CHAPTER VI
VISIT TO AURANGZIB, 1666.

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§1. Shivaji’s fears and hopes from a visit to the Mughal Court.

Jai Singh had undertaken to send Shivaji to the imperial Court. But it was no easy task. In the Treaty of Purandar, Shivaji had expressly stipulated that he was not to be called upon to enter the Mughal military service (mansab), nor to attend the imperial Court. There were strong reasons for it. For one thing, he and his countrymen had no faith in Aurangzib’s word and believed the Emperor to be capable of any act of treachery and cruelty. Then, again, the Maratha chief had an inborn repugnance to bending his head before a Muslim; he had been brought up in the freedom and solitude of hill and woodland, away from cities and Courts; he had imbibed the orthodox Hindu spirit from his mother and his tutor, from the comrades of his boyhood and the saints whom he adored; and he had risen to independent sovereignty without ever filling any subordinate post as the servant of a higher authority. He was therefore at first averse to visit the imperial Court.

But Jai Singh plied him with hopes of high reward and “used a thousand devices” (as he repeatedly wrote in his letters), to induce him to go to Agra. The Maratha chronicles assert that Jai Singh gave Shiva hopes that after
his visit to the Emperor he was likely to be sent back as Viceroy of Mughal Deccan, with sufficient men and money for the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda. The Emperor never committed himself to any such promise, and the Persian histories and Jai Singh’s correspondence are silent about it. But it is very probable that among the vague hopes which the wily Rajput general held out to Shiva, was the probability of his being appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, where all the preceding imperial representatives including Jai Singh himself, had failed, and only a born general and renowned conqueror like Shiva could be expected to succeed. The Deccan charge was so heavy and mere generals had so often wasted imperial resources there, that in 1656 and 1666 the Emperor had talked of going there in person and conducting the war against the local Sultans. Shiva’s past achievements promised success for such an enterprise, if the vast resources of Delhi were placed under a tried military genius like him. What could be more reasonable (Jai Singh may well have argued) than that the Emperor, after personally meeting Shivaji and seeing his ability, would appoint him Viceroy of the Deccan* to achieve its conquest and save himself the trouble?

Besides the problematical viceroyalty of the Deccan, Shiva had a humbler but nearer object which could be gained only by a personal interview with the Emperor. He had requested that the Emperor should order the Siddi, now an imperial servant, to cede Janjira island to him. On this point the reply from Delhi had been evasive; but much better result could be expected from an interview and personal pleading. The possession of that impregnable sea-fortress was indispensably necessary for the defence of the Maratha kingdom on its vulnerable west coast.

* Sabhasad, 44 and 48, says that Shiva himself made the offer of conquering Bijapur and Golkonda for the Emperor, if he were appointed Mughal commander-in-chief in the Deccan and permitted to annex the former Nizam-Shahi dominions, and that Jai Singh merely agreed to the proposal.
In spite of these temptations, Shiva hesitated long. Both he and his friends were as much alarmed at the idea of his going to the Mughal Court as they had been at the prospect of his interview with Āfzal Khan six years ago. They feared that a visit to Aurangzib would be only rushing into the jaws of an ogre (Rāvan. Sabh. 44; 91 Q.B. 52.) But Jai Singh took the most solemn oaths possible for a Hindu that Shiva would not be harmed during his visit, while the Rajput Rajah’s son and agent at Court, Kumār Rām Singh, similarly pledged his word for the safety of Shiva during his stay at the capital. In the Maratha council of ministers the majority favoured the journey.

§2. *His arrangements for his absence.*

Shivaji’s arrangements for the administration of his kingdom during his expected absence in Northern India, were a masterpiece of forethought and organization. His plan was to make his local representatives absolutely independent of any need for his orders or guidance during his absence. The administration of his territories and forts would go on as efficiently as before, even if he were imprisoned or killed at Agra. His mother Jijā Bāi was left as Regent, with Moro Pant the Peshwā and Niloji Sondev the majmuūdār, under her orders. The commandants of his forts were strictly ordered to be watchful day and night and to follow his rules implicitly, so as to guard against surprise or fraud. The civil officers were to follow his current regulations and practice in all matters.

After making a tour of inspection throughout his small kingdom, and even paying surprise visits to some of his forts, and repeating, as his final instructions to his officers, “Act as I had previously laid down,” Shivaji took leave of his family at Rājgarh, and began his journey to Northern India, on 5th March. 1666, with his eldest son Shambhuji, five high officers, and a small but select escort. A lakh of Rupees from the Deccan treasury was advanced to him by
order of the Emperor for his expenses, and Ghāzi Beg, an officer of Jai Singh's army, was deputed to act as his guide.

§3. Shivaji's journey to Agra.

On the way, he received an imperial letter, written from Agra on 5th April, saying, "Received your letter stating that you have started for my Court. Come quickly with composure of mind, and after receiving my favours you will be permitted to return home. I send you a robe of honour [with this]." (Parasnis MS., letter No. 10.)

When he reached Aurangabad, his fame and splendidly dressed escort drew all the people out of the city to gaze on him. But Saf Shikan Khan, the governor of the place, despising Shiva as a mere zamindar and a Marātha, remained with his officers in the audience-hall, and merely sent his nephew to receive Shiva on the way and ask him to come and see him there. Shivaji was highly offended at this intended slight of the governor and asserted his dignity by riding straight to his appointed quarters in the city, entirely ignoring the governor's existence. Saf Shikan Khan then climbed down and visited Shivā at his residence with all the other Mughal officers! Next day, Shivā returned the visit, showing great politeness and cordiality to all. After a halt of some days here, he resumed his march, receiving rations and presents from the local officers along his route, as ordered by the Emperor. On 11th May he arrived in the outskirts of Agra, in which city the Emperor was then holding Court. (Dil. 57-58. Jaipur R.)

Shivaji's escort and equipage during this journey to Agra are now correctly and vividly known from the Jaipur letters, which enable us to reject the exaggerations of Sabhāsad, Wāqnis and later Marātha writers. Rām Singh's officer writes from Agra: "Shivaji has come with only one hundred retainers and an escort of two hundred to 250 men. Among the latter are 100 silahdārs and the rest are pāgā, i.e., men mounted and equipped by the State. When Shivā
rides out in a *palki* many footmen big like *Khandāits*, wearing Turkish caps, march before him. His flag is orange and vermillion in colour, with golden decorations stamped on it. A hundred *banjarās* each with two pack-oxen follow his camp. All his high officers have *palkis* to ride in... Shivā’s contingent is small, but very splendidly equipped. A large elephant goes before him carrying his flag. An advance-guard of troopers also precedes him, the horses have gold and silver trappings. The Deccani infantry [*i.e.*, the Māvlés] too march before him. Two female elephants saddled with *handās* follow him... His *palki* is completely coated with silver plates and its poles with gold plates... Now that after coming to the Emperor’s presence he has shown such audacity and returned such harsh and spirited replies, the public extol him for his bravery all the more.

"Shivaji is very clever; he speaks the right word, after which nobody need say anything more on the subject. He is a good genuine Rajput... and says appropriate things marked by the spirit of a Rajput." [Jaipur Records, tr. in *House of Shivaji.*]


The historian who digs down to the root causes of great events, cannot help feeling that Shivaji’s visit to Aurangzib produced as its ultimate consequence a revolution in the destiny of the Marātha people. This event marks a decisive turning-point in the history of India as a whole. It is now possible to reconstruct the true story of this visit, the plots and counter-plots about him in the imperial Court circle, and the daily changes in the policy of Aurangzib himself, from the most authentic contemporary records.

Kumār Rām Singh was the representative of his father Jai Singh at Aurangzib’s Court and the care-taker of Shivaji during the Marātha Rajah’s visit to Agra. The letters written by Rām Singh’s officers from his camp during this period have been preserved among the archives of the
Jaipur State. They are all written in the Dingal dialect or the Rajasthani variety of Hindi, and are supplemented by Persian news-letters (खबरात) also preserved in Jaipur. These Dingal letters are of unique value as they faithfully report the conversations held in Rām Singh’s tent every night after his return from attendance at the Emperor’s Court in Agra fort, or during the visits of Shivaji to the Kachhwā prince. They also embody the news from various centres circulating in Agra, which was the imperial capital for the time being and the contents of the letters received by Rām Singh from his father in the Deccan. Sometimes these letters were written in the very night of the conversation and sent off the next morning by camel-post to the capital (Āmber) where they had been lying in undisturbed repose and ungarbled by later fabricators, till the year 1939, when we dragged them into light. They also give priceless pen-portraits, drawn by competent and critical Hindu eyewitnesses, of Shivaji’s personal appearance, conversation, retinue, equipment, etc.

In every way this is the most important discovery of sources on Shivaji’s history made in the present century, when taken along with the cognate source of Jai Singh’s Persian despatches and private letters included in the Haft Ånjuman, discovered by me in 1905.

Viewed in the light of the true details thus made known to us now, the historic visit of Shivaji to Aurangzib began as a comedy of errors due to Rajput incompetence; but as the sinister policy of Aurangzib’s dark-heart developed, the political drama took on the lurid colours of a tragedy of human sin and divine retribution. Shivaji came out of it with the completest success, achieved by the most unimaginable means. The credit of his escape from the claws of the faithless tyrant rests solely with him, even when we concede that in so far as not a single mishap marred it at any stage, a friendly Fate must have helped the lion-hearted man of action.*

* Sanskrit, udyognam purushasingham upaiti Lakshmi.
§5. Why Shivaji’s audience with Aurangzib went wrong.

The scenic background on which Shivaji’s interview with Aurangzib was acted, will help us to understand why the drama developed in the way that is known to us.

Aurangzib had usurped his father’s throne by deposing Shah Jahān in 1658 and keeping him a close prisoner in Agra fort till his death. So long as the old monarch lived, his worthy son never visited Agra, but used to celebrate his coronation and birthday ceremonies in the Delhi palace. At last Shah Jahān died on 22nd January, 1666, and it was only after this event that Aurangzib paid his first royal visit to Agra and held his first Court in the palace there. His 50th lunar birthday fell on the 12th May of that year. The hereditary treasure-hoards and imperial paraphernalia, so long deposited in Delhi fort, were now removed to Agra (in 1,400 carts) and ordered to be displayed in the palace there in order to “dazzle the eyes of the world with the sight of his grandeur and wealth”. High officers and vassal princes were expected to attend this, his first official rejoicing in the capital of Akbar the Great.

This is the reason why the 12th of May was the date fixed beforehand for Shivaji’s audience, and the Marātha Rajah was advised to arrive at Agra one day earlier, so as not to miss the auspicious hour of the birthday celebration in the morning. But fate upset the plan. Shivā could enter Agra only about noon on the 12th, and he had therefore to be rushed immediately to the fort for his audience, without being taught the Court etiquette beforehand. This was the real seed of all the trouble that followed.

The first mischance was in respect of welcoming him in advance (istiqbāl). This is a ceremony obligatory under the Mughal Government rules, in the case of every high-ranking visitor,—the distance to be advanced by the Emperor’s delegate and the rank of this delegate exactly varying with the rank of the great man to be thus welcomed. The visitor used to halt at a station one day’s march before
the capital, and there the Emperor's delegate used to meet him with presents, marshal the order of his march, and personally conduct him to the capital next day in a proces-
ssoin through the streets, and finally present him to the
Emperor at the auspicious hour selected by the Court
astrologers.

Shivaji reached the sarai of Mānikchand, a few miles
outside Agra in the afternoon of 11th May, and then for
the first time his intermediary at Court, Kumār Rām Singh,
learnt that the guest was so near. He then sent Munshi
Girdhar Lāl to Shivaji at the sarāi with his compliments
to arrange for conducting him to Agra city next day. This
was the first contretemps: no high noble welcomed Shivā
at his halting place outside the capital, but only a clerk.

The next mishap was equally unintentional and due
to the confusion caused by Rām Singh's slothfulness and
the incompetence of his officers. The 12th of May, when
Shivā was to be ceremoniously brought into Agra,
happened to be Rām Singh's weekly day of patrolling round
the imperial palace with his own contingent (haft-chauki),
so that he was not free to ride out towards Mānikchand's
sarāi early in the morning and personally guide Shivaji
through Agra. That duty was left to a clerk.

Rām Singh no doubt rode out for meeting Shivaji at
the entrance to Agra city as soon as his guard duty at
the palace was over. But thanks to his officers' bungling
yet another hitch occurred. Rām Singh took one route
through Agra, while Shivā was led into the town by the
Kumār's Munshi along a different road. Thus the host
and the guest met only in the heart of the town, when the
journey was all but completed.

The scene is thus described by the Kumār's minister:
In the morning of 12th May, Rām Singh after finishing
his patrol round the Emperor's palace, rode out to welcome
Shivaji by advancing towards his own camp. The Kumār's
agent Munshi Girdhar Lāl was bringing Shivā into Agra
by the route of the Dahar-ārā garden, while the Kumār
and Mukhlis Khan (the two nobles appointed by the Emperor to welcome the Marātha Rajah) followed the path of eunuch Firozā’s garden. On the way, the Kumār learnt of this confusion and sent a man to divert Shivaji towards his own position. The two parties met together in the Nurganj garden near the central market.

Tej Singh Kachhwā, who had been sent by Jai Singh to accompany Shivaji from the Deccan, pointed out Rām Singh to him. Shivaji stopped, and Rām Singh himself moved up to him and embraced him on horseback. Next Mukhlis Khan was introduced.

The Kumār had set up tents for his guest close to his own quarters and there Shivaji was led and made to alight with welcome music etc.


Then Rām Singh started for conducting Shivaji to the royal Court. But it was now so late in the day that the public reception in the Diwān-i-Ām was over, and the Emperor had withdrawn and taken his seat in the Select Audience Hall (Diwān-i-Khās) in the inner part of the Agra palace. There Shivaji was presented to the Emperor by the Assistant Paymaster-General Āsad Khan. His gifts (1,000 mohars and Rs. 2,000 as nazar, besides Rs. 5,000 as nisār or propitiatory alms) as well as his son’s offerings, were placed before the Emperor.

Aurangzib spoke not one word of welcome or recognition in return, and Shivaji was led back from the throne and placed standing in the line of 5-hazāri mansabdārs, that is in the third row of nobles. The work of the darbār proceeded and Shivaji seemed to have been forgotten.

This was not the kind of reception he had so long been picturing to himself and expecting as almost a certainty from his many conversations with Jai Singh. Ever since reaching Agra his mind had been ill at ease. First, he had been welcomed on behalf of the Emperor not out-
side the capital but in the heart of the town, and that too by Rām Singh and Mukhliś Khan, two junior officers holding the nominal ranks of 2,500 and 1,500 respectively. No costly present, no high title, no kind word even, had followed his bow to the throne. He found himself standing behind several rows of nobles who almost shut him from the Emperor’s view. He learnt from Rām Singh that he was standing among the commanders of 5,000. “What!” he exclaimed, “My little son of nine years was created a 5-hazārī in absentia; my servant Netāji is a 5-hazārī. And am I, after rendering all these services and coming all the way to the Court, to get only the same low rank?” Then he asked who the noble standing in front of him was. Rām Singh replied that it was Maharajah Jaswant Singh. At this Shivā flared up, “Jaswant, whose back my soldiers have seen! I to stand behind him? What does it mean?”

Next the robes of honour (khilat) for the occasion were presented to the royal princes, the grand wazir Ja’fār Khan, and Jaswant Singh, but none to Shivā. At this he began to fret and “his eyes became wet with anger”. The Emperor noticed the commotion and told Rām Singh, “Ask Shivaji what ails him”. The Kumār came from the row of the 2,500 rank mansabdārs to Shivaji’s side, and the Marāṭha Rajah burst forth, “You have seen, your father has seen, and your Pādishāh has seen, what sort of man I am, and yet you have wilfully made me stand up so long. I cast off your mansab.” After saying this he then and there turned his back to the throne and rudely walked away. Rām Singh caught hold of his hand, but Shivaji wrenched it away, came to one side (behind the pillars) and sat down there. The Kumār followed and tried to reason with him, but the Marāṭha king would not be persuaded, he cried out, “My destined day of death has arrived, either you will slay me, or I shall kill myself. Cut off my head, if you like, but I am not going to the Emperor’s presence again”.

Rām Singh reported the matter to the Emperor, who ordered three other nobles to go, pacify Shivā, clothe him
in a *khilat*, and lead him back to the presence. But Shivā still smarted under the humiliation of having been placed below Jaswant Singh and kept standing so long, and refused to wear the *khilat*. The failure of this peace mission was diplomatically reported to Aurangzib as a case of the rustic Marātha chief having been suddenly taken ill in the unacclimated heat of an imperial darbar. (This was true; Shivaji had been riding in the sun for five hours in the mid-May heat of Agra, and had had no time to rest himself sufficiently.) The Emperor then told Rām Singh to take Shivaji back with himself to his residence and there soothe him, without waiting till the end of the darbār.

Rām Singh's repeated arguments had no effect on Shivaji; he only relented so far as to agree to let his son Shambhuji visit the Emperor. Next day, when Rām Singh came to Court, the Emperor asked, "Is Shivā coming?" The Kumār replied, "He had fever and therefore cannot come today." The boy Shambhuji attended the Court with Rām Singh and was presented with a full *khilat* (*sar-o-pā*). Here we may add, Shivaji never again appeared before Aurangzib.


Immediately after this strange scene in the festive darbār hall, the courtiers opposed to Jai Singh and the nobles who had suffered in person or through their relatives in the course of Shivaji’s campaigns, banded themselves together for crushing the Marātha hero, now that he had been caught in a trap. The age-old Kachhwā-Rāthor rivalry for imperial favours, as these proud Rajputs jingled the gilded chains of Mughal vassalage, had been recently sharpened by the contrast between Jaswant's unrelieved failure against Shivaji in 1664 and Jai Singh's dazzling success at Purandar next year. To this a personal sting was added by Shivaji's outcry at the Birthday darbār,
“Jaswant, whose back my soldiers have seen!”* which leering courtiers had repeated. If Jai Singh’s protegé could be discredited, it would be a nice way of tripping up that exultant Kachhwā chief and dimming the lustre of his victory.

The private malignity of the anti-Jai Singh party was concealed under the mask of a loyal regard for the Emperor’s prestige. They repeatedly goaded Aurangzib against Shivaji by saying, “Who is this Shivā, that in your royal presence he behaved with such contumacy and insolence, and yet your Majesty passed over his conduct? If this state of things is allowed to go on, every petty landholder (bhumiā) will come here and act like him with impunity.” To Jaswant Singh’s jealous hostility was added the more potent clamour of the imperial harem. The grand wazīr Jafar Khan’s wife was Shāista Khan’s sister, and she egged her husband on to avenge the murderous attack on her brother in Punā, now that the infidel was within his reach. The Emperor’s honoured sister Jahānārā had been enjoying the custom revenue of Surat as a gift from her father, and Shivā had sacked that rich port. Was he to be now rewarded for these acts with a high mansab and some provincial governorship, even after such open insolence at Court?

Thus it came into the Emperor’s heart, and the policy was agreed upon in his inner Council either to kill Shivaji or to confine him in a fortress. He ordered the police prefect of Agra (a stern Abyssinian named Fulād) to remove the Marātha Rajah to Rad-āndāz Khan’s house. This Rad-āndāz was a man of humble origin but of ruthless cruelty

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* In 1815, when Wellington as the head of the allied army of occupation in France attended the Court of Louis XVIII, the French marshals, every one of whom he had licked in the Peninsular War, showed their displeasure by turning their backs and pretending not to see him as he entered. When Louis apologised to Wellington for his generals’ rudeness, the British hero calmly replied, “Your Highness need not worry. It is by their backs that I have generally known them.”
and ferocious bigotry, who had become a favourite tool of Aurangzib,—as in the bloody extermination of the Satnāmi sect of Alwar. He now held charge of Agra fort and State prisoners were thrown into his dungeons.

Rām Singh, on hearing of this order to take Shivaji out of his own protection, went to Muhammad Ámin Khan, the First Paymaster General, and told him, "His Majesty has decided to kill Shivā, who has come here under my father's solemn pledge of safety. So, it is proper that the Emperor should first kill me and then only after I am dead—he should put Shiva to death or do anything else with him as he pleases." Aurangzib met this pleading by asking Rām Singh to sign a security bond for Shivā's conduct when in Agra, and see that he might not escape or do any mischief.

This was done promptly, and then Aurangzib unfolded the crooked working of his heart. He passed an order for Rām Singh to go with Shivaji to Afghanistan and fight the Yusufzāi and Afridi rebels. Rad-āndāz Khan was appointed to lead the Kumār's vanguard during this march to Kābul,—which, from the known character of this man meant, as clearly as daylight, that Shivaji was to be murdered on the way and the murder coloured as an accident or the result of an enemy ambuscade.

But this plan could not be immediately put into execution. Jai Singh had pledged his honour for Shiva's safety during his visit to the Emperor, and Aurangzib could not afford to openly dishonour the greatest of his Hindu feudatories. So a royal letter was sent to Jai Singh in the Deccan, inquiring as to what promises exactly had been made to Shivaji by the Mirzā Rajah before sending him to Court, as Shivā in Agra was openly complaining of breach of promise by the imperial Government. In waiting for the reply of Jai Singh, the exile to Kābul was delayed for some weeks.

Shivaji utilised this delay by bribing the ministers to plead for his release. On 20th May Jafar Khan, presented
Shivaji’s petition to the throne begging pardon for his past offences and asking that his life be spared. The order posting him to Kābul was now withdrawn. On 29th May, he submitted another petition, after making the Head Bakhshi his mediator, in which he offered to pay the Emperor two kors of rupees if all his lately ceded forts were restored to him and he was allowed to return home. There he promised to fight to the death on the Emperor’s side in the war with Bijapur. Aurangzib’s only reply was to tighten the net round Shivaji; he was forbidden to go out of his camp and visit anybody, and strong guards were posted round his residence.

Outside the circuit of Shivaji’s camp, a large force with artillery was stationed by Siddi Fulad, the Police chief of Agra, under the orders of Aurangzib. Inside it Rām Singh’s Rajput followers kept watch at night over Shivā’s bed, and also patrolled round his tent; this was meant really to prevent any secret attempt to murder him.

Shivaji now became a prisoner in appearance as well as in fact. “This made the Rajah lose heart; he felt sad and lamented long, clasping Shambhuji to his breast.” But he was not a man to yield to despair. Appeals to Aurangzib’s sense of justice and hopes of intervention by any minister having failed, Shivaji was now thrown entirely on his own resources. First of all, he made Rām Singh cancel the security bond that he had given the Emperor for keeping Shivā in his own custody. Then he sent home most of the officers and all the escort that he had brought with himself to Agra (7th June.) Aurangzib had no objection to it, as he would now have fewer enemies to watch and his captive would be utterly friendless at the Mughal capital.

Thus left alone, Shivaji now petitioned the Emperor for permission to renounce the world and live at Benares as a religious mendicant. Aurangzib replied with grim humour, “Let him turn faqir and live in Allahabad fort. My subahdār of that place will take good care of him!” The strong fortress of Allahabad was used for confining
State prisoners, like Gwalior, Asir-garh, and Daulatabad. Three months passed in this way.

§8 Mughal policy during Shivaji's confinement in Agra.

We now turn to the policy of the imperial Government and the action of Jai Singh during the interval. As the Maratha chief complained that the promises made to him on behalf of the Mughal Government had not been kept, Aurangzib, wrote to Jai Singh asking him to report fully and exactly what promises he had made. The Rajah replied by repeating and explaining the clauses of the Treaty of Purandar, and solemnly asserting that nothing beyond them had been promised. (A. N. 970. But H. A. does not contain Jai Singh's reply.)

Jai Singh was placed in a dilemma by this unexpected result of Shivā's visit to the Court. True, he had sent Shivā away to Northern India "by a thousand devices" in order to get him out of the Deccan when the military situation there turned against the Mughals; but he had also pledged his honour for the safe return of his ally. He, therefore, tried to persuade the Emperor that he would gain nothing by imprisoning or killing Shivā, as the Maratha chief's wise arrangements had made his Government independent of his personality; on the contrary the imperial interests in that quarter would be best promoted by turning Shivā into a friend, at the same time that such a course would convince the public of the sacredness of the imperial officers' words. All the while Jai Singh continued to write to his Court agent, Rām Singh, to see to it that Shivā's life was safe and the solemn assurances of Jai Singh and his son remained inviolate. (H. A. 234a.)

This, however, was no easy matter. It was impossible for Jai Singh to change Aurangzib's crooked policy, or, at times, even to divine it. The Emperor seemed at first to have played a waiting game—to keep Shivā under surveil-
lance in order to prevent his escape and to decide after the successful conclusion of the Bijapur war if and when he would be released. After some time Aurangzib proposed to set out for the Deccan and conduct the war in person, while Shivā would be left as a State prisoner at Agra in charge of Rām Singh. Jai Singh strongly urged his son to avoid this disagreeable duty, but advised the Emperor to leave Shivaji behind in Agra. He informed the Emperor through Rām Singh, “Every moment has its special requirement. At the time when I begged the Emperor to permit Shivā to return home, the situation here bore a different aspect from now. But under the present circumstances, it is not at all expedient to send him to this side. Also, tell the Emperor, that Shivā should be kept there in a proper style (i.e., not as a prisoner in duress vile), so that his officers here may not despair of his return to Mahārāshtra and in their hopelessness go over to Adil Shah and raise tumults against us, by which policy we shall avoid the necessity of sending a fresh army to the Deccan. Shivā ought to be conciliated and assured that after the Emperor had reached the Deccan, he would be summoned there from Agra. His son should, as a matter of policy, be kept with the Emperor in order that his followers (here) may loyally assist us.” (H. A. 194a, 179a.)


Being now freed from anxiety about his followers, Shivaji set about devising plans for his own escape. He feigned illness and began to send out of his house every evening sweetmeats for Brahmans, religious mendicants and courtiers. These were carried in huge baskets each slung from a pole which was borne by two men on their

* Shivaji’s escape from Agra: A. N. 971 (one sentence only!); Bernier, 190, (same); Storia, ii. 139-140; Sabh. 52-55 and K. K. ii. 198-201, 217-220, (most detailed); Dil. 59-61; 91 Q.B. 55-56; Fryer, ii. 65. House of Shivaji, Ch. 10, Jaipur records (fullest).
shoulders. The guards searched the baskets for some days and then began to let them pass out unchallenged. This was the opportunity for which Shivaji had been waiting. In the afternoon of 19th August, he sent word to his guards that he was very ill and had taken to his bed and that they should not disturb him. His half-brother Hiroji Farzand, who looked somewhat like him, lay down on his cot, with a quilt covering all his body except the outstretched right arm adorned with Shivā's gold wristlet,—while Shivā and his son crouched down in two baskets, which were safely sent out shortly after sunset through the lines of unsuspecting guards, being preceded and followed by baskets of real sweets.

The baskets were deposited at a lonely spot outside the city; the porters were dismissed; and then Shivā and his son issued forth and made their way to a village six miles from Agra, where the trusty Nirāji Rāoji was waiting for them with horses. After a hurried consultation in a jungle the party divided; Shivā with his son and three officers, Nirāji Rāoji, Datta Trimbak and Rāghumitrā, smeared their bodies with ashes like Hindu ascetics, and hastened towards Mathurā, while the others took another route homewards.

Meanwhile, at Agra, Hiroji lay in Shivaji's bed all that night and well into the next forenoon. The guards who peeped in in the morning were satisfied when they saw Shivā's gold bracelet on the sleeper's wrist, and a servant sitting on the floor massaging the royal patient's feet. About 8 A.M. Hiroji quietly walked out of the house with the servant, warning the sentries at the gate, "Make less noise; Shivaji is ill and under treatment." Gradually the guards' suspicion was aroused; the house seemed strangely deserted; no crowd of visitors came to see Shivā as usual; and there was no sound, no stir in the house. They entered his room and found that the bird had flown away! It was now ten in the morning. They at once ran with the astounding news to their chief Fulād Khan, who reported
it to the Emperor, ascribing Shivā's flight to witchcraft and saving himself from all blame. "The Rajah," so he said, "was in his own room. We visited it regularly. But he vanished all of a sudden from our sight. Whether he flew into the sky or disappeared into the earth, is not known, nor what magical trick he has played."

Aurangzib was not the man to be taken in by such a tale. A hue and cry was immediately raised, and fast couriers and sergeants-at-arms were sent off to watch the road to the Deccan through Mālwa and Khāndesh, and to warn the local officers to look out for the fugitives. The Marātha Brahmans and other followers of Shivaji were arrested wherever found, at Agra or near it. But by this time Shivā had had fourteen hours' clear start over his pursuers.

The vigorous inquiry made at the capital gradually brought to light the details of the romantic flight. Suspicion naturally fell on Rām Singh, as he had so often tried to avoid accepting responsibility for Shivā's presence at Agra, and it was his interest to effect the Marātha chief's safe return home, for which he and his father had pledged their honour. Some of the Marātha Brāhmans who were caught admitted, under threat of torture, that their master had fled with the connivance of Rām Singh. The Rajput prince was punished, first by being forbidden the Court and then by being deprived of his rank and pay.*

§10. Shivaji's return home.

With consummate cunning Shiva, threw his pursuers off the scent, by following a route exactly opposite to that

* House of Shivaji, Jaipur records. H.A. 20la. Trimbak Pant (Dabir) and Raghunath Pant Korde were arrested on 20th August, and escaped from Agra on 3rd April next year. (J. S.). The three leading Brahmans of Shiva's service under arrest were tortured by Fulād Khan. They alleged that the flight of Shivaji was due to the advice of Rām Singh and resulted from the latter's neglect to watch him well. Eleven months later, on the death of his father, Ram Singh was taken back into favour and created a 4-hazari, but was soon afterwards sent to join the army fighting in Assam, to die of pestilence there. (A. N. 1051).
which leads to Maharashtra. Instead of moving due south-west from Agra, through Mālwa and Khāndesh or Gujrat, he travelled northwards to Mathurā, then eastwards to Allahabad, and finally south-westwards through Bundelkhand, Gondwānā, and Golkondā, describing a curve east of the public highway to the Deccan, in returning to Rajgarh.

Arrived at Mathurā, he found the boy Shambhu worn out by fatigue and unable to proceed further. Three Deccani Brahmans.—Krishnāji, Kāshi, and Visāji, brothers-in-law of Moro Trimbak (the Peshvā), were living at this holy city. Nirāji knew them and confided to them the story of Shivā’s escape and his present plight. They nobly responded to the appeal in the name of their country and faith, and braving all risks of imperial vengeance in the event of detection, they agreed to harbour Shambhuji* till Shivā should reach home and write for him.

Shivaji had crammed the hollow core of a sannyāsi’s staff with gems and gold coins. Some more money was concealed in his shoes, and a diamond of great value and several rubies coated with wax were sewn in the dresses of his servants or carried in their mouths.

At Mathurā, which was reached within six hours of leaving Agra, he shaved off his beard and moustaches, smeared himself with ashes, and put on the disguise of a sannyāsi. “Travelling in the darkness of the night with swift Deccani couriers, who were practised in the art of moving in various disguises and assumed characters,” he rapidly left the capital behind him.

Dattāji Wāqnis gives a charming picture of the scene of Shivaji’s home-coming. “He went to the gate of Rajgarh, where his mother Jijā Bāi resided, and requested admittance to her presence. The guards informed her that some stranger Bārāgis or religious mendicants were at the

* According to the Maratha chroniclers, also Dil. 61, Shambhuji was left at Mathura in charge of Kāshi Pant and his brothers. But K. K. (ji. 201 & 218) incorrectly says that he was entrusted to Kavi Kalash at Allahabad.
gate of the fort and demanded to see her. She ordered them to be admitted. When they came into her presence, Nirāji Pant blessed her after the manner of the Bairāgis; but Shivā came closer and threw himself at her feet. She did not recognise him and was surprised . . . that a Bairāgi should place his head on her feet . . . Shivā then laid his head on Jijā Bāi’s lap and took off his cap. She immediately perceived by a mark on his head, that he was her lost son, and clasped him to her bosom.” (91 Q. B. 56.)

After returning to Rājgarh, he spread a false report that his son Shambhūji had died on the way, and even went into mourning for him. Then, when the suspicion of the Mughal officers along the Deccan road had been thus lulled asleep, and some months had passed, he wrote to Mathūrā for his son, and the three brother* care-takers of the boy migrated with their whole family to Mahārāṣṭra, bringing Shambhūji disguised as a Brahman kinsman, with them.

At a certain outpost on the road, the Mughal officer suspected that Shambhūji was not of their family or caste; but his Brahman protectors dined with him to prove their kinship, and the danger was passed. Shivā royally rewarded the faithful three—Krishnāji, Kāshi Rao and Visāji,—gave them the title of Vishwās Rāo (Lords Fidelity) and a lakh of gold pieces, and settled on them an annual revenue of 10,000 hun. The devoted companions of his own escape were similarly rewarded. (Sabh. 53-55. 91 Q. B. 57; Dil. 61.)

Shivaji’s escape from captivity caused lifelong regret to Aurangzib. As the Emperor wrote in his last will and testament: “The greatest pillar of a Government is the keeping of information about everything that happens in the kingdom,—while even a minute’s negligence results in shame for long years. See, how the flight of the wretch Shivā, which was due to carelessness, has involved me in

* One of the three brothers, Krishnāji Trimal had accompanied Shivaji in his flight as his guide. The other two now escorted Shambhūji to his home.
all these distracting campaigns to the end of my days.” (Anec. §10.)

§11. Jai Singh’s anxieties and plans about Shivaji.

We now turn to Jai Singh’s anxieties, plans, and measures during Shivaji’s absence from the Deccan. His correspondence with the Emperor and with Kumār Rām Singh during the three months of Shivā’s captivity has been given before.

His position was rendered infinitely worse by Shivā’s escape from Agra (19th August.) He had been disgraced in the eyes of the Emperor by the failure of his invasion of Bijapur. And now his son Rām Singh was openly suspected of having connived at Shivā’s flight. As he writes in bitterness, “All the plans and devices that I had employed in sending Shivā to Court have been spoiled, and measureless distraction has fallen to my lot. But there is no remedy against Fate and what is written on a man’s forehead. I learn from the letters of some Court agents that there is a proposal to dismiss Rām Singh from his rank (mansab) and jāgir, because Shivā’s Brāhman followers, at the instigation of selfish men [my enemies at Court], have alleged that the flight of Shivā was due to the advice of Rām Singh, and resulted from the latter’s omission to watch him well. May God give death to the man who cherishes the very thought of such an act of faithlessness in his heart! Why should Shivā’s men’s words be believed against mine, when I had reduced him to such an extremity [in war]?” [H. A. 201a.]

The anticipated return of Shivaji to the Deccan greatly added to Jai Singh’s fears. As he wrote on 5th November, 1666:—“The times are bad for me. My anxieties are ceaseless. The lying Bijapuris are wasting time [by delusive negotiations.] There is no trace or news of the fugitive Shivā. My days are passing in distraction and anxiety. I have sent trusty spies, in various disguises, to get news of Shivā.” [H. A. 199b—200a.]
About this time the officers left by Shivā in the Deccan when starting for Agra began to display ominous activity. Sayyid Masaud, the Mughal qiladār of Rohirā, wrote to Jai Singh’s Paymaster complaining of the lack of provisions, etc. in the fort, and the collection of lead, gunpowder, rockets and infantry in the neighbourhood by some men who gave themselves out to be Shivā’s followers and pretended that they intended to invade Bijapuri territory. At this alarming news Jai Singh sent orders to provision the fort as a precaution and to hold it strongly, pending the arrival of Udāi-bhān [the permanent qiladār?] A reinforcement of 500 infantry under Sukh-man Chauhān was also ordered to be thrown into the fort if necessary. [H. A. 234.]

At last in November, 1666, definite news was received of Shivā’s arrival at Rājgarh. As Jai Singh’s secretary wrote, “Trusty spies have now brought the news that Shivā himself has arrived but is very anxious about his son who has not returned with him. He professes a determination [to submit] to the imperial Government. But who knows what is in his heart? For some time past Mahādāji Nimbālkar, the son of Bajāji, the zamindār of Phaltan and son-in-law of the infernal Shivā, has been causing disturbances in the region of Punā and other places. My master [i.e., Jai Singh] has appointed the jāgirdārs of that tract, such as Tānāji [or Bābāji?] Bhoslé and others to Supā, Halāl Khan to Indāpur, Ghālib Khan to Chamārgunda, Hasan Khan, Abdur Rasul and other Deccanis also to that side, and Trimbakji Bhoslé and others to Rāisin. Before the others could arrive at their posts, Tānāji Bhoslé went to his jāgir and getting an opportunity attacked Mahādāji, sent many of his followers to hell, captured his flag, torah, 150 horses, arrows, etc., and returning lived in peace of mind. As the Deccanis have some [mysterious] longing for the flag and torah, Mahādāji trod the path of submission and humility; but Tānāji declined [to restore them.] At last, four days afterwards, that wretch got help from the Bijapuris and attacked Tānāji by surprise. That loyal
and martial officer fought valiantly on foot, till he fell in the Emperor's service. And Ānāji (or Dātāji) Deshmukh went to hell in the neighbourhood of Pandhārpur. It is reported that Mahādāji also was wounded. . . . Jai Singh at first wanted to march there in person [and retrieve the disaster], but was persuaded to give up the idea, lest the Bijapuris should take advantage of his absence. So, he has decided to send Abdul Hamid with 5,000 men to that quarter.” [H. A. 211b.]

Then, in a letter to the prime-minister Jafar Khan we have this astounding proposal from Jai Singh to entrap Shivā by the false offer of a marriage between his daughter and Jai Singh's son, and get him murdered during his journey to the Rajput general's camp:

"I have not failed, nor will I do so in future, to exert myself against Bijapur, Golkondā and Shivā in every possible way. . . . I am trying to arrange matters in such a way that the wicked wretch Shivā will come to see me once, and that in the course of his journey or return [our] clever men may get a favourable opportunity [of disposing of] that luckless fellow in his unguarded moment at some place. This slave of the Court himself, for furthering the Emperor's affairs, is prepared to go so far, regardless of the praise or blame of his act by other people,—that if the Emperor sanctions it, I shall set on foot a proposal for a match with his family and settle the marriage of my son with his daughter,—though the pedigree and caste of Shivā are notoriously low and men like me do not eat food touched by his hand (not to speak of entering into a matrimonial connection with him), and in case this wretch's daughter is captured I shall not condescend to keep her in my harem. As he is of a low caste, he will very likely be caught by this bait. But great care should be taken to keep this plan secret. Send me a reply quickly to enable me to act accordingly." [H. A. 139a.]

This letter throws a lurid light on the political morals of the 17th century. When people argue that Afzal Khan
could not have possibly intended to stab Shivaji during an interview, they should remember that the sanctimonious Jai Singh was prepared to prove his loyalty by lowering his family honour and laying a fatal snare for Shivaji, a brother Hindu.

Immediately after Shivaji’s flight the Emperor ordered Jai Singh to arrest Netaji Palkar (then a Mughal mansabdar) by cunning, and send him as a prisoner to Delhi. Here the luckless general—known and feared as “the second Shivā”—was placed in charge of the police chief, who made him in three days petition to turn Muslim if his life was spared. No offence is alleged in the Court histories for dooming him to death! He was circumcised and named Muhammad Quli; his wife and children were brought away from the Deccan and made Muslims, and he was sent to serve in the army of Afghanistan for ten years (1667.) He returned to Shivaji in May, 1676 and was made a Hindu again. (House of Shivaji, Ch. IX.)

APPENDIX

SHIVAJI’S RETURN HOME FROM AGRA, 1666:
DATES AND ROUTE.

A news-letter from Aurangabad, received at Delhi on 14th November, 1666, contained a spy’s report that Shivaji had reached his home “25 days after escaping from Agra.” This would fix the date of his arrival at Rājgarh as 12th September. I had the original of this letter carefully examined and it does not mention ‘one month and 25 days’ as one may imagine. Now, Agra to Rājgarh is 670 miles in a straight line. But when we make allowances for the hill-passes and river-ferries on the way and the indirect circuitous route chosen by Shivaji for safety, an addition of 50 per cent should be made to the above distance. In other words, Shivaji had to do the equivalent of a thousand miles journey on a plain. This would give him an average of 40 miles a day to cover, which was not an unusual feat for a horseman of his capacity and habits. He was not yet forty years of age.

The news given in the ākhbārāt that on arrival at Rājgarh, “he lay ill for several days, then became well, and is now down with illness again,” proves two points: (i) that Shivaji had reached home at least two months before the arrival of this letter in Delhi (say, 20 days for his first illness,
7 days of recovery, seven days of second illness, five days for the spy's report to reach Aurangabad, and 21 days for the ākhbārāt to travel from Aurangabad to Delhi; (ii) that Shivaji travelled with such breathless speed, by rough jungly tracks, without stopping anywhere sufficiently long for rest or good meals, that these hardships and the coarse food and bad drinking water of the long way thoroughly impaired his health, and it took him two courses of treatment and rest in bed to be fit again. A more leisurely journey by the civilised well-known pilgrim-routes would not have brought him to Rājgarh in such a knocked up condition.

Against the above date the following entry in the Jedhé Shakāvali has been set up:

"Shivaji reaches Agra and meets Aurangib on 25th May 1666 (wrong date, should be 12th May.)
He issues from Agra on 17th August (should be 19th August.)
He reaches Rājgarh on 20th November along with Shambhuji" (wrong fact).

Here there are unquestionable errors in the first and third statements. How can a reasonable man accept the late date from such a doubly tainted source?

The reasons why Shivaji lay low for a long time after returning to Rājgarh are obvious: (i) he was is broken-down health, (ii) he was anxious to ensure the safe return of his son left behind in Hindustān, and (according to one account) circulated a false report that Shambhuji had died on the way. (iii) he was wise enough not to provoke a Mughal attack at a time when he was physically incapable of riding to battle and had not yet called his dispersed officers and troops together for planning a campaign of reconquest. Hence the Mughal spy failed to hear of his return for a month or more after he had actually reached home in disguise.

After escaping from Agra in a basket, Shivaji certainly went first to Mathura, in a direction opposite to his home, so as to throw his pursuers off the scent. His next stage, I believe, was Allahabad, which was the greatest pilgrim-centre and "clearing-house" of Śādhus and Hindu religious mendicants in India, and where parties could be most easily formed for travelling as sannyāsī in convoy to any part of the country.

The Maratha chroniclers, no doubt, say that Shivaji visited Benares, Gaya—and even Jagannath Puri, on his return journey; but they stole from popular gossip a generation after the event. It would be disbelieving in Shivaji's wonderful practical instinct to suppose that he roamed about making pilgrimage to every famous shrine in North India, when his life depended on his getting outside Aurangib's jurisdiction in the shortest time possible, before the Mughal guards at the passes and ferries of the route could be warned against him or pursuing troops anticipate his arrival at any point.

It is, therefore, the historian's painful duty to cut out of Shivaji's time-table his visit to any tīrtha beyond Allahabad. The romantic stories about our hero's adventures when incognito at Benares and other places have been rejected as untrue; they are given below only for the delectation of the reader.
In a certain town the travellers were arrested on suspicion by the faujdār Ali Quli, who had learnt of Shivaji's flight from a letter of his Court agent before he received the official intimation of it. A close examination of the prisoners was begun. But at midnight Shivaji visited the faujdār in private, boldly declared his identity and offered him a diamond and a ruby worth a lakh of rupees as the price of his liberation. The faujdār preferred the bribe to his duty. (K. K. ii. 218.)

After performing his bath at Allahabad, Shivaji proceeded to Benares. Here he hurriedly went through all the rites usually done by a pilgrim in the dim morning twilight, and slipped out of the town just as a courier arrived from Agra with the proclamation for his arrest and a hue and cry was started.

In this connection Khafi Khan writes:—"'When I was at the port of Surat, a Brahman physician named Nabha [or Babha] used to tell the following tale: 'I had been serving one of the Benares Brahmans as his pupil, but he stinted me in food. At last, one morning when it was still dark, I went to the river-side as usual; a man seized my hand, thrust into it a quantity of jewels, ashrafs and hunis, and said, 'Don't open your fist, but quickly finish the bathing rites for me.' I immediately hastened to shave and bathe him, but had not done ministering to him, when a hue and cry was raised and the news spread that sergeants at the mace had arrived [from the Court] in search of Shiva. When I became attentive I found that the man to whom I had been ministering had slipped away. I [then] knew that it was Shivaji. He had given me 9 gems, 9 ashrafs and 9 hunis. Then without going to my preceptor I returned to my country and reached Surat. The grand house that I have here was bought with that money.'" (ii. 219-220.)

Still moving eastwards, he visited the famous Hindu shrine of Gaya and was joined by two of his men whom he had sent there beforehand. Then they turned south-westwards and returned home by way of Gondwana, Haidarahad and Bijapur territories. "Through travelling long distances on foot every day, he felt a desire for riding. At the time of buying a pony he had not a sufficient number of Rupees with him. So, opening his purse of gold coins, he gave a few of them to the horse-dealer. The flight of Shivaji had already been noised abroad, and the man cried out, 'You must be Shiva, as you are paying so much for a little pony!' At this Shivaji gave him the whole purse [as hush money] and fled from the place." (Dil. 61.)

We have a characteristic anecdote about an incident during this journey. The story runs that the pretended sannyasis one evening took shelter in the house of a peasant in a village on the Godavari. The old mother of the host apologized to the holy men for the poor fare placed before them, saying that the troopers of the brigand Shivaji had recently robbed the village. She cursed them and their master to her heart's content. Shivaji noted the names of the peasant and the village carefully, and on his return home, summoned the family of his host and gave them more than what they had lost in the raid. (91 Q.B. sec. 56.)
CHAPTER VII

1667—1670

1. State of Mughal Deccan in 1667.
2. Shiva makes peace with Mughals, 1668.
3. War with Mughals renewed, 1670.
4. Quarrel between Muazzam and Dilir.
5. Second loot of Surat, 1670.
7. Raid into Berar; Chhatra Sal Bundela.

§1. State of Mughal Deccan, 1667.

On returning home from Agra in September 1666, Shivaji found the political situation in the Deccan entirely changed. The Mughal viceroy, Jai Singh, was no longer in a position to repeat his former success over the Marāthas. Worn out by age, toil, disappointment and domestic anxieties, discredited in his master’s eyes by the failure of his invasion of Bijapur, and expecting every day to be removed from his post, Mirzā Rajah was visibly hastening to his grave. In May 1667 Prince Muazzam, the newly appointed governor, reached Aurangabad and relieved Jai Singh of his charge. The Rajput veteran set out on his homeward journey in extreme misery of mind and sense of public humiliation, and died on the way at Burhānpur on 28th August.

The return of the weak and indolent Muazzam and the friendly Jaswant to power in the Deccan (May 1667) relieved Shivaji of all fear from the Mughal side. It is true that soon afterwards an able and active general, bearing implacable hatred to the Marāthas, joined the Mughal camp. Dilir Khan returned from the Gond country to the side of Prince Muazzam in October 1667, but the coming of this famous warrior brought no accession of strength to the imperialists. The Prince was jealous of Dilir’s influence and prestige at his father’s Court, resented his insubordinate
spirit, and regarded him as a spy on behalf of the Emperor. The proud Rohila general, on his part, publicly slighted Maharajah Jaswant Singh, the right-hand man and trusted confidant of the Prince. Nor was this the only source of discord in the Mughal army in the Deccan. Rao Karn Rathor, the chief of Bikanir, was an officer in Dilir's contingent. His Rajputs practised gang-robbery in the camp at night. Dilir Khan, to save his credit with the Emperor, reported the matter to Court, and the Emperor in reply ordered him to arrest the Rao. Dilir was sent towards Bidar to punish the enemy, but Rao Karn remained behind at Aurangabad by order of the Prince. The Prince used to help the Rao with money in his distress and enforced idleness. Thus, Dilir's enemies found a ready shelter with Muazzam. [Dil. 66-68.]

But even if the viceroy of the Deccan had been a man of greater spirit and enterprise, it would have been impossible for him for some years from this time to get the men and money necessary for crushing Shivaji. The resources of the empire had to be concentrated elsewhere, to meet more pressing dangers. Within a fortnight of Shivaji's escape from Agra, a large army had to be sent to the Panjab to meet the threat of a Persian invasion, and the anxiety on this point was not removed before December. But immediately afterwards, in March 1667, the Yusufzai rising in Peshawar took place, which taxed all the strength of the empire for more than a year afterwards.

It was, therefore, the Emperor's interest not to molest Shivaji at such a time.

§2. Shivaji makes peace with the Mughals, 1668.

The Maratha chief, on his part, was not eager for a war with the imperialists. For three years after his return from Agra, he lived very quietly at home, and avoided giving any fresh provocation to the Mughals. He wanted peace for a time to organize his Government, make a
revenue settlement of his lands, repair and provision his forts, and consolidate and extend his power on the western coast at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis of Janjirā. As early as April 1667 he had sent a letter to the Emperor professing terror of the imperial army which was reported to have been despatched against him, and offering to make his submission again and send a contingent of 400 men with his son to fight under the Mughal banners."

Aurangzib had taken no notice of this letter. But Shivaji made another attempt. He entreated Jaswant Singh to be his intermediary in making peace with the empire. He wrote to the Maharajah, "The Emperor has cast me off. Otherwise I intended to have begged for the task of recovering Qandahār with my unaided resources. I fled (from Agra) in fear of my life. Mirzā Rajah, my patron, is dead. If through your intercession I am pardoned, I shall send Shambhu to wait on the Prince and serve as a mansabdār at the head of my followers wherever ordered." (Dil. 69-70.)

Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzam jumped at the offer and recommended Shivā to the Emperor, who accepted the proposal,† and recognized Shivā's title of Rajah, but so far as we can judge did not restore to him any of his forts. Thus a peace was made which lasted nearly two years.

In terms of the agreement with the Mughals, Shambhuji was sent to the viceroy's Court at Aurangabad. He interviewed the Prince on 4th November 1667 and was next day permitted to return home. On 5th August next year a Marāṭha contingent was sent to Aurangabad under

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* Akhbarat, 10-9. Shivā's three years' peace with the Mughals 1667-1669 and the causes of rupture; Sabh. 58-61; 91 Q.B. sec. 62, Jedhe S.; Dil. 69-71. The terms of this treaty are nowhere given in detail. F. R. Surat, 105.

† Muazzam's letter to Shivaji, dated 9th March, 1668, informs him of the granting of the title of Rajah, and states that his other demands were under consideration. (Parasnis MS., Letter No. 11.)
Pratāp Rao and Nirāji Rāoji [Jedhē]. Shambhuji was created a Commander of Five Thousand again and presented with an elephant and a jewelled sword. Jāgirs were assigned to him in Berār. Half his contingent attended at Aurangabad, while the other half was sent to the new jāgir to help in collecting the revenue. For a year and a half the Maratha contingent lived in the jāgir, "feeding themselves at the expense of the Mughal dominion," as Sabhāsad frankly puts it. (Dil. 70. Sab. 61.)

During 1667, 1668 and 1669, Shivaji lived at peace with the Mughal Government. The English factory letters at the close of 1668 and in 1669 describe him as "very quiet" and as "Aurangzib's vassal, (bound) to do whatsoever is commanded by the Prince." His relations with Bijapur also were pacific. "The country all about [Kārwār] at present is in great tranquillity. Shivaji keeps still at Rājgarh, and though as yet there is no peace made between this king [Adil Shah] and him, yet both refrain from committing any acts of hostility against one another."

Still later, on 17th July, 1669, the English traders at Hubli speak of "Shivaji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." [F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, Karwar to Surat, 16 Sep., 1668.]

In fact, during these three years (1667-69), he was busy framing a set of very wise regulations, which laid the foundations of his Government broad and deep, and have remained an object of admiration to after ages. (Sabh. 24-30, 56.)

But the peace was essentially a hollow truce on both sides. Shivaji's sole aim in making it was to save himself from the possibility of a combined attack by three great Powers and to recover his strength during this respite from war. Aurangzib, ever suspicious of his sons, looked upon Muazzam's friendship with Shivā as a possible menace to his throne, and he secretly planned to entrap Shivaji a second time, or at least to seize his son and general as hostages. (Sabh. 60.)
Sabhāsād tells us that Aurangzib wrote to his son to arrest Pratāp Rāo and Nirāji Pant, the Maratha agents at Aurangabad, and attach the horses of their troops, and that the Prince, who had learnt of the order beforehand from his Court agent, revealed it to Nirāji and instigated the Marāthas to escape, while the imperial order arrived a week afterwards, when it was too late to carry it out. (Sabh. 60-61.)

The rupture, inevitable in any case, was precipitated by financial causes. Retrenchment of expenditure had now become a pressing necessity to Aurangzib, and he ordered the Mughal army in the Deccan to be greatly reduced. The disbanded soldiery took service with Shivā, who had to find employment for them. Another ill-judged measure of imperial parsimony was to attach a part of Shivā’s new jāgīr in Berār in order to recover the lakh of Rupees advanced to him in 1666 for his journey to the Court. The news of it reached Shivaji when he had completed his military preparations.* He sent a secret message to Pratāp Rāo to slip away from Aurangabad with his men. The other half of the contingent fled from Berār at the same time, plundering the villages on the way! (Dil. 71.)

§3. War with the Mughals renewed, 1670.

This breach with the Mughals occurred early in January 1670, or a fortnight earlier. On 11th Dec. 1669, the Emperor received a despatch from the Deccan reporting the desertion of four Marātha captains of Shivā’s clan (birādāri) from the imperial service. Aurangzib soon set to strengthening his forces in the Deccan. On 26th January 1670 an order was sent to Dilir to leave Deogarh

* There is no evidence for holding that Shivaji broke the peace with Aurangzib (Jan. 1670) as a protest against the latter’s general order for temple destruction (9 April 1669), though the two events are placed immediately after one another in an English Factory letter (Foster, xiii. 256) and Jedhē.
in the Gond country and hasten to Aurangabad. Dāud Khan was ordered to arrange for the defence of his province of Khāндesh and then go to Prince Muazzam’s assistance. Many other officers were transferred from North India to the Deccan. (Akhbārāt, year 12.)

Shivaji opened his offensive with great vigour and immediate success.* His roving bands looted Mughal territory, and he attacked several of the forts which he had ceded to Aurangzib by the Treaty of Purandar. “The imperial officers in command of most of these forts fell after fighting heroically. Every day the Emperor got news of such loss of forts. But some of these places defied capture by reason of the strength of their fortifications and abundant supply of war material.” (Dil. 64.)

His most conspicuous success was the capture of Kondānā from Udai-bhān, its Rajput qilādār, (4th Feb. 1670). Assisted by some Koli guides who knew the place well, in that dark winter night Tānāji Mālusrārē, with 300 picked Māvlē infantry men, scaled the less abrupt hillside near the Kaliān gate by means of rope-ladders and advanced into the fort, slaying the sentinels. The alarm was given; the Rajputs, stupefied with opium, took some time to arm and come out; but in the meantime the Marāthas had made their footing secure. The garrison fought desperately, but the Māvlēs with their war cry of Hara! Hara! Mahādev! carried havoc into their ranks. The two chiefs challenged each other and both fell down dead, after a single combat. The Marāthas, disheartened by the fall of their leader, were rallied by his brother Suryāji Mālusrārē, opened the Kaliān gate to their supporting columns, and took complete possession of the fort. The rest was butchery. Twelve hundred Rajputs were slain, and many others perished in

* Sabhāsād, 58, says, “In four months he recovered the 27 forts he had ceded to the Mughals.” But it is an exaggeration, and four months is merely a vague term. There is a most spirited but legendary ballad on the capture of Singh-garh (Pωawādas). The Akhbārāt and Dikāksha have been of invaluable help in the history of the campaigns of 1670 as reconstructed here, with a few dates from Jedhē.
trying to escape down the hill-side. The victors set fire to the thatched huts of the cavalry lines and the signal blaze informed Shivaji at Rājgarh, nine miles southwards, that the fort had been taken. He mourned the death of Tānājī as too high a price for the fort, and named it Singh-garh after the lion-heart that had won it.

On 8th March, Nilo Pant recovered Purandar,* capturing its qilādār Razi-ud-din Khan. A few days later the Marāthas looted the village of Chandor, seizing an elephant, 12 horses and Rs. 40,000 belonging to the imperial treasury, then entered the town and plundered it, while the imperial qilādār was shut up in the fort. At one place, however, he met with repulse. The fort of Māhuli (in North Konkan, 50 miles n. e. of Bombay) was held for the Emperor by a gallant and able Rajput named Manohar Dās Gaur, the nephew of Rajah Bithal Dās of Shah Jahān’s time. Shivā invested it in February 1670 and attempted a surprise at night. He sent up 500 of his men to the ramparts by means of rope-ladders. But Manohar Dās, who “used to be on the alert day and night,” fell on the party, slew most of the men and hurled the rest down the precipice. Shivaji then raised the siege, turned to Kāliān-Bhivandi and recovered them after slaying the thānahdār Uzbek Khan and driving out the Mughal outposts there. Ludi Khan, the faujdār of Konkan, was wounded in a battle with the Marātha forces, defeated in a second encounter, and expelled from his district. *The Mughal faujdār of Nānder (?) fled away, deserting his post. (M. A. 99. Dil. 65. Surat letter.)

The only officer who made an attempt to uphold the imperial prestige in the Deccan was Dāūd Khan Qureshi, who had been second only to Dilir Khan during Jai Singh’s Marātha campaign of 1665. Leaving the province of Khāndesh in charge of his son, Dāūd Khan arrived at

* Shivaji’s first attempt to gain this fort by sending a party of Rāmusis to take it by escalade failed, according to the oral traditions of this tribe. Mackintosh, Account of Ramoossies (Bombay, 1835), p. 55.
Ahmadnagar on 28th March 1670. Six days afterwards he set out with 7,000 cavalry to expel Shivā's men who were roving near Pārnir, Junnar, and Māhuli. They evacuated Pārnir and Junnar and retired before him, while he occupied these two posts. Meantime, Shivaji had invested three Mughal forts in that region, and Dāud Khan left Junnar to relieve them. But at the approach of his van (under his gallant son Hamid and Ludi Khan) the Marāthas raised the siege and fled away, and the Mughal advanced division fell back on their main body.

Soon afterwards, these two officers went with a detachment and destroyed an old fort which the Marāthas were repairing on the frontier, 20 miles from Māhuli. Towards the end of April, Dāud Khan himself marched to Māhuli, and after throwing provisions into the fort, returned to Junnar. The Emperor in open Court highly praised Dāud Khan for his spirit in invading the enemy's country, regardless of the smallness of his own force, and thereby creating a useful diversion of Shivaji's attention. (Akbhārāt, year 13.)

On 16th June Māhuli too was lost to the Emperor. Manohar Dās, conscious of the inadequacy of the garrison and provisions in the fort to repel another attack of the superior Marātha forces, resigned his post in despair of getting reinforcements. Shivaji seized the opportunity, and captured Māhuli, slaying its new commandant Alawardi Beg and his garrison of 200 men. By the end of April 1670* he had looted 51 villages near Ahmadnagar, Junnar and Parenā.

§4. Quarrel between Muazzam and Dilir.

But the Mughal administration of the Deccan was in no condition to make a stand against Shivaji. For half of

* The text of Akhbarat here is doubtful. Jedhe says that in August Shivaji raided the Mughal dominions and laid siege to Junnar; captured Lohgarh (13 May), Hindolā (15 June), Karnāla (22 June), Rohidā (24 June). Dil. 65.
the year 1670 it was passing through a civil war of its own. In obedience to the Emperor's anxious and repeated orders, Dilir Khan* had left the Gond country, where he had been profitably employed in squeezing the local chieftains, and set off for the Deccan. Starting from Nägpur on 29th March 1670, he expected to reach Aurangabad and to wait on the Prince on 12th April. But at his near approach the old quarrel between the viceroy and his general broke out afresh. We have seen how they had disagreed in 1667. So, now too, when Dilir, after pursuing some enemy raiders, reached Pathri, 26 miles w. of Aurangabad (about 8th April) and received an order from the Prince to wait on him, he feared to go to the interview lest he should be treacherously imprisoned or killed by the Prince. "Twice or thrice he took horse for the purpose of visiting the Prince, but returned from the way, and spent some days on the plea of illness."

At this act of insubordination Muazzam and Jaswant wrote to the Emperor accusing Dilir Khan of rebellion. The Khan had already denounced the Prince to the Emperor, saying that he was in collusion with Shivaji and had done nothing to defend the imperial dominions, and offering to crush the Marātha chief if the command of the army in the Deccan were left in his (Dilir's) hands for two years with an adequate supply of artillery and siege material.

So, at the end of March 1670 the Emperor had sent his Chamberlain (Khan-i-sāmān), Iftikhar Khan, to Aurangabad to investigate how matters really stood,—whether Muazzam was really bent on rebellion and what his relations with Shivaji were. This officer was now

* Quarrel between Muazzam and Dilir Khan in 1670: Dil. 73-75, 80-82 (main source); Ishwardas (important) 59a—60a : Storrs, ii. 161-166; while M. A 102, Akbarat, year 18, and English records give dates and a few details. O. C. 3415. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Vol. 105 (Bombay to Surat, 5 Sep.) &c. Mirat-i-Asnad, Baroda ed., 274-276, merely copies Ishwardas.
instructed to inquire into the Prince’s charges against Dilir Khan.

Iftikahr, no doubt moved by kindly intentions, became guilty of double-dealing. As an English gunner in Muazzam’s service wrote, “He played the Jack on both sides, and told the Prince that Dilir Khan was his enemy, and went to Dilir Khan and told him that the Prince would seize on him if he came to Aurangabad.” His unfortunate advice to Dilir only prolonged the tension. (John Trotter to President of Surat, 20 Dec. 1670, in F. R. Surat, Vol. 105.)

Muazzam complained to the Emperor that Dilir Khan had openly defied his authority and that the Khan’s Afghan troops used to rob the people and sack the villages along their line of march; and the latter charge was borne out by the reports of the news-writers. Then Dilir, finding his position in the Deccan intolerable, wanted to go back to the imperial Court without waiting for permission; but the Prince ascribed this course to a wicked desire of creating disorder in Northern India. Imperial orders reached him to force Dilir Khan back to the path of obedience. The Prince set himself to raise an army for a war with Dilir and called in the Mughal detachments from the outlying posts to his banners.

Dilir Khan was pursuing a Maratha band across the Godavari river, when he heard of the arrival of a farmān from the imperial Court, and divined its purport. His former suspicion and anxiety now deepened into alarm and perplexity. Though it was the height of the rainy season (August), the rivers swollen and the roads miry, he burnt his tents and stores and fled northwards to Malwa with his army.

As soon as he started from the south, Prince Muazzam and Jaswant gave him chase up to the bank of the Tāpti, with all the available Mughal troops, calling upon Shivaji to come to their aid! The Deccan was filled with wild rumours of a civil war among the imperialists, which were
“so confused that we cannot write them for credible.”
(O. C. 3470, Bombay to Surat, 1 Sep. 1670.)

A letter, however, came from the Emperor ordering Muazzam back to Aurangabad (September.) The Prince's evil genius, Jaswant Singh, was separated from him and posted at Burhānpur until further orders. Muazzam promptly obeyed his father's order and returned to Aurangabad at the end of September, 1670.

These internal troubles paralyzed the Mughal arms, and Shivaji made the most of this golden opportunity. We have seen how he had recovered several of his forts early in the year. His cavalry bands roamed over the country, plundering far and wide. In March the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shivaji marches now not [as] before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the Prince lies near him."
(O. C. 3415.)

§5. Second loot of Surat, 1670.

In April Bahādur Khan visited Surat with 5,000 horse, to guard the town against an apprehended attack by Shivā. In August there were false rumours that Muazzam, then supposed to be in rebellion against his father, was coming to Surat, "to take possession of this town and castle." The Mughals demanded from the Court of Bijapur a contingent of 12,000 horse for service against Shivaji, and some ammunition from the English at Bombay for the fort of Kuwāri-durg (40 m. w. of Punā.) People were expectant as to what the imperialists would do when the rains would cease and campaigning again become possible. But Shivaji as usual, struck the first blow. On 3rd October he plundered Surat for the second time. (O. C. 3457, Surat Cons.)

Throughout September he had been assembling a large body of cavalry at Kaliān, evidently to invade Gujrat. The matter was so notorious that on 12th September the
English factors at Surat* had rightly concluded that "that town would be the first place he would take," and "foreseeing the ensuing danger, [we] had taken a convenient time to empty all our warehouses at Surat of what goods were ready baled and sent them down to Swally;" even their entire Council with the President (Gerald Aungier) were at Swally at the beginning of October. And yet the Mughal governor was so criminally negligent as to keep only 300 men for the defence of the city. On 2nd October came successive reports of Shivā's arrival with 15,000 horse and foot within 20 miles of Surat. All the Indian merchants of the city and even the officers of Government fled away in the course of that day and night. On the 3rd, Shivaji attacked the city which had recently been walled round by order of Aurangzeb. After a slight resistance the defenders fled to the fort, and the Marāthas possessed themselves of the whole town except only the English, Dutch and French factories, the large New Sarāī of the Persian and Turkish merchants, and the Tartar Sarāī opposite the French factory, which was occupied by Abdullah Khan, ex-king of Kāshghar, recently returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The French bought off the raiders by means of "valuable presents." Though the English factory was an open house, it was defended by Streynsham Master with 50 sailors, and the Marāthas were received with such a hot fire from it that they lost several men, and, leaving the English alone, assaulted the Kāshghar king's sarāī from the advantageous position of some avenues next to the French factory, which they were suffered by the French to occupy. The Tārtārs made a stout resistance all the day, but finding the post untenable they fled with their king to the fort at night, giving up to plunder their house with its valuable

property, including a gold pālki and other costly presents from Aurangzib.

From the safe shelter of the Tartar Sarāi the Marāthas prepared to open fire on the English factory the next day, but the resolute attitude of the handful of Englishmen cowed them, and after an angry parley they came to an understanding and agreed not to molest the English. The Dutch warehouse was untouched. As their Surat Resident writes, “A messenger came from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet ... and we gave him our assurances that we would not interfere for or against him.” The Turks in the New Sarāi successfully defended themselves, inflicting some loss on the raiders. (Dutch Records, Translations, Vol. 29, Surat to Directors, 14 Nov. 1670.)

The Marāthas plundered the larger houses of the city at leisure, taking immense quantities of treasure, cloth, and other valuable goods, and setting fire to several places, so that “nearly half the town” was burnt down to the ground. They then approached the fortress of Surat, threatening to storm it; but it was a mere demonstration, as they were not prepared to conduct a siege, and did not venture close to the walls. The third day (5th Oct.) they again appeared before the English factory, threatening to burn it down. Shivaji and his soldiers were greatly enraged at the loss of their men in the first assault on this house, and they clamoured for vengeance. But the wiser among his captains knew that a second attack would result in further loss of life, and at their request two English agents waited on Shivaji in his tent outside the town, with some presents of scarlet cloth, sword blades and knives. The Marātha king “received them in a very kind manner, telling them that the English and he were good friends, and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would do the English no wrong.” (Surat to Co., 20 Nov. 1670, in Hedge's Diary.)

On 5th October, about noon Shivaji suddenly retreated from the town, though no Mughal army was near or even
reported to be coming. "But he had got plunder enough
and thought it prudent to secure himself. When he
marched away he sent a letter to the officers and chief
merchants, saying that if they did not pay him twelve lakhs
of Rupees as yearly tribute, he would return the next year
and burn down the remaining part of the town. No sooner
Shivaji was gone than the poor people of Surat fell to plun-
dering what was left, in so much that there was not a house,
great or small, excepting those which stood on their guard,
which were not ransacked." Even the English sailors under
S Master took to plundering.

During the three days that Surat was undergoing this
fate, the sea-port of Swällly marine, ten miles west of it across
the Tāpti, was not free from alarm. There the English,
Dutch and French had built their warehouses and landing-
places for ocean-going vessels. Here lay during those days all
the members of the English factory, their treasure, and most
of the goods bought for Europe. Here the shāh-i-bandar
(harbour and custom-master), the qāzi, and the most
eminent merchants (Hindu, Muslim and Armenian) of
Surat had taken refuge with the English. Many rich people
of the town, too, had fled to the villages north of Surat,
across the river and close to Swällly. On the 3rd it was
reported that Shivaji wanted to send 500 horsemen north of
the river to plunder the villages and seize these rich men;
and it was feared that he might even come to Swällly to
demand the surrender of the Surat refugees and blackmail
from the European merchants. But the coming of the
spring-tide made it impossible for the Mārāthas to cross the
river, and Swällly remained safe. So great was the alarm
there, however, that on the 3rd the English factors removed
their treasure from the shore to one of their ships, and next
day loaded all their broadcloth, quicksilver, currall (coral?)
&c., on board ship, "to secure them against any attempts of
Shivaji." Two other English ships, which were due to sail,
were detained at Swällly till 10th October, by which time
the Marāthas were expected to withdraw from the district.
The English factors with the help of the ship's carpenters even ran up a wooden platform at one end of the marine yard and mounted eight guns on it, "to defend the Company's estate the best we could."

The manly attitude of the English and their success in scaring away the Marātha myriads, greatly impressed the people of the country. These traders had, as a reward for their brave defence of their factory during the loot of 1664, received commercial privileges from the Emperor. And now the son of Häji Said Beg, the richest merchant of Surat, who had found shelter at Swālly, publicly swore that he would migrate with his family to Bombay.

The fact that all the three European factories at Surat were untouched while every other shop and house was ransacked by the raiders, naturally excited suspicion. Both at Surat and the imperial Court people "talked of the three Christian nations having made a league with Shivaji when he was here." The foreign merchants therefore received no reward from the ruler of the land this time. (F.R. Surat, 105.)

An official inquiry ascertained that Shivaji had carried off 66 lakhs of Rupees' worth of booty from Surat,—viz., cash, pearls, and other articles worth 53 lakhs from the city itself and 13 lakhs worth from Nawal Sāhu and Hari Sāhu and a village near Surat. (Ākhbārāt, 13-10.)

But the real loss of Surat was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marāthas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed. For several years after Shivaji's withdrawal from it, the town used to throb with panic every now and then, whenever any Marātha force came within a few days' march of it, or even at false alarms of their coming. On every such occasion the merchants would quickly remove their goods to the ships, the citizens would flee to the villages, and the Europeans would hasten to Swally. Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the greatest emporium of Western India.
For one month after the second sack, "the town was in so great a confusion that there was neither governor nor Government," and almost every day was troubled by rumours of Shiva's coming there again. "On the 12th (i.e., only a week after his departure) it was again rumoured that he was returning with 6,000 horse and 10,000 foot, and that he had already reached Peint (dist. Nāsik), a place about 75 miles distant. At once there was a general exodus and the town was changed from a busy port into the death-like quiet of a desert. The Turkish, English and French merchants abandoned their factories." But the Dutch, 52 men in all, with flags flying and drums beating proceeded from their ship to their factory. This was their belated imitation of the English demonstration of January 1664, when "the English President, at the head of some 200 men, had marched through the town, declaring that he meant to withstand Shivaji with this handful of men!" (Dutch Records, Trans., Vol. 29, letter No. 763 and Vol. 27, No. 719.)

At the end of November, and again about 10th December, 1670, the alarm was revived; and the European merchants met together to concert the means of guarding their respective interests. The landward defences of Swālly were strengthened by adding a breastwork on the north side of the choultry, and the entrance to the harbour or "hole" was guarded by stationing a ship there. The English used to remove their money and goods from Surat to this place at every such alarm.

In June 1672 the success of the Marātha forces under Moro Pant in the Koli State of Rāmnagar, on the way to Surat, kept the city in constant terror for a long time. The Marātha general openly demanded chauth from Surat, threatening a visitation if the governor refused payment. There was the same panic again in February and October 1672, September 1673, October 1674, and December 1679. In short, the destruction of the trade and financial prosperity of Surat was well nigh complete. (F. R.)

Having concluded the story of the Marātha dealings with Surat, we turn to Shivaji's activities in other quarters.

Prince Muazzam had just returned to Aurangabad after chasing Dilir Khan to the bank of the Tāpti, when he heard of the plunder of Surat. He immediately summoned Dāud Khan from Burhānpur and sent him off to attack the Marātha raiders. Meantime, Shivaji had left Surat, entered Baglānā, and plundered the villages nestling at the foot of the fort of Mulhir. Dāud Khan, after sending his baggage from Baizāpur back to Aurangabad, marched westwards with light kit to Chandor, a town at which the road from Nāsik to Baglānā crosses the hill range. Spies brought him news that Shivaji had started from Mulhir and intended to cross the Chandor range by the pass of Kānchana-Mānchanā, ten miles west of Chandor. Arriving at the hamlet of Chandor (below the fort) at about 9 p.m., Dāud Khan waited to verify the news of the enemy's movements. At midnight his spies reported that Shivā had already issued from the pass and was rapidly following the road to Nāsik with half his forces, while the other half of his army was holding the pass to pick up stragglers. Dāud Khan at once resumed his march. But the moon set about three o'clock in the morning, and in the darkness the Mughal soldiers were somewhat scattered.

Ikhlās Khan Miānā (son of Abdul Qādir *bin* Bahlol Khan, a former Pathan leader of Bijapur), commanded the Mughal vanguard. Ascending a hillock in the early morning, he beheld the enemy standing ready for battle in the plain below. While his men were putting on their armour, which was conveyed on camels, he himself with a handful of followers recklessly charged the enemy. The Marātha rearguard, which had faced about, was 10,000 strong and commanded by distinguished generals like Pratāp Rāo Gujar, the Master of the Horse, Vyānkoji Datto and Makāji Anand Rao (a natural son of Shāhji Bhonslē.) Ikhlās Khan was
very soon wounded and unhorsed. After a time Dāud arrived on the scene and sent up Rāi Makarand and some other officers to reinforce the Van, while he left his elephants, flags and drums at a ruined village on a height, surrounded by nālās, with orders to make his camp and rear-guard halt there when they would come up.

For hours together an obstinate and bloody battle raged. Sangrām Khan Ghorī and his kinsmen were wounded, and many were slain on the Mughal side. The Marāthas, “like the Bārgis of the Deccan, fought hovering round the imperialists.” But the Bundela infantry of the Mughal army with their abundant fire-arms kept the enemy back. Dāud Khan himself entered the fight, repulsed the enemy with his artillery, and rescued the wounded Ikhlās Khan.

Meantime, in another part of the field, Mir Abdul Mabud, the dārogha of the divisional artillery, who had been separated from the main army by a fold in the ground, was attacked. He was wounded with one of his sons and some followers, while another son and many soldiers were slain; and his flags and horses were carried off by the enemy. There was a lull in the fight at noon.

At that time Dāud Khan had less than 2,000 men with him, while the Marāthas outnumbered him fivefold. In the evening they charged him again, but were driven back, evidently by the artillery. At night the Mughals bivouacked under the autumn sky, their camp was entrenched, and they engaged in burying the dead and tending the wounded. The Marāthas retreated to Konkan without further opposition. This battle was fought near Dindori on the 17th of October, 1670.* About a week later the Peshwa captured the fort of Trimbak (Nāsik district.)

* Battle of Dindori: entirely based upon Dilkasā, i. 84-88. (Bhimsen was an eye-witness); with a few points from Sabh. 63. Date in Jedhe S. Dindori is 28 m.s.w. of Chandor and 15 m.n. of Nasik. Jedhe states that from Dindori Shivaji went to Kunjargarh and stayed there.
As the result of the battle of Dindori, the Mughal power was neutralized for more than a month afterwards. The day after the fight Dāud Khan marched with the broken remnant of his army to Nāsik, and halted there for one month, evidently to recoup his strength and also to watch the route from Konkan (by the Tal pass?). The wounded were sent to Aurangabad. Late in November, he removed to Ahmadnagar, but at the end of December he was recalled to the scene of his last battle by the revival of Marātha activity in the Chandor range. \(Dil.\ 87, 89, 92.\)

§7. **Raid into Berār and Baglānā.**

We shall not deal in this chapter with Shivaji’s activity at sea and in the western coast-strip in November and December 1670 after his return from Surat. Early in December a Marātha force under Shivaji himself made a raid into Khāndesh, after capturing the forts of Ahivant, Mārkandā, Rāvlā, and Jāvlā in Baglana, on the way. Advancing by rapid marches, he plundered Bahādurpurā, a village two miles from Burhānpur (the capital of Khāndesh), but did not come closer to that city, because of the warning of Jaswant Singh, who had been posted there since September last. Passing into Berār, he fell, when least expected, upon the rich and flourishing city of Kārinjā, and looted it completely. Four thousand oxen and donkeys were loaded with the booty—consisting of fine cloth, silver and gold, to the value of a krore of Rupees, captured here. All the rich men of the place were carried off for ransom. Only the most eminent one among them escaped in the disguise of a woman. The other towns also yielded vast sums of money. That rich province, with its accumulated wealth of more than half a century of peace and prosperity, afforded a virgin soil to the plunderers in this their first raid. A force, reported to be 20,000 strong, began to loot the country round Āusā and collect the revenue, but they rode away without attacking the fort. In the neighbourhood of Kārinjā
and Nāndurbār the Marāthas took from the aifrighted people written promises to pay them one-fourth of the revenue (chauth) in future.*

No resistance was made by the Mughals. Khan-i-Zamān, the governor of Berār, moved too slowly to intercept the raiders, and he stopped on reaching Deogarh. Dāud Khan, the governor of Khāndesh, was absent campaigning near Ahmadnagar, while his son Ahmad Khan, who officiated as his deputy at Burhānpur, was at open war with Maharajah Jaswant Singh, who was trying to raise money for the Prince’s expenses and had demanded five lakhs from the treasury of Khandesh. Dāud Khan’s son replied that if the Maharajah could produce Aurangzib’s order, he would pay him even 20 lakhs, or else not a pice, at which message Jaswant threatened to sack the town. (F. R. Surat, 105, Bombay to Surat, 5 February, 1671.)

Dāud Khan from his camp near Ankāi Tankai hastened towards Burhānpur. Arriving near the pass of Fardāpur he heard that the Marāthas returning from Berār had turned aside from Burhānpur and taken the road to Baglānā. The situation at the capital of Khāndesh was also eased by the arrival there on 1st January 1671 of a new supreme commander, Mahābat Khan, who took Jaswant away with himself when leaving the town.

From Fardāpur, Dāud Khan swerved to the west and entered Baglānā on the heels of the Marāthas. While Shivaji had been sacking Kārinjā in Berār, another Marātha band under Moro Trimbak Pinglé had been looting West Khāndesh and Baglānā, and now these two divisions had united in the neighbourhood of Sālhir. They had plundered the village under the hill-fort of Mulhir and laid siege to Sālhir. Dāud Khan arrived near Mulhir at about 8 p.m., but could advance no further as most of his camp and army were lagging behind.

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* Jedhe ; Dil. 98. Akhbarat, year 13—5, 10. F. R. Surat, 105, Letter of J. Trotter, 20 Dec. 1670 ; S. Master to President, 19 Dec. Dil. 64 (bare mention of Karinja.) Sabh. 70, Karinja is 77-30 E. 20-32 N.
The Khan urged his troops to start next morning in order to raise the siege of Sālhīr. He himself set out before sunrise. But most of his men had not yet arrived, and the few that had come with him were scattered. They busied themselves in cooking food or taking rest in the camp, instead of resuming the march with their chief. Dāud Khan heard on the way that Sālhīr had already been captured by the Marāthas, and so he returned in disappointment to Mulhir, and after a short halt there fell back on his new base near Kāncanā-Māncanā in the Chandor range.

Shivaji had invested Sālhīr with a force of 20,000 horse and foot, and one day finding the garrison off their guard he had scaled the wall by means of rope-ladders. The qiladār Fathullah Khan fell fighting, and his wife’s brother then gave up the fort to the enemy. This happened about 5th January 1671. The success of the Marāthas continued. They threatened other forts in the province, such as Mulhir, Chaurāgarh and Hulgarh. Their roving bands cut off the grain supply of Neknām Khan, the faujdār of Baglānā (whose head-quarters were at Mulhir.) They also laid siege to Dhodap, the loftiest hill-fort in the Chandor range.*

In the winter of 1670-71, Shivaji received a visit from Chhatra Sāl, the son of Champat Rāi Bundelā, the late chieftain of Mahewā in eastern Bundelkhand. This young man had entered the imperial army at Jai Singh’s recommendation, but he was discontented with what he considered the inadequate reward of his services in the Mughal invasion of the Gond country. So, one day he left the Mughal camp on the plea of hunting and made an adventurous journey with his wife to Mahārāshtra by obscure and roundabout paths. He offered to serve under Shivā against the Emperor. Shivaji received him with honour, praised his manly spirit, but sent him back with the advice to rise against Aurangzib in Bundelkhand, saying, “Illumrious chief! conquer and

* Dil. 98-100. Akhbarat, year 15—12, 15. 91 Q.B. sec. 74. K. K. ii. 247-249 (gives another story of the surrender of Salhir).
subdue your foes. Recover and rule your native land. . . . It is expedient to commence hostilities in your own dominions, where your reputation will gain many adherents. . . . Whenever the Mughals evince an intention of attacking you, I will distract their attention and subvert their plans, by active co-operation with you." The contemporary historian, Bhimsen, however, tells us that Chhatra Sāl returned from Rājgarh in disappointment as he found the provincial spirit of the Deccani Court uncongenial to him and Shivaji never gave his trust or any high office to men from Northern India.*

*Chhatraprakāśh, canto ii; tr. in Pogson's Boondelas, pp. 52-53; Dil. 132. For history of Chhatra Sāl, see Sarkar's Aurangzib, ch. 61, and Irvine's Later Mughals, ii. ch. 9.
CHAPTER VIII

STRUGGLE WITH THE MUGHALS AND
BIJAPUR, 1671-74

1. Campaign of Mahābat & Daud, 1671.
2. Campaign of Bahadur & Dilir.
3. Marathas occupy Koli country 1672.
4. Surat threatened.
5. Maratha successes, 1672.
6. Desultory fighting, 1673.
7. Panhala & Satara captured.
10. Dilir Khan defeated.

§1. Campaigns of Mahābat and Dāud Khan, 1671.

The second sack of Surat and the Marātha ravages in Baglānā roused Aurangzib to a sense of the gravity of the situation in the Deccan. As early as 28th November, 1670, he had appointed Mahābat Khan to the supreme command in the Deccan. The events of December only deepened the Emperor’s anxiety. On 9th January 1671, he sent orders to Bahādur Khan to leave his province of Gujarat and take the command of one of the imperial army corps in the Deccan, Dilir Khan being directed to accompany him. The Emperor also repeatedly talked of going to the Deccan and conducting the war against Shivaji in person, but the idea was ultimately dropped. Dāud Khan was instructed to attack Shivā wherever he was reported to be. Amar Singh Chandāwat and many other Rajput officers with their clansmen were posted to the Deccan. Reinforcements, money and provisions were poured into Baglānā in January, 1671. (Akhbhārāt, 13-1, 2, 8, 14, 16; M.A., 107.)

Mahābat Khan left Burhānpur on 3rd January 1671 with Jaswant Singh, reached Aurangabad on the 10th, paid his respects to the viceroy, Prince Muazzam, and set out to join the army near Chandor. Dāud Khan had been appointed his chief lieutenant and the commander of his
vanguard; but he despised this office as below his rank, and begged the Emperor to recall him. \( Akh. \) 13-12; \( Dil. \) 102.

We shall now trace the history of the war in the Chandor range. Late in December 1670 Shivaji's men had laid siege to Dhodap, and Dāud Khan had started on the 28th of that month to relieve the fort. But the qiladār Muhammad Zamān, successfully repelled the attack unaided. Dāud Khan had next advanced to the relief of Sālhir, but had been too late to save it, as we have already seen. In January 1671, he held a fortified base near the Kānchana pass from which he sallied forth in every direction in which the Marāthas were heard of as roving. From the Emperor's letters it appears that Dāud Khan was under a general order to right everything that might go wrong in Baglānā! Once after a night-march he fell on a body of the enemy near Hātgarh and slew 700 of them. \( Akhbārāt, \) 13-6 and 15; \( Dil. \) i. 101.)

Late in January 1671, Mahābat Khan joined Dāud Khan near Chandor and the two laid siege to Ahivant, which Shivā had recently taken. After more than a month had been wasted in a fruitless exchange of fire, the fort was entered from the trenches of Dāud Khan and the garrison capitulated to him. Mahābat Khan became furiously angry at losing the credit of this success. He had been previously treating Dāud Khan, a 5-hazari, with discourtesy, and now the relations between them became strained to the utmost. Leaving a garrison to hold Ahivant, Mahābat spent three months at Nāsik and then went to Parnērā (15 miles north of Daman) to pass the rainy season (June to September) there, while Dāud Khan was recalled to Court, (about June.)*

* \( Dil. \) 102-104, 106; Sabh. 72. "Mahābat Khan is come as far as Nāsik Trimbak and hath taken 4 castles; Huturmt (=Ahivant) and Salhir are the names of two of them." \( F. R. \) Surat, 105, Bom. to Surat, 8 April 1671.) But the Mughals did not recover Salhir, Sabh. 73 says they were severely defeated near it. They only captured Jāvlā, Markandagarh, Anchalāgiri, and Ahivant in Vaishākh (April 1671), acc. to \( Jedhe. \)
There was excessive rainfall that year and many men and cattle perished of pestilence in the camp at Parnerā. But while his troops were dying, Mahābat Khan attended daily entertainments in the houses of the nobles by turns. There were 400 dancing-girls of Afghanistan and the Panjāb in his camp, and they were patronized by the officers. (Dil. 160.)

§2. Campaign of Bahādur and Dilīr, 1671-72.
Battle of Sālhir.

The Emperor was dissatisfied with Mahābat Khan for the poor result of his campaign in the first quarter of 1671 and his long spell of inactivity afterwards, and suspected him of having formed a secret understanding with Shivaji. So, he sent Bahādur Khan and Dilīr Khan to the Deccan next winter. They marched from Surat into Baglānā, laid siege to Sālhir (now in Marātha hands), and leaving Ikhlās Khan Miānā, Rao Amar Singh Chandāwat and some other officers to continue the siege, proceeded towards Ahmadnagar (Oct.). (Dil. 107; O. C. 3567; Jedhē.)

From the environs of Ahmadnagar, Bahādur Khan advanced towards Supā (in the Punā district), while Dilīr Khan with a flying column recovered Punā, massacring all the inhabitants above the age of 9 years, (end of December 1671.) Early in January 1672, Shivaji was at Mahād, draining his forts of men to raise a vast arm* for expelling the invaders from the home of his childhood.* But the pressure on Punā was immediately afterwards removed and Bahādur

* F. R. Surat 106. Bombay to Surat, 13 Jan. and 20 Jan. 1672. The town taken by Dilīr Khan is spelt in the English Factory Records as Puna Chackne (from the usual practice of tacking two places together in one subdivision) and described as “a place of great concern in a very large plain in the heart of all Shivaji’s upper country.” This description suggests Puna and not Chakan; but we have no direct evidence that Shivaji got back Puna and Chakan from the Mughals by the treaty of 1665 or that of 1668. The English records a rumour, which we know was baseless, that at the capture of this place Dilīr Khan killed Kartoji Gujar, the Maratha Lieutenant-General (i.e., Pratāp Rao).
Khan was recalled from this region by a severe disaster to the Mughal arms in Baglānā. There, the division left to besiege Sālhir was attacked by a large force of Marāthas under Pratāp Rao, Anand Rao and the Peshwā (Moro Pant). After an obstinate battle, Ikhlās Khan and Muhakam Singh (the son of Rao Amar Singh Chandāwat) were wounded and captured with 30 of their principal officers, while Rao Amar Singh and many other commanders as well as several thousand common soldiers were slain, and the entire siege-camp was taken by the enemy.* Shortly afterwards Moro Pant captured Mulhir, and then putting fresh men, munitions and provisions in the two forts, they hurried back to Konkan unmolested. This took place at the end of January and the first week of February, 1672. Shivaji's prestige and confidence in his own power were immensely increased by these successes. Surat was now in constant terror of him, as he entirely dominated Baglānā.

From the English records we learn that Shivā now "forced the two generals (i.e., Bahādur and Dilir), who with their armies had entered into his country, to retreat with shame and loss."† But the Persian accounts are silent about it. We can, however, be sure that the Satnāmi rising in March and the rebellion of the Khaibar Afghans in April next, made it impossible for the Emperor to attempt the recovery of his prestige in the Deccan, and Shivā was therefore left the master of the situation throughout the year 1672. (M. A. 115-116.)

Bahādur Khan returned from Baglānā with failure, encamped for some time on the bank of the Bhimā, and then went back to Ahmadnagar to canton for the rains. About May 1672 Mahābat left the Deccan for Hindusthan,

* On the Maratha side also many soldiers were slain and only one chief of note, Suryā Rao Kankré, a comrade of Shivaji's youth. Sabh. 74; Jedhe; Dil. 107; Ishwardas, 60b: F. R. Surat 87, M. Gray to Bombay, 15 Feb. Vol. 106, Bombay to Surat, 16 Feb., 1672; K. K. ii. 249.
† O. C. 3633, Surat to Co., 6 April, 1672. Ramaji Pangrē's heroic battle with Dilir near fort Kanerā (Sabh. 73) must be placed here.
and a month later Muazzam did the same. Bahādur Khan was appointed commander-in-chief and acting viceroy of the Deccan, in the place of these two, becoming substantive subahdār in January 1673 and holding that office till August 1677. (Dil. 108-109; M. A. 121.)

§3. Marātha occupation of the Koli country, 1672.

So greatly was the spirit of the Marāthas roused by their victory over Ikhlās Khan, capture of Mulhir, and expulsion of Bahādur and Dilir from Punā, that their activity continued unabated even during the hot weather and the rainy season of this year. On 5th June, a large Marātha army under Moro Trimbak Pinglé captured Jawhār from its Koli Rajah, Vikram Shāh, and there seized treasure amounting to 17 lakhs of Rupees. The place is only 100 miles from Surat, and adjoins the Nāsik district, from which it is separated by the Western Ghats. Advancing further north, he threatened the other Koli State of Rāmnagar* which is only sixty miles south of Surat. The Rajah, Som Shāh, fled with his family (about 19th June, 1672) to Chikli, six miles s. e. of Gandavi and 33 m. s. of Surat. Even Gandavi was deserted by the people in fear of the coming of the Marāthas. But the invaders speedily retreated from Rāmnagar on hearing that Dilir Khan was assembling his forces for a campaign. Heavy rain stopped the activity of the Marāthas for a few days. But soon afterwards Moro Pant, with his army raised to 15,000 men, returned to the attack, and took Rāmnagar in the first week of July. Its Rajah took refuge in the Portuguese territory of Daman.

The annexation of Jawhār and Rāmnagar gave the Marāthas a short, safe and easy route from Kaliān up Northern Konkan to Surat, and laid that port helplessly open to invasion from the south. The city became subject

* Now called Dharampur. The old capital Rāmnagar, now known as Nagar, stands 24 m. s. w. of Dharampur, the new capital.
to chronic alarm, whenever any Marātha troops were heard of even 60 miles off, at Rāmnagar.

§4. *Surat threatened for chauth.*

From the neighbourhood of Rāmnagar, Moro Trimbak Pinglé sent three successive letters on behalf of his master to the governor and leading traders of Surat demanding four *lakhs* of Rupees as blackmail, and threatening a visit to the city in the case of their refusal. The third of these epistles was very peremptory in tone; in it Shivaji wrote, "I demand for the third time, which I declare shall be the last, the *chauth* or quarter part of the king's revenue under your Government. As your Emperor has forced me to keep an army for the defence of my people and country, that army must be paid by his subjects. If you do not send me the money speedily, then make ready a large house for me, for I shall go and sit down there and receive the revenue and custom duties, as there is none now to stop my passage."

At the first news of the arrival of the Marātha army in Rāmnagar, the governor of Surat summoned all the leading Hindu and Muhammadan merchants and proposed that they should subscribe Rs. 45,000 for engaging 500 horse and 3,000 foot to guard the town for two months. Officers were immediately sent to make a list of all the Hindu houses in the town for assessing this contribution. But no soldiers were enlisted, and the governor pocketed whatever money was actually raised for the defence.

On the receipt of the third letter from Shivā, the helpless citizens were seized with panic. The richer men went to the governor that very night and wanted permission to remove their families to Broach and other towns for safety. He kept them waiting till after midnight, gave them the permission, but retracted it next morning, when he held a second conference with the townsmen, asking them to raise the blackmail demanded,—the merchants paying one *lakh* and the *desāis* raising two *lakhs* from the cultivators of the
villages around. After a discussion lasting a day and a night, in which he reduced his demand to Rs. 60,000, the people finally refused to pay anything, as they knew too well that he would appropriate the money instead of buying the enemy off with it. Thereafter, every time that there was an alarm of the approach of Shivaji's troops, the citizens of Surat hastened to flee from the town, but the governor shut the gates to keep them in! *

We may conclude the history of the Koli Rajahs here. Vikram Shāh, the ex-chief of Jawhār, on losing his kingdom in June 1672, fled to the adjoining Mughal district of Nāsik. From this place he used to sally forth with roving bands of his own, plunder the peasantry, and cut off communications in the north Thānā district, now in Marātha hands. His son joined Dhārā Rāi Koli (another dispossessed chief) and took to brigandage, causing considerable loss to Marātha territory and military routes. Finally both were captured and executed. (Jedhe S. 91 Q. B. sec. 74.)

§5. Further Marātha successes in 1672, but raid into Khāndesh and Berār, Dec. 1672, defeated.

From their base in the Koli country of Jawhār and Rānnagar, a Marātha force under Moro Trimbak easily crossed the Ghāts into the Nāsik district, in the middle of July 1672, plundered and occupied it. Jādav Rao Deccani, a great-grandson of Lakhji Jādav (the maternal grandfather of Shivaji), with 4,000 men, was the Mughal thānāhdār of Nāsik-Trimbak. He was defeated and captured after losing many of his troops in battle. Siddi Halāl,

the thānahdār of Vāni-Dindori (or North Nā: k district), was also defeated and his charge looted by the Marāthas. For this failure, both the officers were sharply reprimanded by Bahādur Khan, and in anger they deserted to the Marāthas, with two other officers and all the men of their “four great regiments of horse” (October.) Other desertions were apprehended, and Dilir Khan was left in great danger with a weakened army to defend the province of Gujrat against the exultant enemy.*

On 25th October, a large Ma-ritha army appeared at Rāmnagar again, and Surat trembled in alarm, especially as a party of Shivaji's horse advanced to Chikli. But that city was not Shivaji's objective now. He made a lightning raid into a different corner of the Mughal empire.

He sent his light cavalry to plunder Berār and Telingānā†. The viceroy Bahādur Khan, on hearing of it, set out from Ahmadnagar due eastwards, left his heavy baggage at Bir (70 miles to the east) and Kandhār, and arrived as fast as he could near the fort of Rāmgir (18.35 N. 79.35 E.) in pursuit of the raiders. But they had been two days beforehand with him, looted the village at the foot of the fort, and carried off the families of most of the inhabitants for ransom. So the baffled Mughal general returned by way of Indur (modern Nizāmābād), 95 miles due west of Rāmgir. Entering the Qutb-Shāhi territory, he ravaged the land at the instigation of Dilir Khan. The Marāthas in their retreat divided into two bodies; one turned south-west to their own country by crossing the frontier of the Gol-

* Dil. 116; F. R. Surat 81, Surat to Bombay, 20 July, 1672, Vol. 3, Surat, 26 October; Bombay to Surat, 18 October, in F. R. Surat 106. 91 Q.B. 74, for the two deserters.

Siddi Halal, formerly an officer of Afzal Khan (of Bijapur), entered the Emperor's service, but used to write secretly to Shivaji news of everything that occurred at the Mughal head-quarters. Akb. 18-18. (MS. reads Shah for Siddi).

† Dil. 116, 120-122 (full.) The exact month is uncertain. The Shivapur Yadi merely says that "Shivaji took horse on 29 Dec. 1672 and Annaji Pant was sent on 6 Jan. 1673"—without giving their destinations.
kondā State, and the other moved northwards by way of Chandā into imperial territory. Dilir Khan was sent off to pursue the first division, while Bahādur Khan tried to bar the advance of the second.

Sending his heavy baggage back to Aurangabad from the neighbourhood of the village of Jāmkhed, the viceroy hastened by way of Partur, Shellode and Peedolā, and arrived near the pass of Āntur (38 miles north of Aurangabad.) Here the Marathas turned at bay, and attacked the Mughal Van under Sujan Singh Bundelā. But they were repulsed and pursued till evening, many of the horses of traders and other kinds of booty were recovered from the enemy and restored to their owners. Next day the Mughals crossed the pass and encamped at Durgāpur, four miles from the fort of Āntur.

The following day, when they were marching to Aurangabad in rather straggling groups, before the time fixed for the starting of the general, one body of 10,000 imperialists was charged by 750 picked Marātha cavalry on the left of the pass of Bākāpur, six miles off. After an obstinate battle, in which the Mughals were reinforced by their general, the Marathas retreated, leaving 400 of their number dead on the field. The credit of this victory belongs to the Bundelās under Subh-Karn, whose gallant son Dalpat Rao was wounded in the fight.

The division under Dilir Khan rejoined Bahādur Khan after pursuing the other Marātha band into west Bijapur territory, and capturing much booty. The general cantoned his troops at Pathri, 76 miles s. e. of Aurangabad. This Marātha raid into Khāndesh and Berār, unlike their first incursion in December 1670, was completely foiled, and the Mughal troops showed commendable mobility and enterprise. (Nov.-Dec. 1672.)

To guard against a repetition of these two Marātha penetrations into Khāndesh from Bālāghāt, Bahādur Khan set up gates across the tops of the chief passes and posted troops with artillery at each of them. Bājāji Nayak Nim-
bālkar, "a great Deccani zamindar" and father of Shiva's son-in-law Mahādji, with his family, was now won over by the Mughals. (Dil. 122 and 125.)

§6. **Desultory fighting in Desh, 1673.**

Marātha activity, thus shut out of Khāndesh and Berār, burst forth in another quarter. They next assembled in the Punā district. Bahādur Khan left his baggage at Chamārgundā, hastened to meet the invaders, and defeated them after a severe battle.* Then he encamped at Pedgāon, on the north bank of the Bhimā, eight miles due south of Chamārgundā. This place became the residence of his army for many years afterwards, and here a fort and town grew up from their cantonment, which the Emperor permitted him to name Bahādur-garh. (Dil. 126.)

Pedgāon occupies a position of great strategic importance. It stands on the plain just clear of the long mountain spur running eastwards from Punā. From this place the Mughal general could at will move westwards along the north of the range to protect the valleys of the Mūlā and the Bhimā (the North Punā district), or along the south of it to guard the valleys of the Nirā and the Karhā (the southern portion of the district.) Northwards he could communicate with his great depot of arms and provisions at Ahmadnagar, without having to cross any river (except at the foot of that fort); and southwards he could easily invade Bijapur through the Sholāpur district. In short, the cantonment at Pedgāon served as the Mughal advanced base for some years after this time, exactly as Aurangzib's camp at Brahmapuri, 90 miles s. e. e. of it, did twenty-two years later, when the Mughal empire had extended further south.

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* It is probably this campaign that is referred to in M. A. 128, among the Court news of 1673, in the following terms: "Bahadur Khan had defeated Shiva after a forced march of 120 miles, made large captures of spoils and sent them with Dalpat to the Emperor, who viewed them on 22 Oct."
It was most probably in this year (1673)* that Shivaji met with a sore disappointment. The fort of Shivner, a mile west of Junnar, was no doubt of strategic importance, as it guarded the Mughal frontier in the north of the Punā district and blocked the shortest route by which he could sally out of North Konkan to overrun Mughal Deccan. But what gave it the greatest value in Shivaji’s eyes was that it was his birth-place. The Mughal governor of Shivner was Abdul Aziz Khan, a Brahman convert to Islām and one of the most faithful and valued servants of Aurangzib. Shivaji promised him “mountains of gold” for surrendering the fort into Marātha hands; and he, pretending consent, received the money, appointed a day for the delivery, and asked Shivaji to send 7,000 cavalry to take the fort over. But Abdul Aziz at the same time secretly informed Bahādur Khan of the plot; the Marātha army fell into an ambuscade planned by the Mughals, and retired in disappointment with heavy loss. (Fryer, i. 339-340.)

§7. *Gains from Bijapur and raids into Kanārā, 1673.*

In another direction, however, a wide door for conquest was now opened to the Marāthas. Ali Ādil Shah II. died on 24th Nov., 1672, and was succeeded on the throne of Bijapur by Sikandar, a boy of four years. Khawās Khan (an Abyssinian general) became regent and monopolized all the power in the State, thus breaking his former agreement to share the government of the realm with the other three leading nobles,—by which Abdul Muḥammad (ex-wazir) was to hold the eastern province, Bahol Khan the western (with Panhālā fort), Muzaffar Khan the Kanārā districts, and the regent the capital. He refused to hand over to them the royal forts in their respective districts, and they therefore left him. “Disturbances broke out on all sides,” and the Government was weakened by this internal discord.

* But Jedhē asserts that he once besieged Junnar (i.e., Shivner) in Sept. 1670.
Shivaji was not the man to miss such an opportunity. He broke off friendly relations with the new regent and recalled his ambassador Bābāji Nāyak Pundé, from Bijapur. Then he sent a strong force under Annāji Pant on a secret enterprise of great importance. This force assembled at Rājāpur. One division of it, equipped for scaling and storming forts, was sent in advance under Kondāji Farzand, with orders to march secretly by night only, while Annāji himself with the rest of the troops remained concealed in the great forest of the Ratnagiri district.

In the pitch dark night of 6th March, 1673, Kondāji arrived at the foot of Panhālā, and taking sixty picked Māvlés with himself, silently scaled the steep hill-side, every man helping his next comrade up by the hand. On reaching the summit, they suddenly blew their trumpets from different sides and charged through the fort. The surprise was complete. The wildest confusion and alarm reigned among the garrison, which was heightened by the drums beating to arms and the hastily roused soldiers running hither and thither. A confused hand to hand fighting raged for the rest of the night. Kondāji himself attacked and slew the commandant of the fort. The chief civil officer or Paymaster Nāgoji Pandit fled away with his bare life. The other Marātha troops swarmed into the fort, the day dawned, and the whole place was soon occupied by the victors, who seized the local officials and beat them to discover the hidden treasure in their own houses and the Government offices.

On hearing of the victory, Annāji came up from the rear, and Shivaji himself arrived from Rāigarh, and spent a month in the newly acquired fort which he planned to turn into an impregnable tower of refuge. The success of the Marāthas continued; Parli was captured on 1st April and Satārā on 27th July.*

* B. S. 436—440; Jedhé; the Sanskrit poem Parnāl-parvat-grahanākhyānam by Jayārām. Jedhé says that Panhala was taken by seducing some

The loss of Panhālā roused the Court of Bijapur from its sleep. Khawās Khan was blamed for his incompetence and neglect in defending the realm. Bahlool Khan was sent to recover the fort, while three other great generals were summoned from the provinces to join him and with Mughal co-operation make a united attack on the Marāthas. But, as usual, Shivaji struck the first blow and upset his enemies’ plans. He detached Pratāp Rao, Anand Rao and several other generals, at the head of 15,000 troops to attack Bahlool before his allies could join him. By two night-marches of great speed and secrecy, the Marāthas came up with Bahlool at Umrāni, 36 miles west of Bijapur city, and completely enveloped his camp at a distance, before he knew of their presence. They quietly cut him off from his water-supply, and next morning charged his camp in successive groups from different quarters. The battle raged all the day with intense ferocity. Many were slain and wounded, though the light and elusive Marāthas suffered less than the hard-pressed and densely crowded Bijapuris. But Bahlool’s Afghans held their ground with desperate tenacity. Indeed, flight would have meant destruction for them after that day-long fight in April heat without any water to quench the thirst of man or beast and with an exultant light cavalry hanging on their heels.

At nightfall the two forces separated. Bahlool sent a secret message to Pratāp Rao saying that he was not really going to fight against Shivaji, but had to make a show of hostility in order to satisfy his Government, and therefore each side should spare the other. Pratāp Rao agreed, probably for a bribe, and withdrew his troops from a point in the line of investment, through which Bahlool’s wounded army safely fell back on his base at Tikotā, with the loss of one war-elephant and some baggage only, (about 15th April.)

of the garrison; but Jayārām contradicts him and Basātin is silent on the point.
Shivaji sharply censured his general for letting Bahlol escape when he could have easily crushed him and seized his entire camp.*

From the field of Umrāni, Pratāp Rao made a dash south-westwards into Kanārā, robbing many places, in May, as will be described in chapter 10 § 9. Shortly afterwards, Bahlol with a replenished army, took post near Kolhāpur, where he continued for some months, defeating the Marāthas in several encounters and forcing all their roving bands to leave Kanārā. We hear of his pressing hard upon Shivaji and successfully defending that region throughout June, July and August, 1673. But in September he fell very ill at Miraj, and the Bijapur and Golkondā Governments sought Shivaji's help in defending themselves from a Mughal invasion threatened by Bahādur Khan. As Gerald Aungier, the President of the Bombay Council, wrote on 16th September, "Shivaji bears himself up manfully against all his enemies; . . . . and though it is probable that the Mughal's army may fall into his country this year and Bahlol Khan on the other side, yet neither of them can stay long for want of provisions, and his flying army will constantly keep them in alarm; nor is it either their design to destroy Shivaji totally, for the Umaras maintain a politic war to their own profit at the king's charge, and never intend to prosecute it violently so as to end it." (F. R. Surat 106.)

At the end of the rainy season, Shivaji opened a grand campaign on 10th October (the dashaharā day) and raided Kanārā, both upland and coast. Here he continued till the middle of December, being finally forced to retire by the pressure of Bahlol, Sharzā and other Bijapuri generals. (Ch. 10 § 9.)


It was to restore his prestige after this set-back in Kanārā that next month (January 1674) he sent Pratāp Rāo

* Umrāni; Sabh. 78; Parnal-parvat-grahana; B. S. 440. Nesari: Sabh. 79, and F. R. Surat 88 (Narayan Shenvi's letter.)
against Bahlol Khan, severely censuring him for his neglect in having let that Bijapuri general off instead of crushing his power once for all, when he was at his mercy at Umrānī in April last. The Rajah wrote to his general in anger, “Bahlol has come again. Go with your army, destroy him and win a decisive victory. Otherwise, never show your face to me again!”

Stung to the quick by this letter, Pratāp Rāo sought Bahlol out at Nesari, “in a narrow passage between two hills,” (24 Fcb. 167:i). Smarting under his master’s censure, he threw generalship to the winds, and rushed upon the Bijapuri army followed by only six horsemen, the rest of his soldiers hanging back from the mad charge. The gallant seven were cut down by the swarm of foes, and much havoc was done among the Marāthas who were disheartened by the fall of their leader; “a river of blood flowed.” Shivaji greatly mourned the death of Pratāp Rāo and repented of his angry letter. The dead general’s relatives and dependants were well provided for, and his daughter was six years later married to Rājārām, the favourite son of the king.

Anand Rao, a lieutenant of Pratāp Rāo, rallied the disheartened army of his chief. Shivā appointed him to an independent command and ordered him not to return alive without defeating the enemy.* At this Anand Rao went off

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* The Maratha achievements in this paragraph and the next two are ascribed to Hansāji Mohitē by both Sabhāsad and Chitmis. But Nārāyan Shenvi, writing from Rāigarh, only a month later, on information supplied by Shiva’s ministers, states that it was Anand Rao who rallied the Maratha army after the fall of Pratāp Rao, and was the leader in all these campaigns. Jedhē supports him, and I have followed these original authorities.

The place of Pratāp Rao’s death is called Jesari (a misreading for Nesari) in Sabhāsad and Niviti in Jedhē, and described as situated in the Panhālā district. This Nesari lies 45 m.s. Kolhāpur, in the Garh-Hinglāj sub-division of the Kolhāpur State, one mile north of the Ghātrabhā river, and 11 miles south of Garh-Hinglāj town. [Degree sheet 47 L.] There is “a narrow passage between two hills” near it. There is another Nesari, but too far from Panhālā to be the battle-field, viz., Nesargi of Ind. Atlas, Sheet 41 N. E., 18 miles east of Belgaum, on the Belgaum-Koladgī road. It was the halting place of Little’s detachment when co-operating with Parashurām Bhao. (Moor, p. 15; Bom. Gaz. xxi. 591.)
with the whole body of his cavalry far into Bijapur territory in search of Bahlol. Dilir Khan with the Mughal army advanced promptly to the succour of his brother Afghan, Bahlol Khan. But Anand Rao, not daring to fight two such large forces, retreated towards Kanārā, making forced marches of 45 miles a day. The two Khans, unable to overtake the mobile Marāthas, gave up the pursuit and turned,—Bahlol to Kolhāpur and Dilir to Panhālā, whence, after a 5 days’ halt with the intention of besieging it, he fell back on his base.

Anand Rao, penetrating further into Kanārā, robbed the bazar (peth) of Sāmpgāon, about 20 miles from Bānkāpur, in Bahlol’s jagir, capturing 150,000 hun worth of booty (23 March). Thence he set out on return with 3,000 ox-loads of plunder. Bahlol and Khizir Khan, with 2,000 cavalry and many foot-soldiers, tried to intercept him near Bānkāpur, but were defeated after a desperate battle and put to flight with the loss of a brother of Khizir Khan. Anand Rao robbed the entire Bijapuri army, capturing 500 horses, 2 elephants, and much other prize. (March, 1674.)*

But the Bijapuris had their revenge immediately afterwards. Bahlol Khan, “regarding the loss [of the elephants] as a great disgrace to him, became desperate, attacked the robbers again, and being reinforced secured such a victory that the robbers had to abandon 1,000 horses and were pursued for a long distance.” It was not the Marātha policy to fight pitched battles during a raid. So, Anand Rao rapidly retreated with his booty to Shiva’s dominions, left

* The Dutchman Van Reade, 15th Dec. 1674, (Dutch Records, Vol. 32, No. 824) calls the pillaged bazar “Honspent, situated on the borders of Bijapur near Bankapur.” Narayan names it “a city called Pench, 8 leagues from Bankapur.” Sabhāsad refers to this campaign on p. 80, but gives other names to the two generals: “Hambir Rao went with his army to Sampgāon [19 m. s. e. of Belgāum.] Husain Khan Miānā, a great Bijapuri general, with 5,000 Pathans marched against Hambir Rao. A severe battle took place between them, from noon till next morning. Many men, horses and elephants were slain in Husain’s army. He was captured with 4,000 horses, 12 elephants, many camels, and property beyond calculation. His whole army was destroyed.”
it there in safety, and then at the beginning of April was
ordered to ascend the plateau (bālā-ghāt) for raiding more
towns.*

On 8th April, Shivaji held a grand review of his troops
at Chipulun, and appointed Hansāji Mohitē commander-in-
chief with the title of 'Hambir Rao' in succession to Pratāp
Rao Gujar. Bounties were lavishly distributed among the
soldiers. The fort of Kelanja (Mohangarh) fell to him on
24th April. [Sabh. 80; Jedhe S.]

§10. Defeat of Dilir Khan, January 1674.

Late in January 1674, a Mughal army tried to descend
into Konkan and cause a diversion in that quarter simul-
taneously with the Bijapuri invasion of the Panhālā region.
But Shivā stopped the paths by breaking the roads and
mountain passes and keeping a constant guard at various
points where the route was most difficult; and the Mughals
had to return baffled. It was probably this expedition to
which the English merchants refer in a letter written at the
end of January 1674, in the following words, "Dilir Khan
hath lately received a rout by Shivaji and lost 1,000 of his
Pathāns, and Shivaji about five or six hundred men." If
so, Dilir Khan had either made a rash frontal attack on one
of the entrenched passes or fallen into an ambuscade of the
Marāthas. Throughout these four months, December 1673
to March 1674, Shivaji's wars with Adil Shah and the Siddis
were carried on languidly with only occasional outbreaks of
vigour. The soldiers on both sides were weary of fighting
and their commanders not in earnest to end this paying
business. The winter rains of this year were very heavy and
bred pestilence. Shivā in December and January was com-

* Sabhasad, 82, says that the raid (under Hambir Rao) extended over
Khandesh, Baglana, Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Berar and Mahur,
to the bank of the Narmada, and that the tired Mughal pursuers always
lagged 50 or 40 miles behind, so that the Marathas returned home un-
molested and with all their booty.
pelled to distribute his horses throughout his dominions in order to stable them in comfort.*

Soon afterwards the Mughal power in the Deccan was crippled. The rising of the Khaibar Afghāns became so serious that Aurangzib had to leave Delhi (7th April) for Hasan Ābdāl, in order to direct the war from the rear, and next month Dilir Khan was called away to the North-western frontier. Bahādur Khan was left alone in the Deccan with a greatly weakened force. This lull in the war was utilized by Shivaji to crown himself with the greatest pomp and ceremony. (M. A. 132; F. R. Surat 88, Oxinden's Letter, 21 May, 1674.)

The eve of Shivaji's coronation affords a suitable time for making a survey of his territorial position. We have seen in Chapter 3 §5 what his kingdom was in 1648 and in 1659. His gains between November 1659 and February 1660 were shortlived except in South Konkan. Here he completed the conquest of the Ratnagiri district by taking possession of its western part (including all the ports except Rājāpur and Vingurlā) as well as its southern extremity. From this time his power began to impinge on that of the Sāvants of Vādi (or the desāis of Kudal, as they were then called), and after a long and confused struggle much of the latter's territory as well as the ports of Rājāpur and Vingurlā passed into Shivaji's hands, (by the middle of 1663), and all South Konkan owned him as its sole master. He had already wrested the western coast of the Kolābā district from the Siddis.

What he ceded to the Mughals by the Treaty of Purandar (1665) touched only his territories in the Puna and Thānā districts, while his acquisitions in middle and south Konkan remained intact. Most of these cessions even were recovered by him in 1670 and 1671.

From 1664 the Marāthas began to raid Kanārā,—both the Kārwār coast and the uplands of Hubli and Bednur;
but their actual *conquest* of the coast was achieved as late as 1675.

Marātha activities in 1671 and 1672 resulted in the annexation of Baglānā (north of the Nāsik district) and the Koli country (Jawhār and Rāmnagar) in North Konkan, between Surat and the Thānā district. The hill-forts in the Chandor range seem to have repeatedly changed hands between the Mughals and the Marāthas. But their importance in Shivaji’s eyes was only strategical, as they secured his northward route to Baglānā and Khāndesh.

Southwards, Shivaji’s power was firmly planted by his annexation of Panhālā in 1673 and Kolhāpur and Phondā in 1675. Thus his boundary in 1675 extended beyond the Kolhāpur district well into western Karnātak or Kanārā uplands.

The full extent of his kingdom at his death (1680) will be described at the beginning of Ch. 15.