanaji threatened Western Kanara, Belganv, Dharvar and Bankapur; then they went off to Jinji for nearly a year. In October 1693, Santaji returned and resumed his raids in the West, collecting *Cauth* as far east as Malkhed. Nothing decisive resulted from the sporadic fighting during 1694 and the first ten months of the next year.

In 1695, Santaji Ghorpade by masterly tactics and dispersal and concentration of his swift cavalry divisions, drove Qasim Khan, the Subbedar of Moghal Western Mysore (Sera) and Khanazad Khan, one of the highest Court nobles, in helpless defeat into the small fort of Dodderi, where they were forced by starvation to make an abject surrender, giving up all their property and promising a ransom of 20 lakhs. Qasim Khan himself died. Next Santaji slew Himmat Khan, a very able and vigorous general, (on 20th January 1696) near Basavapattam.

Santaji then went to the Madras Coast, and the rivalry between him and Dhanaji Jadhav for the office of Rajaram's *Senapati* (*Commander-in chief*) developed into a civil war. Dhanaji was defeated by Santaji near Conjevaram. Santaji returned to the home land, but was defeated by Dhanaji near Satara and when fleeing was beheaded by Amrt Riv's brother (June 1697). Next year Jinji fell in January, and Rajaram returned to Visalgad in February, but there could be no revival of Maratha aggression for some time owing to his broken health and financial distress. In October 1699, Rajaram issued from Satara with his family in order to avoid falling into the

¹ Kesav Sanskrit poem on Rajaram's Journey.

hands of Aurangzeb, who had personally marched out of Islampuri to besiege that fort. The fugitive Raja, was chased by the Moghals, defeated near Parenda and driven back towards Visalgad. In January 1700, Zulfiqar (now created Nusrat Jang) defeated Dhanaji and Hanumant Rav near Masur. But on 2nd March of this year, Rajaram died at Sinhagad of fever caused by the hardships of his swift flying raids. His famous widow Tara Bai assumed control of the administration and crowned her son as Sivaji II, though her co-wife Rajas Bai tried to make her own son Sambhaji II king with the support of a faction among the nobles, and defied Tara Bai, who however triumphed over her rival in the end.

Aurangzeb's last campaigns in Deccan.

After the annexation of the Adilsahi and Qutbsahi kingdoms Aurangzeb marched up and down the country and then settled in camp at Galgali¹ for 3½ years, and finally at Brahmपुरi (renamed by him as Islampuri) on the Bhima for 4½ years (1695-1699). Leaving his family in this base-camp (1699), he set out with the army to conquer the Maratha forts, an attempt which occupied him till 1705, a year before his death. This final scene of his life's story was a tragedy of unrelieved failure. It was a repetition of the same sickening tale, a Maratha hill fort captured by him after a vast expenditure of time, money and men, the fort after a few months recovered by the Marathas from the weak Moghal garrison left there, and the siege begun again by the Moghals a year or two later. His soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships from rain and flood, lack of grain and transport, fodder, pestilence and enemy harassment, but the old Emperor refused to listen to advice, make peace, and return to Northern India. The Moghal Empire really perished in Maharashtra, though that country itself was turned into a wilderness by the horrors of endless war. In the end, the last Moghal prince withdrew from Maharashtra in 1709 and Maratha independence was finally achieved.

The Moghal endeavours in these six years from 1699 to 1705 need be told in brief outline only. The Emperor captured Satara on 21st April 1700, Parali (1st June), Panhala (28th May, 1701), Khelna or Visalgad (4th June 1702), Kondana or Sinhgad (18 April 1703), Rayagad (16th February 1704) and Torna (10th March 1704), besides five forts of lesser note, but none of them except Torna was taken by assault, all others capitulated for a price. He, last of all, besieged and took Vagingera, the capital of the Berad tribe (in the present Solapur district, south-east of Bijapur City on 27th April 1705, but became completely broken down in health at Devapur (May—October 1705), and was brought back to Ahmadnagar (January 1706) to die there on 20th February 1707.

MARATHA RESISTANCE UNDER TARA BAI.

Tara Bai's administrative genius and strength of character saved the nation in the awful crisis following Rajaram's death and Sahu's captivity. As Khafi Khan bears witness, "under Tara Bai's guidance

¹ On the Krsna, 34 miles south-west of Bijapur City.

Maratha activity began to increase daily. She took into her own hands the control of all affairs, such as the appointment and changing of Generals, the cultivation of the country, and the planning of raids into all the six subhas of the Deccan, nay, even up to Sironj and Mandesor in Malwa, and winning the hearts of her officers, so that all the efforts of Aurangzeb against the Marathas failed”.

The colossal failure of Aurangzeb proves that a nation is greater than even the greatest individual.

