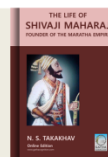




THE LIFE OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJ FOUNDER OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

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Chapter 2

The Career of Shivaji

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Introduction

At the time when Shahaji succeeded to the *mansab*, the renowned Malik Ambar was at the head of the Nizam Shahi State. It is indispensable at this stage to have some general notion of the state of Ahmednagar, on the eve of its extinction. The town had fallen into the hands of the Moguls about 1600, and the illustrious Chand Bibi Sultana, whose noble defence of it had excited the admiration and envy of the Mogul conquerors, had been stabbed by one of her own perfidious *sardars*. The infant prince she had placed upon the Nizamshahi throne was now a captive in Mogul hands, being immured within the prison-fort of Gwalior. The capital was gone, the prince was lost, but this did not daunt the noble heart of Malik Ambar, who rallied the Ahmednagar chiefs and again presented a united front to the invaders, having proclaimed an infant prince who stood next in succession under the name of Murteza

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GATHA COGNITION®

Nizam Shaha II¹. He transferred the new king's court to the strong fort of Dowlatabad and again unfurled the defiant standard of the house of Bheiry. This led to a concentration of all power in the hands of Malik Ambar, and the Abyssinian element in the state, which was Malik Ambar's party, now had it all their own way. The Maratha nobility resented this and factions arose. The leader of the Maratha party was Mian Raju, who had cooperated with Malik Ambar in recovering a great part of the territory conquered by the Moguls. Now Mian Raju kept in his own hand all the recovered territory north of Dowlatabad upto the limits of Guzerat and south-wards down to Ahmednagar. The country further south remained under Malik Ambar. Both outwardly professed allegiance to Nizam Shaha, but had no desire to surrender their power. Murteza Nizam Shaha was kept in the fort of Avsha, and the revenue of the territory adjoining the fort was ceded for the expenses of his court.

Sometime afterwards we find Mian Raju making peace with the Moguls and waging war with Malik Ambar. In this contest victory at last smiled upon Malik Ambar, and Mian Raju himself was soon a prisoner in his hands. The Maratha nobility had now to give up their opposition and acknowledge the supremacy of Malik Ambar. After overthrowing all opposition Malik Ambar devoted all his attention to the reorganization of the

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1. Most of the chroniclers call this Nizamshahi Sultan as Sultan Murteza Nizam Shah II, and the puppet prince set up by Shahaji at the extinction of the dynasty would then be recognized as Murteza Shah III. However there is much confusion. Meadows Taylor speaks of the puppet supported by Malik Ambar as Murteza Shah II and the Sultan reigning at the time of Khan Jehan Lodi's rebellion as Murteza Shah III. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his article on Shahaji in the *Modern Review* (September 1917) calls the prince supported by Malik Ambar by the name of Buran Nizam Shaha, against the authority of Ferishta who calls him Murteza II. This prince reigned over a long period, 1601 to 1632. At any rate Murteza II, the protege of Malik Ambar was a grandson of Buran Nizam Shah I, and might have been known as Buran Nizam Shaha before succeeding to the throne. Grant Duff and other historians including the Marathi chronicles have concurred in calling him Murteza II. The puppet set up by Fatteh Khan was Hoosein Nizam III, though Prof. Jadunath Sarkar speaks of him both under this name and as Bahadur Nizam Shaha. It may be here noted that the *Jedhe* chronology, (see *Bharat-Itihas-Sanshodhak Mandal Chaturth Sammelanvritta*, page 178) states, under Shaka year 1553, that Fatteh Khan put to death the Sultan Buran Nizam Shaha.

The gist of the article of Prof. Sarkar above referred to is that Shahaji came to greatness only after 1630-32, and that entirely owing to the Bijapur ministers Khawas Khan and Murarant, and he states that the fall of his patron, Fatteh Khan, and the murder of his father-in-law Lakhji Jadhavrao were *crushing* blows to him. The latter of these statements is opposed to all Marathi Chronicle authorities; nor can any justification for it be seen in the rest of Prof. Sarkar's article, which would appear to contradict itself in terms by giving us the further information that between 1620-30 Jadhavrao fought under the Moguls, that is against Ahmednagar and against Fatteh Khan, the patron of Shahaji.

state. He had in a short time restored order to the different departments of the state, but the crowning glory of his administration was his reform of the revenue system. By this reform he at once made a name throughout Maharashtra. Later in 1610 he founded a new town, Khadki, afterwards more famous under the name Aurangabad. This he now made the capital of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom. He waged endless wars with the Moguls, many of them with conspicuous success. He recaptured the town of Ahmednagar, Which had passed under the Moguls. While Malik Ambar was thus waxing in resources and chastising one Mogul army after another, Jehangir, the then Mogul emperor of Delhi, sent his son Shaha Jahan with a great army to the Deccan to reconquer the Nizam Shahi dominions (1617). A desperate engagement took place between Malik Ambar and the Mogul forces in 1620. The Maratha nobles fought with great bravery, and it was in this battle that the bravery and generalship of the Rajah Shahaji were first recognized. Malik Ambar was indeed defeated and had to retire, still the Rajah Shahaji, undaunted by any reverses, made raid after raid on the Mogul camp and tired them out. For this perseverance and valour he received great honour at the Nizamshahi court. No one had now a doubt left about his bravery or proficiency in the tactics of war. He at once rose in the high esteem of Malik Ambar.

Shaha Jahan saw that as long as the Nizamshahi was supported by the solid strength of the Maratha power, it was impossible to subvert it. He, therefore, began to sow intrigues. He corrupted Lukhji Jadhav and other nobles and drew them over to the Mogul side. These nobles were already disaffected with Malik Ambar and had no great scruples about deserting a sovereignty of which he was the mainstay. It is said that Jadhavrao received a mansab of 24,000 horses from the Moguls, and that many of his relations got mansabs in their own right². This occurred in 1621. The Rajah Shahaji was the only one of the great Maratha nobles, who was proof against this corruption. He still adhered to the party of his patron, Malik Ambar.

After this wholesale desertion of the Maratha nobility, Malik Ambar saw there was little prospect of success in stemming the tide of Mogul invasion, and was content to make peace by a large cession of territory. A

2. Some of the *Bakhar* writers attribute the defection of Jadhavrao to his envy of the sudden rise of Shahaji in the Nizamshahi state. They likewise assign to it a date subsequent to the death of the Sultan Murteza II. According to them Shahaji being practically appointed as vizier and guardian to the reigning Nizami prince who was only an infant, Jadhavrao did not like to dance attendance upon Shahaji, and therefore went over to the Moguls. As to the total amount of the mansab obtained by Jadhavrao, see prof. Jadunath Sarkar's article in the *Modern Review*, (September 1917, page 249 and Elliot VII, page 11).

little later events compelled Shaha Jahan to return to Delhi. Malik Ambar seized this opportunity to expel the remnant of the Mogul garrisons and reconquer the ceded territory. Shaha Jahan soon returned to the scene of these war operations. The old fields were fought again and the territory so recently recovered by Malik Ambar again came under the rule of the Mogul Empire. Malik Ambar had now exhausted all his resources. Shahaji still kept loyally supporting his chief. But all his efforts proved vain before the great military resources of the Moguls. Malik Ambar now thought it proper to make his submission and save the remnants of the territory for his Nizam Shahi master rather than to stake all upon the uncertain chances of a decidedly unequal war. He soon found a favourable opportunity for overtures of peace. This honourable peace he observed till the last day of his life. He did not live long after this. He died of a sudden malady in 1626 at the age of eighty.

Immediately on the death of Malik Ambar the Moguls renewed their hostilities with the active support of Lakhji Jadhav. Shaha Jahan had to return to Delhi about this time, on account of the death of his father, the Emperor Jehangir. He marched to Delhi, leaving but a small Mogul force to co-operate with Jadhavrao. At this time the sultan Murteza Nizam Shaha was at Mahuli, and Shahaji was in attendance upon the Sultan. Jadhavrao laid siege to Mahuli with all his forces. Shahaji defended the fort with great valour for six months, but with all his efforts he did not succeed in forcing the enemy to raise the siege. However he was resolved never to give in to the enemy. Shahaji was indeed the last of the loyal officers still left in the service of the Nizamshahi who combined in himself the will and the capacity to save the Nizamshahi kingdom. But the good fortune of the state seemed to have forsaken her forever. For as misfortunes never come singly the state lost the services of a good and loyal servant, on account of a strange prejudice that Murteza Nizam Shaha's mother now conceived against Shahaji. This was due to an intrigue which Lakhji Jadhav had set on foot, under the pretence of reconciliation and peace, but in reality to extinguish the Nizami power. Shahaji saw the changed aspect of affairs, but he could only regret it. When the sultan had himself lost heart and was bent upon submission at the sacrifice of every idea of honour and advantage of what avail was it, he reflected, for himself to continue the opposition single handed, perhaps at the risk of his life? His loyal and devoted service to the state seemed to have been rendered in vain. Why should he now, when the state was being blindly driven to the brink of ruin, incur the gratuitous odium of hastening on its fall? Far better for him to turn his back upon the impending destruction! With these counsels, he prepared for his departure from the beleaguered town, having previously apprised the sultan and his mother of his intention. He sallied out of the fort one night with a small band of loyal veterans and broke through the besieging lines. This is just

what Jadhavrao wanted. He pursued him and continued the pursuit for several days with great earnestness until the barriers of Phaltan were reached. There the vengeful Jadhavrao had to stop his relentless chase of his son-in-law. For he knew of the old alliance of the Nimbalkars and knew well too that were Shahaji, reinforced with the militia of the Nimbalkars, to turn upon him, he would have little difficulty in dispersing his pursuers.

At the time that the Rajah Shahaji burst forth from the fortress of Mahuli he was accompanied by his wife Jijabai and his little son Sambhaji, who was then only three or four years of age. Jijabai herself was far advanced in pregnancy. Hard-pressed by their pursuers, the fugitives had to make forced marches and Jijabai had to be conveyed on horse-back. A few miles' journey sufficed to cause her intense sufferings, so that Shahaji was reluctantly forced to find an asylum for her on the way³. Now Junnar was the stronghold of a certain Shrinivasrao, an independent chief with whom Shahaji had a long standing alliance. Under his promise of protection the lady Jijabai was placed for shelter in the fort of Shivneri, and Shahaji detached a small body of cavalry from his slender retinue to defend her from harm. No sooner had Shahaji left the place than his pursuers arrived. With difficulty could Jadhavrao be persuaded to yield to the importunate pleading of those who argued that whatever grudge he might have against Shahaji in person, his own daughter Jijabai was an innocent party and that public opinion required it of him to take measures for her safety. Whose would be the disgrace if the Jadhavrao's daughter were to fall into Mogul hands? This last argument carried weight with the haughty warrior. He pitied the forlorn state of Jijabai and went to see her. The meeting between father and daughter was very painful. She reproached him for his lack of generosity and of a father's love and exclaimed that, now that she had fallen into his hands instead of Shahaji, he was welcome to wreak his revenge on her instead of her husband. His heart was touched and he endeavoured to comfort her saying: "What the gods had ordained has taken place; the bitterness of after-regrets is of no avail." He tried to persuade her to accompany him to Sindhkhed, the seat of the jahgir he had received from the Moguls. But she steadfastly refused, and Jadhavrao, seeing that nothing would shake her resolution, detached from his army an escort for Jijabai's protection and went forward. Thus did the high-minded Jijabai continue to dwell in the place chosen for her by her husband. That her father, of all persons in the world, should prosecute these hostilities against her husband was an offence she could never forgive. Notwithstanding all the

3. Some *bakhars* represent Shahaji to have been forced by necessity to leave Jijabai on the way with a small escort and attribute her removal to the fort of Shivneri to Jadhavrao, who detached a force of 500 horses-soldiers for her protection.

tumults of war that were raging all round her, she persevered in staying at Shivneri, and never more in after life did she set her foot in her father's jahgir.

Meanwhile Shahaji did not slack his flight till he reached Bijapur. He had previously sent a trusty officer, Balkrishnapant Hanumante, to the Bijapur Durbar, on a political mission, as soon as he had got the first inkling of the intrigue meditated by the mother of the Nizam Shaha at Mahuli. The principal statesmen of the Bijapur state, Murar Jagdeo and Randulla Khan, knew the ability of the Rajah Shahaji. The Adil Shahi Sultan received him with honour and cordiality, promised to co-operate with him in his labours to preserve the Nizamshahi dynasty from utter extinction and reinforced him with a small complement of Bijapur forces.

In the meantime a great revolution had taken place in the affairs at Ahmednagar. On the death of Malik Ambar, his son, Fatteh Khan, succeeded to the viziership. He possessed none of the tact and ability of his father, or the courtesy and considerateness by which he had won over the gentry and nobility towards himself. He waged arduous wars with the Moguls, but seldom with success. The Mogul general Khan Jahan Lodi was in charge of military operations in the south. A timely peace concluded with him by Fatteh Khan gave a new lease of life to the Nizam Shahi.

Not long after the Nizam Shahi sultan had reason to resent the insolent and arbitrary ways of Fatteh Khan, who possessed all the autocratic tendencies of his great father without his genius. Takrib Khan was accordingly appointed to supersede him as vizier⁴. This change of ministry induced Jadhavrao to return to his allegiance and the service of the Nizamshahi; and with this end in view he started overtures for a reconciliation. But the Nizam Murteza Shaha was a man who was led by the impulses of passion. With him desire for revenge weighed more in the balance than counsels of prudence; and against Jadhavrao he had conceived the bitterest hatred and animosity. It did not occur to him that the exigencies of the state might not permit him to nurse his grudges. A great general of the empire was coming back in sack-cloth and ashes. True statesmanship required the sultan to forgive and forget the past, to receive the repentant general with open arms, to unite him to his interests and make him a pillar of his state. But these thoughts were too noble and too generous for his pusillanimous spirit. He chose to work in darkness and intrigue and return treachery for treachery. Resolved to revenge himself on Jadhavrao for his past desertion, he invited him to a personal interview in the fort of Dowlatabad. In reply to the

4. Khafi Khan says that Hamid Khan, an Abyssinian noble, who had risen to power on account of the fascination of his wife's beauty upon the sultan, succeeded Fatteh Khan as vizier.

invitation Jadhavrao attended by his son Achloji, came to the Nizam's durbar. Soon after they had been ushered in, the sultan left the audience hall, on the pretence of a secret consultation with his ministers, and three Mahomedan nobles, in accordance with a previously concerted plan of treachery, drew their swords, fell upon the unsuspecting Jadhavrao and his son, and in an instant deprived them of their swords. Alarmed by this treachery both father and son drew their daggers and fought with bravery, but the odds were against them and they were cut to pieces⁵. The wife of Jadhavrao was encamped with a small force at the reservoir outside the town. When the story of the treacherous murder of her husband and son reached her ears, she at once escaped with her little army to Sindhkhed. In reply to her petition the Mogul court transferred the mansab and jahgir of her husband to his brother, Bhotajirao. This branch of the Jadhav family remained true to the Mogul sovereigns to the last day of the empire and rendered distinguished and loyal service to their Mogul masters.

The Rajah Shahaji was then at the fort of Parinda and having conquered the adjoining territory reigned there an absolute master. When he heard of the treacherous circumstances of his father-in-law's murder, he saw that it was useless any more to try to get reconciled with the Nizam Shaha or lead the Nizami standards, as he had done on many a battlefield in the past, in the impending struggle with the Moguls. He was convinced that Murteza was an irredeemably treacherous and vindictive man. Shahaji accordingly resolved to conquer whatever territory he could and make himself independent. In consequence of this plan he reduced all the country from Sangamner to Poona under his personal sway and captured all the forts in the neighbourhood. In the confusion of these conquests, certain parts of the Bijapur kingdom came in for a share of his acts of violence. It was but natural that the Bijapur authorities should resent his encroachment upon their dominions, and send a general at the head of a large army to chastise his audacity. This general conquered some of Shahaji's districts and captured Poona, consigning to flames Shahaji's mansion in that town. Shahaji did not yet feel himself strong enough to challenge the large Bijapur army. He, therefore, again had recourse to the friendly aid of Shrinivasrao of Junnar. When the tide of the Bijapur invasion

5. Modak's history of the Adilshahi kingdom (Marathi) gives quite a different version of this story. It represents that a feeling of unrest had sprung up in the mind of Jadhavrao and the Maratha nobles generally on account of the incarceration of Fattah Khan. He intrigued to secede to the Moguls, and the sultan's suspicion being once roused he determined to apprehend and keep him in custody. Then follows the story of the treachery in the durbar. The *Basatin-i-Salatin* relates the story of Jadhavrao's murder in full, and this version agrees with the one followed in the text. Some chronicles change the name of Bhotaji into Vithoji or Nathuji, perhaps the same as Jagdevrao. Vide *Abdul Hamid* in Elliot VII, page 11.

had ebbed away, Shahaji once more emerged from the hospitable walls of Junnar, on a new career of adventure. He found the fort of Pamegad in an utterly dismantled and abandoned condition. He repaired and fortified this fort, named it Shamgad and made it his head-quarters⁶. From this fort he recovered in gradual succession nearly all his old fortresses and possessions, assembled a force of five or six thousand and subjugated all the territory from Junnar and Sangamner to Ahmednagar and Dowlatabad. He also captured the Baleghat district.

About this time the redoubted Mogul commander, Khan Jahan Lodi, had suffered an eclipse of the imperial favour. He had deserted from the service of the emperor Shaha Jahan and found shelter with the government of Ahmednagar. A mighty army was sent after him from Delhi. Khan Jahan found many warm partisans among the landed gentry and nobility of the south, the *deshmukhs* and *jahgirdars* of the Ahmednagar kingdom, who espoused his cause and made it their own. This was the beginning of a prolonged war with the Moguls. Shahaji took up his cause and rendered him such valuable assistance that for a long time the Mogul armies made little head-way in the field. When the news of these events reached the ears of Shaha Jahan, he at once perceived that the sinister conjunction of the Nizamshahi sultan and the Maratha nobility with the forces of Khan Jahan Lodi portended disaster to the Mogul crown, and nothing but an immediate annihilation of the forces of Khan Jahan and his confederate partisans would avert the danger. With this conviction he marched to the Deccan in person and issued a proclamation that whosoever aided or abetted or sympathised with Lodi would be considered by him his personal enemy and would be utterly extirpated by the Mogul army. He then despatched his army in three divisions, under three different commanders, against Lodi and his confederates. Lodi was too weak to withstand these tremendous forces and fled southward, imploring the assistance of Bijapur. But that state held wisely aloof. Lodi directed his flight again northwards in the direction of Dowlatabad and was reinforced by the Nizam Shahi sultan. The result was a pitched battle between the Mogul and Nizami armies, in which the former were victorious. Thus with his hopes frustrated on all sides, Lodi with his chosen horse, determined to make his way to the north and escape to Kabul. The Mogul armies pursued him so relentlessly that at length driven to utter despair, Lodi turned upon his pursuers with a handful of his loyal supporters and fell fighting bravely.

6. The names are variously given as Bhimgad for Pamegad and Shahagad for Shamgad (*Basatin-i-Salatin*, -page 441). This confusion or variation of names is found in nearly all the chronicle authorities. Bhimgad or Pamegad was the fort where Shahaji ruled afterwards in the name of the puppet prince he had set up.

Upon the destruction of the forces of Khan Jahan Lodi Shahaji was in extreme terror lest Shaha Jahan should carry out his threats and turn the vanguard of the Mogul army upon his possessions. He found but one expedient to save himself from such a dire contingency, and that was to tender his submission to the Mogul Court, procure an amnesty for his offences in the past and offer to take service in the Mogul army. He began his overtures for peace on these lines, through Azim Khan, a nobleman of the Mogul court. He memorialized the emperor to the effect that he was ready to join the Mogul service, and if a promise of pardon and safety were vouchsafed to him he would throw himself on the emperor's mercy. Shaha Jahan had already received personal proofs of Shahaji's valour and bravery. He also thought that the active co-operation of a powerful chief and practised general like Shahaji would be of the highest advantage in the accomplishment of the great object of his life, namely, the extinction of the Ahmednagar kingdom. He, therefore, acceded to Shahaji's request and giving him his royal promise of pardon invited him to a conference. Shahaji went to meet the emperor with his corps of two thousand horses. He was received with great honour and a mansab of five⁷ thousand was conferred upon him in addition to which he received some districts⁸. Shaha Jahan went so far as even to give mansabs to the relatives and dependents of Shahaji, among them to Kheloji, the son of his uncle Vithoji, who attended Shahaji on this occasion. This event took place in 1629. The districts of Junnar and Sangamner now came under Shahaji.

About this time there was a great famine in the Deccan, the greatest severity of which fell upon the inhabitants of the Nizam Shahi state. To the horrors of famine were added the ravages of cholera. People died literally in thousands. Whole districts were depopulated. On the top of these horrors came the furies of the Mogul war. The Moguls deposed many *jahagirdars* and *mansabdars* in the Nizam Shahi kingdom and installed their own officers in their places. Amid all these disasters, the Nizam Shaha now felt that his sceptre was falling from his grasp. Many of his greater nobles had openly gone over into the camp of the enemy, the loyalty of many others was open to question all had been tampered with. In his despair he began to reflect upon the causes of these evils. He somehow persuaded himself that his new vizier

7. Some of the Marathi chronicles describe Shahaji's mansab as a command of twenty-two thousand horses, and Khafi Khan rates it at 6000 personal and 5000 horses. (Elliot VII. 15)

8. These districts probably include Ahmednagar to which Shivaji at a later date laid claim. Some *Bakhars* state (and this is supported by the *Badishinamah*) that Kheloji mentioned in this connection was later on apprehended and executed by Aurangzeb. It would seem that the Marathi chronicles have exaggerated the value of the mansabs. According to the *Badishinamah*, Shahaji's mansab amounted to five thousand horses, but his relatives were given separate mansabs in their own right.

was at the bottom of his present misfortunes. He accordingly proceeded to depose this vizier, released Fattah Khan from his captivity and again placed him at the head of affairs. The deposed vizier Takribkhan was not a man to brood over his degradation in silence; he openly joined the enemy. The Moguls appointed him a commander of 6000 and retained him in their service for the operations of the war.

No sooner had Fattah Khan been restored to the viziership than he began to concert a plot to revenge himself upon the sultan for his heartless ingratitude towards himself. He caused a rumour to be circulated that the sultan had gone mad and had him placed in confinement under this pretence. The sultan thus placed at his mercy was secretly strangled to death. This atrocious deed was followed by the simultaneous massacre of some twenty-five of the prominent nobles, who were partisans of the king. By such infernal plans did Fattah Khan endeavour to concentrate all authority in his own hands, and in order to secure permanently to himself the absolute power which he had thus usurped, he petitioned the Emperor Shaha Jahan, stating that in doing what he had done he only wanted to give a practical proof of his anxiety to remain and be reckoned upon as a loyal vassal of the empire, and that for the present he had placed on the Nizam Shahi throne a puppet prince of ten years, the son of the late sultan, and requested the favour of the emperor's orders in the matter. Shaha Jahan was a shrewd and astute statesman. He could at once read between the lines of this petition what the secret aims and objects of Fattah Khan were. He reflected that most of the provinces of the Nizam Shahi kingdom were already in his grasp, and only a few hill-forts, more or less strongly fortified, remained to be taken. He thought he could get Fattah Khan to play into his hands so as to secure all his objects. With this view he sent orders to Fattah Khan that the imperial pleasure was that all the state jewels from the Nizam Shahi treasury and the state elephants should be sent to the imperial camp, that all the territory which still remained with Ahmednagar should remain under the rule of the young Nizam Shahi king, and that special lands would be assigned to Fattah Khan in jahgir. Fattah Khan was at first very indignant at the imperial demands. He could by no means make up his mind to send away the state jewels and elephants. Shaha Jahan sent a large army to overawe him into submission. Fattah Khan had no resources to maintain a contest with the Moguls. Alarmed at this measure, he had no alternative but to bow to the imperial pleasure, to undertake to cede all the valuables demanded of him without protest, and to crown all, to pay an indemnity of eight lakhs of rupees in cash and agree to pay an annual tribute in future. When these demands were complied with, Shaha Jahan gave him permission to carry on the administration of the Nizam Shahi state in the name of the young sultan, in

the restricted territories assigned to him, and also completed the grant of a personal jahgir made to Fatteh Khan. In this grant of jahgir-lands were included some districts which had been before assigned to Shahaji. At this Shahaji took umbrage and again meditated a renunciation of the authority of the emperor and set about to carve out an independent principality for himself⁹.

The first step in this direction was to make his peace with the Bijapur State. He succeeded in conciliating to his interests Murarpant, the chief minister to the vizier and indeed the pillar of the Adil Shahi State, and through him conducted his negotiations. He drew the attention of the Bijapur Government to the absolute anarchy reigning in the Nizamshahi government and the public distrust in the administrative acts of Fatteh Khan, and urged how easy it was at the present juncture of affairs to conquer that kingdom and even to capture its capital, the fort of Dowlatabad itself. The garrison of the fort had lost their faith in the government; and the control of its defences was never more lax. If the Bijapur government thought it proper, now was the opportunity to send its armies against that fort, and Shahaji undertook in person to serve the Bijapur interests and carry the fort with that bravery and strategy that never failed him in the midst of war. The Bijapur government approved of this plan. The sultan of Bijapur thought that the accession of a powerful and experienced commander like Shahaji to his fortunes would be of inestimable advantage in confronting the Mogul armies. The Adilshahi sultan placed his army under the command of Shahaji and ordered him in concert with Murarpant to advance against Dowlatabad¹⁰.

The consternation of Fatteh Khan knew no bounds, when he learnt that Shahaji having made friends with Bijapur was in full march upon Dowlatabad at the head of the Adilshahi army. He scarcely had the strength to challenge a conflict with them. He tried negotiations with the Moguls and promised to yield to them the fort of Dowlatabad, if only the state were saved from the Bijapur invasion. Shaha Jahan ordered Mohabat Khan to march to the aid of Fatteh Khan. This Mogul general came up with the invading hosts of Bijapur and a hard fought contest followed. Shahaji put forth all his arts and bravery in withstanding the imperial forces, but was at length beaten back and forced to retreat on account of their overwhelming numbers¹¹.

9. Abdul Hamid in Elliot, VII, 36, 37.

10. Abdul Hamid's *Badishahnamah* (Elliot VII, 23, 28) says that the chief minister at Bijapur was then Khawas Khan, originally a slave and *Kalawant* (musician) named Daulat. Murarpant was Khawas Khan's confidential friend and counsellor.

11. Elliot VII, 35.

Shahaji and the Adilshahi ministers now thought to gain by craft what they had failed to gain by arms. Negotiations were secretly opened with Fatteh Khan, and he was warned that in making over the fort of Dowlatabad to the Moguls he was digging his own grave. On the other hand the Bijapur government was ready to conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with him and to keep up the friendly relations between the two states, if he placed the fort of Dowlatabad in their hands and indemnified Shahaji for the losses he had sustained. Fatteh Khan was quite won over by these promises and had the hardihood to break with his Mogul overlord. The Mogul army was lying encamped in the plain dominated by the fort. Without any provocation he opened fire with his artillery upon the exposed army from the height of the fortress. Shahaji leading the Bijapur troops soon appeared on the scene in aid of Fatteh Khan. The battle was hotly contested. But Shahaji could effect little against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. Victory at length declared itself in favour of the Moguls, whose general Mohabat Khan carried the fort of Dowlatabad by storm in 1633 A. D.¹².

Fatteh Khan's fortunes were now at their lowest ebb. Deprived of every means of resistance, he had to surrender himself to the Moguls. He was divested of all authority and influence and compelled to retire into private life with a fixed annual pension. The puppet prince whom he had raised to the insecure throne of the Nizamshahi state was; relegated to the prison-fortress of Gwalior, as was the fate of most political prisoners, and the remnants of the territory of that state were now permanently annexed to the Mogul Empire. Thus the year 1633 was the last year of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmednagar. Its conquest had been the life-dream of Shaha Jahan. He experienced all the thrill of a gratified ambition. As far as the Deccan went, his cares and anxieties were now at an end. Thus thought the exultant emperor. Little did he dream that the now vanquished Shahaji would again rise from his fall and attempt to revive the extinct monarchy. Little did he dream that the same old battles would have to be fought over again.

During the last campaign the Mogul commander had tried his utmost to bring Shahaji into difficulties. While the Mogul siege-lines were lying round Dowlatabad, Shahaji caused constant diversions amongst them by his nightly attacks and surprises. In order to wreak revenge upon Shahaji for these constant incursions, Mohabat Khan hit upon the unchivalrous plan of surprising Shahaji's wife Jijabai at her residence at Byzapur, and by fair or foul means bringing her a captive to the Mogul camp. Now, as fortune would have it, the governor of a Nizamshahi fort had just deserted to the Mogul camp and wanted to transfer his services to the emperor. As an earnest of his

12. *Vide*: Abdul Hamid's *Badishahnamak* in Elliot, VII, 36, 37.

good faith and loyalty he was ordered to effect the arrest of Jijabai at Byzapur, and he was asked to trust for all the rest to the imperial favour should he be so fortunate as to pass this test. These conditions were accepted by the commander. He exhausted all his ingenuity and ultimately succeeded in capturing Jijabai and bringing her down into the Mogul Camp. But the brother of Lukhji Jadhav was in the Mogul service and was indeed present in the camp itself. He was naturally much irritated at what had just occurred. He interceded with the general, urging as was well known that the families of Jadhavrao and Shahaji were at daggers drawn with each other and that on this account Shahaji had abandoned his wife and son and had two or three years previously married Tukabai, a daughter of the Mohite family. In consequence it was urged that Jijabai and Shahaji were very much at variance with each other, that the arrest of his wife was in no way an injury to Shahaji, but on the other hand, as she was a daughter of the Jadhav family, it would be a gross affront and insult to that noble family. This argument carried weight with the Khan and he made over Jijabai to the protection of the Jadhav, who sent her back in safety to Kondana, one of the hill-forts under Shahaji. Thus was a great danger averted from the infant career of the great empire-builder who is the subject of our biography¹³.

Repulsed in the manner described above the Bijapur troops were forced to retire, and Shahaji also had to retire with them. But he did not lose heart under this defeat and disappointment. His ardour and enthusiasm were as fresh as ever; his defeat served to enkindle them all the more. He resolved to restore the Nizamshahi dynasty that had just been extinguished by the Moguls. The task he had proposed to himself was not a light one. It meant a deadly encounter with a formidable foe like the Mogul. Instead of returning to Bijapur with the retreating army, he left it on the way and marched from

13. Byzapur or Bezapur is 25 miles west of Aurangabad. As may be inferred from Abdul Hamid (Elliot VII, 15, 17) it came into Shahaji's occupation after Junnar and Sangamner, perhaps as part of his jaghir from the Moguls when he left Khan Jehan Lodi and was co-operating with Azam Khan and other imperial generals (*Vide* Prof. Sarkar's article on Shahaji in the *Modern Review*, September 1917). The story of Jijabai's abduction is omitted in Sarkar's *Life of Shivaji*, though the story of a similar abduction of Kheloji Bhonsle's wife is related by him. The abduction of Jijabai is described by most of the Marathi chronicles, and the story of the abduction of Kheloji's wife lends probability to the abduction of Jijabai. Mr. Kincaid relates the story in his *History*. Mr. Sardesai (*Marathi Riyasat*) while relating the story avers that Jijabai was staying with her mother's relations at Byzapur. But since Shahaji had seized possession of Nasik, Trimbak, Sangamner and other lands which he had held under the Moguls, even after defying their authority, it might well be that Byzapur was one of these places and Jijabai was living there as one of the places in her husband's possession, and not with her mother on account of estrangement with Shahaji at his second marriage.

Nasik to Bhimgad. This fort had all along been in his control. He mustered an army in its mountain fastness and when his muster had swollen considerably in numbers, he proceeded to wrest from the Moguls all the districts from Poona and Chakan to Balaghat. In this way he went on carrying one Mogul outpost after another. The Mogul officer in charge of the garrison of Dowlatabad, Iradatkhani by name, sought to devise some way to put an end to these encroachments of Shahaji. Shahaji's uncle Vithoji had a son of the name of Maloji Bhonsle. He formed a friendship with this man, and by his mediation he opened communications with Shahaji. He offered again to bestow on Shahaji from the emperor the old mansab of twenty-two thousand. This was not acceptable to Shahaji. The time was gone when such an offer would have brought him over¹⁴.

Shahaji maintained at this time a force of eight to ten thousand and had already won back a portion of the Nizamshahi provinces that had fallen into the hands of the Moguls. He knew well enough that he must prepare for an attack by the great Mogul armies. He knew likewise that he was not strong enough to meet them single-handed. He saw that without the active co-operation of Bijapur his high ambition could not be realized. The chief minister at the Bijapur court was a nobleman named Khawas Khan. Through the good offices of Murarpanth, Shahaji opened overtures for an alliance with Bijapur, promising to revive the fallen Nizamshahi and restore the fortunes of the House of Bheiry¹⁵. Many statesmen of Bijapur doubted the expediency of this plan; but Shahaji answered all their objections and dispelled their doubts. They were soon assured of the wisdom and the generosity of his plans, and subscribing to these views they undertook to render him every assistance. Between both parties a covenant was entered into to the effect that Shahaji should select an eligible descendant of the Nizamshahi family, instal him on the throne and conduct the government of the Nizamshahi districts in his name. True to this covenant, Shahaji released a young prince of the name of Murteza who was on parole at Shrivardhan, and crowned him king at Bhimgad, the new capital. This event took place in 1634. This prince having

14. Modak's history of the Adil Shahi Dynasty (Marathi) gives a different version representing that the proposal here referred to emanated from a noble of the Bijapur kingdom and that a treaty was struck between Shahaji and the Bijapur *Durbar* by which Shahaji was to receive a mansab of 22000 horses, and the territory of the Nizamshahi state recovered by the joint co-operation of Shahaji and the Bijapur forces was to be equally divided between the two parties.

15. Bheiry or Bahiry was the nickname of the founder of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmednagar, who is said to have been originally a Brahman converted to Islam.

been proclaimed as the king of the Nizamshahi state, Shahaji continued the reconquest of other forts and provinces. Admiring his pluck and daring and pleased with his zealous allegiance to the sultan's family, the hereditary supporters of the Nizamshahi, the loyal gentry and nobility, now came over to Shahaji. The disbanded soldiery of the Nizamshahi state, who had for some time been roving over the country in search of adventures flocked to Shahaji's standards. Thus from day to day did his party wax in strength and his military resources continue to augment. Shahaji now subdued all the Konkan country which had once been under the Nizamshahi, all the territory upto Ahmednagar on the east and the country from the Nira to the Chandor mountains in the south. Shahaji's next move was upon Junnar. Shrinivasrao ruled there in independence. He was, as we have seen, a great friend of Shahaji. But Shahaji saw that the Nizamshahi kingdom could not regain its fallen power and prestige until the recalcitrant nobles who had declared themselves independent were brought back under its allegiance. He, therefore, tried to conciliate Shrinivasrao into an acknowledgment of his Nizamshahi suzerain. But Shrinivasrao was entirely governed by selfish plans. He refused to unite his powers with those of the sultan. He declined to accede to Shahaji's terms. Shahaji was obliged to resort to an ungenerous stratagem. He gave out that he was desirous of entering into a marriage alliance with him, and demanded the daughter of Shrinivasrao for his son Sambhaji. Under pretence of arranging about the espousals, Shrinivasrao was invited to a feast at Shahaji's mansion, and when he came there in answer to the invitation, he was put under arrest. The towns of Junnar, Jivdhan, Sounda, Bhorig and others which were under Shrinivasrao were now captured. The young sultan was brought up from Bhimgad to Junnar. Shahaji next proceeded to bring under his power the Abyssinian chief, Saya Saif Khan, who like Shrinivasrao had become independent at Bhiwandi and was raiding the neighbourhood, and likewise the Abyssinian Ambar, who was pursuing the same tactics at Janjira.

When the emperor Shaha Jahan heard of these events in the Deccan and learnt that the Nizamshahi dynasty had been restored and its territory all but reconquered by Shahaji, a great army was launched against him. A great battle took place at Perinda between the Mogul army and the forces of Shahaji who was aided by Bijapur. The Mogul army was overthrown. Then the emperor ordered Khan. Dowran and Khan Jeman to start with a large army and crush the insurrectionary attempts of Shahaji. But these commanders also were much harassed by Shahaji, who was well supported by Randulla Khan and Murarpant of the Bijapur kingdom and had besides considerable forces of his own. This enabled him to defeat all the attempts of the Moguls against himself.

Shaha Jahan was naturally quite exasperated at the failure of these two expeditions, and what stung him especially was the support lent by Bijapur to Shahaji. Shahaji had in a short time proved the Mogul triumphs over the Nizamshahi and the extinction of that dynasty to have been a mockery. Affairs stood now in exactly the same posture in which they were at the commencement of the protracted war, and the emperor was all the more incensed when he saw that he had now to deal with an adversary of more mettle and superior powers of enterprise. In the height of his fury he declared his resolution to take the field in person with a mighty host, to crush Shahaji and force him to restore all the territory and, if occasion arose, to extinguish the Mahomedan dynasties of Bijapur and Golconda. With this comprehensive programme before him, the Mogul came down upon the Deccan with his invading hosts.

His first manoeuvre was to separate Mahomad Adilshaha of Bijapur from the alliance with Shahaji by threats. He sent an ambassador to Adilshaha requiring him to surrender the Nizamshahi fortresses that had been taken by him, to return; the famous piece of ordnance called the *Malik-i-maidan*¹⁶ which had been transferred from the fort of Perinda to Bijapur, and not to lend any assistance to Shahaji and his partisans, with a promise that if these conditions were complied with, the emperor would make over to Bijapur all that portion of the Konkan which had once been under the Nizamshahi, with the fort of Sholapur and all the territory within its influence. At the same time the emperor threatened to extinguish the Adilshahi Kingdom if these demands were not instantly obeyed. The sultan of Bijapur paid little heed to these demands, since Randulla Khan and the rest of the influential nobility were inclined to continue the alliance with Shahaji.

Seeing that this plan was frustrated, Shaha Jahan determined upon punishing the two powers together, and dividing, for this purpose, his vast

16. The name "*Malik-i-Maidan*" means "the Lord of the Field." This marvellous piece of artillery is believed to have been cast by a Constantinople mechanic at Ahmednagar by order of a Nizamshahi sultan. The weight of this cannon is estimated by an English military officer at 32,000 pounds avoirdupois. It is usually given as 60 candies. It is nine feet eight inches in length. The bore is so wide that it is said that a person may be easily seated in it and in that posture be able to fold his scarf into a turban round his head. This gun is reported to have been made use of in the fateful battle of Talikot which resulted in the death of Ram Rajah and the extinction of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Aurangzeb had an inscription engraved upon it in commemoration of his capture of Bijapur in 1685. The East India Company proposed to present it to King George IV in 1823, but expert advice having proved the impracticability of hauling and transporting it to the coast, the plan had to be given up. The superstitious people of the place worship the gun and call it by the name of the goddess, *Mahakali*.

army into four columns he ordered two of them to march against Shahaji and the other two to advance against Bijapur. In command of the first column against Shahaji was Shaista Khan, whose charge was to subdue Chandor, Nasik, Sangamner, and other towns and the outlying districts and forts which were under Shahaji. The other, consisting of twenty thousand horses, was under the command of Khan Jeman. His orders were to engage with Shahaji in the plains, and put him to flight, and reducing the Konkan hill-forts leave him no rallying-ground in any part of the Nizamshahi territory.

Thus at one and the same moment Shahaji had to bear the brunt of attacks by two large Mogul armies on two different fronts. But his courage did not waver for an instant. His resolution had been made to fight without flinching or yielding an inch of ground, and he persisted in this noble resolve to the end. He put forth all the arts of a redoubted warrior and general. His consummate strategy, the rapidity of his movements, and unerring tactics drew praise even from his bitterest foes. He did his best to harass the Moguls, but their great advantage of numbers began to tell in course of time, and he had to face defeat in different directions. The Moguls took twenty-five of his forts in the districts of Nasik and Chandor. All the territory between Sholapur and Bedar slipped away from his hands. Many outposts in the Konkan were seized upon by the Moguls. Repulsed from the Konkan, Shahaji had to move to Ahmednagar and wait in ambush. Both the Mogul columns now effected a junction and marched together upon him. Driven to great straits, he made good his escape from between their battle lines, by a most dexterous movement, and fell back upon the districts between Chambhargonde and Baramati. When the enemy followed on his rear into those parts, he diverted his flight to Kolhapur and Miraj. Receiving new reinforcements from Bijapur, he now turned back against the pursuing Moguls and began raiding their army and intercepting their fodder supplies. They had no energy left to give battle or to pursue Shahaji any further.

When the news of these events reached Shaha Jahan, he sent orders to Khan Jaman to let Shahaji alone, since his pursuit was attended with such severe losses to the imperial armies, and to concentrate his forces against the Bijapur territory, as on the fall of that kingdom it would take little time to subdue Shahaji. In accordance with these orders, three Mogul generals invaded the Bijapur dominions, causing havoc in all directions. Many forts and towns fell before them, and thousands of the inhabitants were taken prisoners and sold into slavery! A large Mogul army marched straight upon Bijapur. The Sultan Adilshaha was seized with panic. He had no power to resist, and opened negotiations. A peace was soon brought about between the two powers, on terms rather favourable to Bijapur. It was arranged by the treaty that the Adilshahi Dynasty should retain possession of the forts of

Perinda and Sholapur, together with the territory between them ; that the same sultan should continue his authority over Bidar, Kalyani, and Naldurg to the east of Sholapur, and should retain the Malik-i-maidan, the famous gun for which a demand had been made before the war; that the parts of the Konkan that had once been held by the Nizamshahi kings should be transferred to the Adilshahi sultan ; as also the country watered by the Bhima and the Nira upto the fort of Chakan. In return for all this territory the Adilshahi sultan was to pay an annual tribute of 12 lacs of *hons* (pagodas) to the Mogul emperor, and the Rajah Shahaji with his followers was to receive pardon on condition of surrendering all his forts and cannon and munitions of war. Should he not do so he was not to obtain any shelter within the limits of the Bijapur state, who were to look upon him as a public foe of their own no less than as an enemy of the Mogul Empire.

By this treaty the kingdom of Bijapur extricated itself from its difficulties¹⁷. Shahaji now lost his great ally and was quite isolated. Undaunted by this change of circumstances, he still held on. He was bent on fighting it out with the enemy. By the treaty with Bijapur, Shaha Jahan's armies were now free to move. They were concentrated against Shahaji. They dogged his footsteps. Shahaji availed himself of an opportunity to descend into the Konkan, and put his remaining fortresses in readiness for a long war. Soon after the Mogul armies poured down into the Konkan and took possession of the hill forts one after another. A contingent from Bijapur under Randulla Khan co-operated with the Moguls. Shahaji soon found himself in great extremity, from which there was no escape possible except by submission. He petitioned the emperor for pardon and offered his services to the imperial army. His request was not complied with. In his reply the emperor reminded him of the mansab or military command that had once been conferred upon him, and how notwithstanding this he had declared hostilities with the empire, and had brought upon it immense losses by his rebellion. He could no more expect employment under the Mogul empire; but he was free to enter the service of Bijapur. On receipt of this reply, Shahaji purchased his peace by surrendering to the emperor the puppet sultan whom he had raised to the Nizamshahi throne at Mahuli, and with the rest of his followers came down to Bijapur (1637).

17. The ruthlessness of the Mogul campaign can be seen from Jadunath Sarkar's Life of Aurangzeb, Vol. I page 37. Prof. Sarkar gives the terms of the treaty at length in the same volume, pages 38 to 40.

Shahaji in Service under Bijapur

Shahaji was received with great honour by the Adilshahi sultan and the statesmen of that court like Randulla Khan. He was retained in the service of the court with his great retinue. They indeed considered the accession of such a brave, daring, and experienced general a peculiar piece of good fortune to the Adilshahi State. By the recent treaty with the Moguls, Shahaji's jaghir lands had passed over to the Bijapur kingdom. Out of these, Poona and Supa were now continued to him in jaghir¹⁸. The charge of administering these jaghirs was entrusted by Shahaji to a capable and faithful Brahman minister, named Dadaji Kondadev, and a force of a thousand cavalry was kept with him for defence of the jaghir¹⁹. In command of this cavalry force was Hilal, an Abyssinian officer.

The Bijapur state had entered on the task of restoring order to the province between the Bhima and the Nira, which had been made over to it by the Moguls. That government got Shahaji to accompany their general, when he set out for this province, as Shahaji knew the district so well. Shahaji rendered him very valuable assistance, for he was as good a politician as he was a brave general. The governor²⁰ highly appreciated the manifold talents of his gifted assistant, and the appreciation soon ripened into a close friendship. On his return from this duty he highly extolled Shahaji's abilities and urged the sultan to make much of an officer who combined in himself the virtues of war and peace in such an eminent degree. He recommended the sultan to reward his services by every mark of the royal favour and encourage him by all means in his power to remain loyally with the master with whom he had now staked his fortunes.

Some of the *Bakhars* mention the following anecdote of the ingenuity by which Shahaji had won over the favour of the Adil Shahi minister, Murarpant. The story belongs to the period when at the suggestion of Shahaji the Bijapur army was sent against the fort of Dowlatabad under the command of Murarpant. While the army was on the march it happened that there took

18. The Rairi *Bakhar* represents this grant to have been made by Murarpant, on Shahaji's return from the siege of Dowlatabad.

19. Dadaji Kondadev was Patwari of Multhan, a *Mouza* of Poona Prant. Afterwards he is mentioned in records as "Subhedar, Fort Kondana" or "Muzumar, Junnar Subha" (Rajwade: Vol. XVIII, 19 and Chitnis, 19).

20. According to the Marathi chronicles Shahaji's first campaign under Bijapur took place as an assistant to Murarpant (1637). But Prof. Sarkar has proved in his article in the *Modern Review* (Sept. 1917), that Murar was executed about 1635 or 36. Prof. Sarkar bases this story on a passage in the *Basatin-i-Salatin*.

place an eclipse of the sun²¹. Murarpant was then encamped at Nagargaon at the confluence of the Bhima and the Indrayani; and true to Hindu superstition he made the eclipse an occasion for dispensing various kinds of charity²². Among other acts of charity, Murarpant thought of weighing his elephant against silver, and distributing the treasure among Brahmans. But then arose the perplexing question, how to weigh the elephant. No one could make a practical suggestion until it came to Shahaji's turn, who hit upon the following method to weigh the unwieldy beast. Shahaji suggested that the elephant should be embarked on a boat, and a mark should be made of the extent to which it sank in the water under the weight of the beast. Then the elephant should be removed and the boat filled with large stones until it should sink in the water to the same extent as before. Lastly the stones should be taken out and severally weighed, and the total arrived at would give the weight of the elephant. This simple expedient, which, however, because of its very simplicity perhaps occurred to no one else present, won him great admiration from Murarpant, who, when the weighing ceremony was done, gave to the Brahmans lands worth the weight of the silver.

After returning from this expedition, Shahaji did not make a long sojourn at Bijapur. Immediately in the following year, the Adil Shahi sultan determined to subjugate the various Hindu polygar chiefs in the Karnatic and thus to extend his dominions. Randulla Khan was placed in command of this expedition with the title of *Sir Lashkar* (Chief Commander), and Shahaji was sent with him as his deputy. In order that Shahaji might devote himself entirely to this cause in co-operation with Randulla Khan, the sultan promised to give him a jahgir out of the conquered territory. By Shahaji's enthusiastic co-operation, the expedition was crowned with success. The war with the polygars lasted for two or three years, and many of them were utterly defeated. The *bakhars* mention one or two of these contests. They speak of a certain Raya Rayal, who was probably a distant survivor of the royal family of Vijayanagar, otherwise known as Shri Ranga Rayal. He was raising his head in the Karnatic and harassed the districts there that had been conquered by Bijapur. Shahaji defeated him in two decisive engagements and conquered the districts of Akalkote, Bagalkote, Bangalore, Vaskote, Balapore and Shirta from him. By these conquests Shahaji earned the high favour of Randulla Khan, who, on the return of the expedition, frequently extolled his services in

21. This eclipse took place in *Shaka* year 1555 (1633 A. D.) on new moon day in the month of *Bhadrapad* (September). An account of this event is given in the *Bharat-Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal's Year Book* for 1912, page 69.

22. This village (viz. Nagargaon) received in commemoration of this elephant weighing incident the name of Tulapur. The story that Aurangzeb gave this name to the place is therefore a myth.

the presence of the sultan. The sultan was pleased with Shahaji's valour and gave him the conquered provinces in jahgir. Not long after, the districts of Ratanpore, Deogad, Kanakgiri, and Rajdurg were added to his jahgir, and his Maharashtra jahgir likewise received the addition of Indapur, Baramati and Maval. In addition to all this, the *deshmukhi* of twenty-two villages in the Karhad district was conferred upon Shahaji.

Thus in the service of the Bijapur state, Shahaji had at last found a good arena for the display of his talents, and, to his credit be it said, the sultan showed high appreciation of Shahaji's virtues. The sultan was convinced that Shahaji was one of the most competent and loyal of his servants. It was no mean task to restore order and establish a good system of administration in the Karnatic and Dravid parts that had been so recently brought under the Bijapur kingdom. The sultan also saw that none but the most capable and devoted of his governors would be able to administer the newly acquired territory. The leading politicians of the state concurred in the opinion that Shahaji was the most competent officer for this high post, and Shahaji was duly appointed and sent to this new province. The province, having been but lately annexed to the Bijapur kingdom, was full of disorder and anarchy. It was the task of the new governor to extirpate the elements of disorder and misrule and establish the authority of Bijapur on a sound basis. In a short time Shahaji achieved these objects. Anarchy and misrule melted away before him. A new revenue settlement was introduced in the province, which, while it made the people happy and prosperous, resulted in a substantial addition to the royal treasury. In order to maintain the finances in order, Shahaji brought over from Maharashtra a battalion of Brahman finance-clerks or karkuns. The descendants of these men brought over to the Karnatic in the times of Shahaji are still to be found there bearing the various office names of Deshmukh, Deshpande, Kulkarni, Shirestadar, etc. Shahaji had learnt his lessons in finance at the feet of Malik Ambar, and the true disciple of such an illustrious master was not to be dismayed by the finance problems of the Karnatic. What is truly to be commended in him is not that he did not harass or oppress his Karnatic subjects, but that in all his endeavours, he made it a particular point to cultivate their love and friendly sympathy. He was careful to send regularly to Bijapur the annual quota of revenue from the Karnatic and to retain a substantial surplus with himself.

On going down to the Karnatic, Shahaji at first resided at Bangalore. When tranquillity was restored to the country he made Balapore his headquarters. At that time a powerful prince of the name of Vijay Raghav reigned at Tanjore. He was at enmity with the Rajah of Trichinopoly. The latter made an alliance with Shahaji against Tanjore, offering to make a united war against Tanjore and conquer its territory, and promising to contribute five

lakhs of rupees to Shahaji for his war expenses and all the booty. Shahaji invaded the principality of Vijay Raghav. The prince was defeated and fell on the field of battle. Tanjore fell into the hands of Shahaji, who found an immense treasure there. Shahaji saw that Tanjore was indeed a fertile and wealthy country and determined to retain possession of it. He gave the Rajah of Trichinopoly to understand that he meant to keep Tanjore and he need not make any payment for the expenses of the war. The Rajah was irritated at this reply and declared war. He was defeated, and his principality too fell into Shahaji's hands. The Bijapur government confirmed him in possession of these new territories²³.

When we survey these events of the career of Shahaji a question that naturally and inevitably arises in our mind is how a spirit, so war-like and heroical, could choose to remain humbly contented with servile vassalage to the throne of Bijapur. How could he, who was not dazzled by the pomp and splendour of Mogul power, and who set at nought the much vaunted strength of the imperial armies, forget his own worth, set aside his own ambitions and be content to attach himself to the waning fortunes of the Adil Shahi dynasty? The explanation is to be found in Shahaji's character. He was a cautious and far-sighted statesman. He was not a man to be misled by a passing caprice, or to be betrayed into a rash or irrevocable act by passion. The true statesman must at all times act with circumspection. He must weigh time and circumstance. Situated as he was Shahaji had constantly to trim his sails according as the wind blew in order to save his fortunes from destruction. When the Nizamshahi dynasty was extinguished by the Moguls, he strove to re-kindle its dying splendour with the help of Bijapur. But the emperor separated Bijapur from this coalition by tempting offers and the vanquished Nizamshahi dominions were divided between the two powers. This conjunction of powers had proved too strong for the single-handed resistance of Shahaji. He could count upon no support. Further resistance or endeavour to re-conquer the lost territory would bring down the united Mogul and Bijapur hosts upon himself. To enter upon a conflict with such mighty powers was to invite his own destruction. Under the circumstances it seemed far more to his own interest to acquire a permanent jahgir and watch future events. It was no doubt with such motives that he had entered the service of the Bijapur Government.

23. Scott Waring and the author of the Bundela Memoirs (Naskha-i-Dilkasha) give a different account. According to these authors the quarrel was between the Rajah of Tanjore, whose name is mentioned as Panchi Rangu, and the polygar Naik Janjappa of Mudgal, the latter of whom, enlisted the assistance of Shahaji and the occupation of Tanjore by Shahaji led to a subsequent war between him and the chief of Mudgal.

When he had earned the favour and confidence of the Adilshahi sultan and obtained the governorship of the Karnatic, Shahaji began gradually to develop his higher ambition. Some historians confidently assert that it was his object to lay the foundation of an independent principality in the Karnatic²⁴. His object in endeavouring to earn the popularity and grateful affection of his people was that he might confidently rely upon their zealous co-operation should he ever come into a collision with the Bijapur sultan. That his conduct was shaped by some such motives becomes evident, when we consider that the deeds of grants and other *sanads* that he issued, some of which are still extant among the people of the Karnatic, make no mention of their proceeding from the higher authority of the sultan, but record the gifts as emanating from the *darbar* or court of the Rajah Shahaji Bhonsle. There is another piece of evidence bearing on his latent ambition. When Shivaji began to raid the Bijapur territory, the noblemen of this court began openly to murmur that Shahaji must be in collusion with his audacious son, and the sultan wrote to Shahaji on the subject, requiring him to bring back his rebel son to a sense of his duty. Shahaji replied to the court that he had renounced his first wife and her son and married another, and that for some time he had no kind of communication with them. The government was at liberty to take against them such steps as they liked. It seems that the Adilshahi sultan was at this time quite satisfied with this reply and did not in any manner proceed against Shahaji. It is quite clear, however, that this reply was a mere subterfuge. For, if Shahaji had really been out of sympathy with the daring and adventurous career which Shivaji had just embarked upon, it was within both Shahaji's power and interest to put an end to his mischievous enterprise. But in excusing himself, under the pretext that he had nothing to do with his son and in refusing responsibility for his acts, he only masked his real feelings under a cloak of disapproval. But it should be transparent to every student of history, that in reality he thought Shivaji's acts to be in agreement with his own deeper projects²⁵.

In course of time Shivaji's rebellious attitude became more pronounced. The Bijapur kingdom could put up with it no longer and determined that it was time to punish the father for the acts of the son. Notwithstanding the assurances of Shahaji their suspicions were re-awakened. The *darbar* was the more inclined to suspect collusion in view of the practical

24. Wilks's History of Mysore. (Vol. I, page 75 *et. seq*)

25. Shahaji has aptly been called a king-maker; but the fact that his greatness was eclipsed by that of his greater son has been partly the cause of his claims to greatness not receiving the proper acknowledgment. It is only now that his real greatness is beginning to be realized even among the Marathas. *Vide* Mr. Sardesai's "History of Modern India" part II, Vol. I, page 157, second edition (Marathi).

independence achieved by Shahaji himself in the Karnatic and the measures he was pursuing for the accomplishment of his object. The Bijapur authorities entrusted the task of arresting Shahaji for punishment to Baji Ghorpade, chief of Mudhol. To defeat Shahaji in the open field and take him prisoner was no easy task; for a general like the Ghorpade it was well-nigh impossible. He, who had so often eluded the Mogul armies and baffled the most renowned of Mogul generals, was not likely to fall easily into the hands of a second-rate officer of the Bijapur state. Ghorpade never dreamt of achieving such a feat. He resorted to stratagem. He invited Shahaji to an entertainment and had him arrested as an unsuspecting guest²⁶. When his capture was thus made by treachery, Shahaji was lying encamped at Jirawady near Chandawar (Jinji). How Shivaji at the command of his father retaliated upon the Ghorpade for this act of treachery will be described at the proper place.

When Shahaji was thus arrested and brought to Bijapur, the sultan meditated his execution. After much discussion it was finally resolved that he should be confined in a stone dungeon, which was entirely closed in except for a small aperture; and it was threatened that if within a certain time Shivaji should not make his submission the aperture would be forever closed and he be buried alive. The details of this story will be given in their proper place in a subsequent chapter²⁷. Suffice it to say here that the Adil Shahi sultan must have had some substantial grounds for entertaining such a suspicion and peremptorily threatening the execution of such a valiant and influential officer as Shahaji. Shivaji extricated himself from this dilemma by negotiations with the Moguls²⁸. Although on account of this intervention of the emperor the sultan did not dare to execute Shahaji, still he decided not to send him again to the Karnatic, but to detain him as a prisoner at large at Bijapur. During this

26. The account in Modak's History differs widely from the generally accepted story given in the text. According to Modak's account Shahaji, having made himself independent of Mustapha Khan, his colleague in the Karnatic, was suddenly fallen upon and apprehended by Baji Ghorpade, under the orders of Mustapha Khan. Shahaji's party was taken by surprise and Shahaji himself was captured in an attempt to mount and ride off from the scene of the unexpected encounter. The *Jedhe Chronology* (Bharat- Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Chaturtha Sammelan Vritta, page 179) says that Shahaji was arrested near Jinji by Mustapha Khan, which would mean that Ghorpade acted as Mustapha's agent.

27. Vide Chapter VIII.

28. According to some *Bakhars* Shahaji's deliverance was due to the intervention of his tried friend Randulla Khan. The Rairi *bakhar* improves upon the story by a romantic account of Shahaji's impending execution already decreed by the sultan (who had prepared dispatches to that effect addressed to Baji Ghorpade) being averted by Randulla, threatening to turn fakir and leave the court service for a pilgrimage to Mecca. In this way by his adroitness he is said to have obliged the sultan to yield to his wishes and thus saved the life of his veteran comrade.

period Shivaji made no disturbance in the Bijapur territory. Shahaji won over the politicians of the Bijapur state and, re-establishing confidence in his good faith, recovered his governorship and was again sent to the Karnatic.

Thus relieved from immediate danger, Shahaji kept up ostensibly the most loyal and cordial relations with Bijapur. But to the end of his life he never abandoned his plans of aggrandizing his power so as to declare one day his independence. Of the further events of his life no historical records are available. The accounts of the Bijapur wars in the Karnatic given by Mahomedan historians are very meagre, and here and there we meet with occasional references to the brave services of Shahaji. The jahgir he had received in the Karnatic from the Bijapur government he enjoyed for life and it was considerably augmented from time to time. We have already narrated the circumstances under which he had got possession of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. In addition to these places, he exercised sovereignty over the fort of Arni, Porto Novo, and other towns.

Away from far-off Maharashtra tales were brought from time to time of the successful endeavours of his son Shivaji to lay the foundations of an independent monarchy. Shahaji was exceedingly gratified with these early indications of a noble career and had a vehement yearning to embrace such a valiant son. But the activities of Shivaji lay on the western outskirts of the Bijapur kingdom, and Shahaji had no opportunity for a long time to gratify his desire. Fortunately a few years later, a truce was effected between Shivaji and Bijapur, and the suspension of hostilities gave Shahaji an opportunity to visit his home in Maharashtra with the permission of the sultan and to meet Shivaji²⁹. Shahaji might have complied with Shivaji's urgent wishes and stayed in Maharashtra for the rest of his life. But when he received the sultan's permission to visit Maharashtra it was on the distinct understanding that he was to return to the Karnatic and on no account to unite with his son. Had he broken this covenant, the sultan would certainly have confiscated his possessions in the Karnatic. Shahaji had no desire to lose the fruits of his toils, and so returned to the Karnatic.

Shahaji did not live long after this visit to his son; he died within two years. The story of his death is as follows: Two polygars of Bednore, Bhadrappa Naik and Shivappa Naik harassed the Bijapur dominions. The sultan commissioned Shahaji and Sarja Khan with the duty of subduing these chiefs. Shahaji defeated Bhadrappa Naik and forced him to come to terms. He surrendered the territory he had conquered from the Bijapur kingdom and became a vassal of Bijapur with certain jahgir lands. The Adilshahi sultan was

29. Vide Chapter XIV.

pleased with this last service of Shahaji, wrote him a congratulatory letter upon his victory and presented him with a robe of honour, horses, elephants and other ornaments and marks of the royal favour. The politicians of the state, each in his turn, sent congratulatory epistles. While engaged upon these operations, Shahaji one day went out on a hunting expedition to a village named Bandekir³⁰. He was hunting a hare, and while riding impetuously after the game, his horse's hoof was caught in a fissure, and both horse and rider came to the ground. Shahaji was kicked by his horse and immediately killed. His followers came searching for him and seeing him dead, brought up his son Venkoji, who performed his funeral obsequies. Shahaji was seventy years of age at his death, which took place in January, 1664. The sultan sent to Venkoji a letter of condolence and robes of honour confirming his succession to his father's position. A tomb was erected on the place where Shahaji died and under a *sanad* or charter of the Bijapur state the revenues of the village were set apart for its maintenance.

Shahaji had three sons, of whom the eldest, Sambhaji, was born at Dowlatabad in 1623 to his first wife Jijabai, during their residence at that fort. Shahaji loved him very affectionately and always had him in his company. In 1653 Sambhaji was killed in an assault upon the fort of Kanakgiri. The chief of Kanakgiri had long been guilty of aggression upon the district of Balapore, one of Shahaji's possessions. Sambhaji was deputed by his father to proceed with a force to punish this refractory prince. Sambhaji laid siege to the fort of Kanakgiri and opened a cannonade upon its walls, but himself fell a victim to a cannon shot.³¹ His death was a great shock to Shahaji. His desire for vengeance was stirred to its depths. He himself headed a force against Kanakgiri, utterly defeated the chief and took the fort by assault. On this occasion the chief of Kanakgiri had been secretly aided by Afzul Khan, a distinguished officer in the Bijapur service. Shahaji had a great desire to avenge himself upon Afzul Khan, but, dreading the displeasure of the sultan, abstained from this step. Little did he dream at that moment that Afzul Khan was destined to expiate this deed with his life and that the death of Sambhaji was shortly to be avenged by his younger but greater brother³².

30. On the Tungabhadra; elsewhere called Basavapattan.

31. According to another account Sambhaji held a jahgir in his own right from the Bijapur state and was done to death by poison administered by the queen of Mahomed Adil Shaha, familiarly known as the Bari Saheba. The "*Shivdigvijaya*" *bakhar* slightly differs from the account followed in the text, in that it says that Kanakgiri was part of Shahaji's jahgir, but the fort was usurped by the chief Appa Khan.

32. The date 1653 assigned in the text as the year of the death of Sambhaji is based on the authority of Grant Duff and the Marathi chronicles. But on the authority of certain stone inscriptions discovered in the Karnatic the question is raised whether he did not live up to

The circumstances under which Jijabai was left behind at the fort of Shivneri, at the critical period when Lukhji Jadhav was in hot pursuit of his son-in-law have already been described at the beginning of this chapter. Shivaji, the subject of this history, was born here in 1627. This was the second son Shahaji had by Jijabai. In 1630 Shahaji married Tukabai of the Mohite family. By her he had a son, Venkoji, who was born in 1631. On the conquest of the district of Chandawar, Shahaji kept Tukabai and Venkoji there. On the death of Shahaji, Venkoji succeeded to the entire jahgir in the Karnatic. Some years afterwards Shivaji marched upon the Karnatic for a share of the paternal jahgir, but the history of this expedition will be chronicled at the proper place.³³ It is said that on his return from Shivaji's realm, the aged Shahaji called his younger son and addressed to him words of advice as follows: "Thy elder brother," exclaimed Shahaji, "has by his heroic enterprise secured a kingdom for himself. Thou art to succeed to my possessions in these parts, and as such thou shalt look after the family of my uncle, Vithoji, and my brother Sharifji. Thou shalt govern thy possessions with justice and mercy. It is the grand plan of thy elder brother to be a world-conqueror and if by God's grace his noble ambition is realized, he will be the protector of all our family. But if by mischance he should meet with any vicissitudes of fortune, remember, my son that I have acquired for you both this jahgir, with the full consent and sanction of the sultan. Remember that I leave it in trust for you both, though thou shalt have its immediate usufruct. Remember thou art my favourite son and the brother of the valorous Shivaji. Hearken to the advice of my chosen and trusty servants and thy path shall be thornless in this world."

the year 1663. Vide Parasnis's "History of the Tanjore Dynasty" in his "*Itihas Sangraha*" 1912, footnote at page 23.

33. Vide Chapter XXVI.