

THE
LIFE AND EXPLOITS,
OF
SHIVÁJI.

Translated into English from an un-
published Maráthi Manuscript

BY

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NOW

HEAD ACCOUNTANT, KOLABA COLLECTOR'S OFFICE.

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To,

LUXUMAN JAGANNÁTH MÁNKAR, ESQUIRE.

This work is dedicated in token
of high esteem and filial
devotion.

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

INTRODUCTION.



The following epistle containing the history of Shiváji was written at Tanjore by Krishnáji Anant a Sabhásad at the court of Shiváji's second son Rájárám. Rájárám having expressed a desire to learn as much as he could of his illustrious sire's achievements, his history and whatever he did from the time that he was a boy entrusted the task to Krishnáji who accordingly undertook it. How far Krishnáji has succeeded in accomplishing the work entrusted to him will best be seen by a perusal of his epistle itself. Of Krishnáji's own history nothing is known beyond the fact that some of his descendants are still to be found at Kolhápur, but they can not furnish any information regarding their ancestor.

↳ 2. It will no doubt be seen that not a single one of what may be called the exploits of Shiváji has been omitted in the narrative ; but it would certainly have been more desirable had fuller particulars been given about the historian's hero's pedigree, his birth, the circumstances which led to the development of his character, and similar other information which from an historical point of view would appear indispensably necessary. The narrative sums up in merely a few words the hero's character by stating that he was not an ordinary mortal but an incarnation of the Deity. These omissions are however excusable when it is considered that the narrative was written in the troublous times of Rájárám and con-

sequently the writer may possibly not have had that leisure and serenity of mind which are essentially requisite for chronicling from memory a detailed narration of all the events in regard to his hero. The present introduction aims at supplying these omissions, and though the attempt might appear ambitious and far above the reach of the translator's meagre abilities, still his humble efforts might only be looked upon as a task prompted by a desire to give the version of the Maráthi manuscript an embodiment of as complete a history as possible of the Founder of the Maráthá Empire by filling up certain gaps which it was not convenient for the narrator to fill up when he wrote his narrative, or which might have been studiously left as such under the belief that to fill them up was a mere superfluity.

3. There flourished in the times of Akber a respectable Maráthá family surnamed Bhoslé. They are said to have held several Patilships and came into importance under the Ahmadnagar Government. Their principal residence was at Vérúl a village near Dowlatábád and close to the famous caves of Ellora. Bábáji Bhoslé one of this family had two sons Máloji the elder and Vithoji the younger. Máloji was married to Dipábái the sister of Jagpáráo Naik Nimbálkar Déshmúkh of Phaltan. For many years after marriage Máloji had no children, and though he had very frequently offered prayers to the God Mahádéva and the Goddess Shri Bhawáni of Túljápur his tutelary deity, of both of whom he was a pious devotee, for the fulfilment of his desires to have an heir, they were not productive of any result. At last a renowned Musulman saint (Pir) named

Shah Sharif from Ahmadnagar was engaged to offer his devotions for the birth of an heir. Shortly after, Máloji's wife gave birth to a son and in remembrance of Shah Sharif's blessings the child was named after him as "Shah" with the Maráthi termination "ji" which denotes respect. Shahaji was born in the year 1594. In the second year Máloji's wife gave birth to a second son who was similarly named after the Musulman saint, Sharifji.

4. There was another family of the Maráthás more powerful than the Bhoslé family and well known in Maráthá history by the name of "Jádaw." This family too served under the Ahmadnagar Government. The principal Maráthá Chief of this family was Jádawrao. An alliance was formed between the Bhoslé and the Jádaw families by the marriage of Sháháji in 1604 with Jijibái the daughter of Lukhji Jádawrao. After several vicissitudes of public career, Sháháji was compelled in the year 1637 to take refuge under the Bijápúr Government. In the year 1630 however Sháháji was married with Tukábái a lady belonging to the family of the Mohité, another Maráthá family but not so important in history as either the "Bhoslé" or the "Jádaw" family. By his marriage with Jijibái he had two sons, the elder was named Sambháji and the younger Shiváji. By Túkábái his second wife he had one son who was named Venkáji; he had also an illegitimate son named Santáji. Shiváji was born in the fort of Sewnéri situated about fifty miles north of Poona, in the month of May 1627. When Sháháji went to Bijápúr, Jijibái accompanied him and remained with him until the

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celebration of Shiváji's marriage with Saibái the daughter of Nimbálkar. After Shiváji's marriage Shaháji set out upon the Carnatic expedition and Shiváji was sent with his mother to reside at Poona. The family of Shaháji continued to live under the care of Dádoji Konddéva a Brahmin Kárkun who was one of his most confidential men. Dádoji built a large house for Jijibai's accommodation and gave his master's son that education which he considered was befitting a person in his position. It is however to be borne in mind that Shiváji was born amid the troubles of war and in his childhood was very often in danger of falling into the hands of enemies. From about his sixteenth year or perhaps earlier he began to associate with persons of lawless habits. Under these circumstances his education could hardly embrace anything more than instruction in horsemanship and in the manipulation of the various weapons used in his days in the Deccan. In both of these he acquired remarkable skill and activity and excelled most of his countrymen. The mountain valleys near Poona better known by the name of Máwals afforded ample scope for his wandering habits. His association with the Máwalis for whom he had a particular liking also contributed no less in giving that stability and firmness of character which distinguished him in all his undertakings in his after-days. With them he frequently absented himself in the Konkan, and on hunting expeditions for several days. He had thus become popular with them and had carefully observed that though they presented an ugly and clownish appearance they were hard working, intelligent and active men so that he could

rely upon them as his faithful followers ; nor was he idle in his visits to the mountain valleys and to the different parts of the Ghát Matha and the Konkan, for he had gained thorough acquaintance with the paths and defiles of that wild tract and had carefully marked the condition of the adjoining strongholds. The most ardent desire of his ambition was to get one of these into his possession. The unsettled state of the country also favored his views, but his operations were so cautiously managed as to attract little notice. These his frequent excursions did not however escape the attention of his shrewd guardian Dádoji Konddéva who endeavoured to wean his attention from them by entrusting to his own charge much of the affairs of his father's Jágir. His attention was also engaged in the rehearsal of legendary and fabulous myths, of the exploits of the heroes of the Mahábhárat and the Rámáyan. The decided result of this kind of instruction was that he became superstitious and imbibed the greatest hatred to the Musulmans. His association with the Máwalis, a hardy and roving class of men taught him the useful lesson of endurance and gave him a thorough insight into the nook and corner of each valley and defile. His religious training comprised of a knowledge of the stories from the Mahábhárat, the Bhágwat, the Rámáyan and other legendary lore which were read out to him by Dádoji Konddéva, which sufficiently accounts for the fact that his veneration for Brahmins and kine was great. Naturally of a charitable disposition, this kind of instruction had implanted in him a strong desire to give large sums of money and other valuable presents to

Brahmins and to those of his followers who by their heroic conduct and the troubles they endured for him deserved them. There is a somewhat striking resemblance between the visitations of the Goddess Bhawáni who appeared in Shiváji on every critical occasion and the consultations of Numa Pompilius with the goddess Egeria from whom he received instructions in religion and the management of his state affairs. Shiváji's growing ambition was to crush the Mahomedán power and he was so much influenced by it that he hardly considered whether the means he resorted to, for the accomplishment of his object were of a respectable and praiseworthy character and such as could be employed by a person in his position especially after having listened with interest to the stories related to him from the Púrás by his guardian. It may however be said in his defence that his ideas of warfare with the Mahomedans must have been encouraged by his rehearsal of the exploits of the deified heroes of by-gone days whose fame has been chronicled in song. His implicit and too superstitious reliance on the Goddess Bhawáni whom he considered his tutelary deity and whose intercession he almost looked upon as a certainty might also have contributed no less in promoting and aggravating the hatred he imbibed for the Mahomedans. He entertained the strongest belief that he was created for liberating his country from the yoke of foreigners. In addition to the religious instructions imparted to him by Dádoji, his moral training was moulded by the advice occasionally given to him by Rámdás who was his Guru or spiritual preceptor and who wielded no common influence over

his actions. He was excessively fond of hearing "kathás" or religious preachings and was so much impressed by them that he became a devoted admirer of Tukárám and on one occasion having relinquished his kingdom proceeded to a forest to spend his days in abstract contemplation. It was only at the request of Jijibái that Tukárám prevailed upon him to resume the management of his state affairs. When Jeshwantsing attempted to lay siege to Sinhagad and strong detachments were left at Chákan and Jooner, Shiváji having gone to hear a "Kathá" preached by Tukárám in the town of Poona was so much engrossed in it that he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner by the garrison of Chákan. These anecdotes fully illustrate the nature of the impression which Tukárám's "Kathás" had made upon his mind.

↳ 5. The vernacular literature which had sprung up in the Deccan during the two centuries that preceded the days of Shiváji had received fresh accession from the works of the cotemporary poets Rámdás, Tukárám and Wáman who flourished during his reign. If the germ of Hinduism was engendered by the works of Námadéva, Kabir, Dnyánéshwar and Eknáth and others of minor importance who preceded the poets of Shiváji's time, the work of these latter who followed them helped its growth and fully developed the spirit of enthusiasm which was characteristic of Shiváji and his followers, and which was one of the principal causes of their hatred of the Mahomedan power.

↳ 6. With regard to the political measures adopted by him for the preservation of his vast acquisitions

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and to the revenue system introduced by him some details are given in the body of Krishnáji's narrative which, considering the scope of his work may be deemed sufficient. A cursory notice of them however will not be out of place here. The organization of his army on which depended his power must first be considered. This was composed of Máwalis or the people dwelling in the Ghát Máthá regions and of Hetkarees or the people who dwelt in the Konkan. They furnished themselves with their own arms, the ammunition alone being supplied at the expense of the State. Their dress was not uniform, but as a rule they wore short breeches and had tight long strips of cloth with which they girded up their loins. Most of them used waistcoats and wore a cloth round their waist. A sword, shield and matchlock were the arms used by them. As marksmen the Hetkarees surpassed the Máwalis, but in desperate attacks where the use of the sword alone was necessary, the Máwalis excelled. The army will thus be seen to have been composed of men conversant with almost all the necessary tactics required in a successful warfare. Besides these every tenth man in a company was armed with a bow and stock of arrows which were availed of in night attacks or surprizes. These he carried in place of the swords, shields or matchlocks of the others. It is strange that the Hetkarees though they came from the Konkan could successfully vie with their Máwali compeers in climbing with equal facility a precipice or rock ; or in scaling the walls of a fort difficult for access. Every ten men had an officer over them called " Naik " and every fifty a " Haval-

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dár." The officer over a hundred was called "Jumlédár" while that over a thousand was termed "Ek-hazár." Similarly over five thousand there were officers who were styled "Panch-hazári." All these officers were subordinate to the "Sarnobat" or Commander-in-chief.

7. Next comes the cavalry which like the infantry was composed of two different elements, namely the "Bárgeers" and the "Silédars." The Bárgeers were those who like the regular troops of the present day were furnished with horses and ammunition at the expense of the state while the Silédars were required to furnish themselves with horses and ammunition. Their common dress was a pair of tight breeches reaching as far as the knee, a Pagree which they held fastened to their heads by passing a fold of it under the chin, and a long strip of cloth which they folded around their waists. Their weapons were a sword and shield and a spear in the use of which latter they evinced great skill and tact. Over a company of twenty-five horsemen was appointed a Havildar; over one hundred and twenty-five there was a Jumlédár and over every five Jumlédárs there was a Subhédár. The commander of ten Subhús or six thousand two hundred and fifty horse was called Panch Hazári. All these were subordinate to the Sarnobat. It will thus be seen that there were two Sarnobats, one for the infantry and the other for the cavalry. Besides this regular military establishment, every Jumlédár, Subhédár and Panch Hazári had establishments composed of accountants, auditors of account and professional spies whose duty it was to collect in-

telligence regarding the state of affairs in distant provinces and in their own. This system of gathering intelligence established by Shiváji which formed the most important of his political measures, served so far as it related to his own territories as an effectual check over the actions of individual officers and soldiers generally and to detect particular instances of deceitful conduct and embezzlement. His arrangements with regard to the forts require a passing notice. The forts were all placed under the command of a Killedar who was called Havaldar with one or more Sarnobats subordinate to him. The smaller forts had usually one Sarnobat, the larger ones more than one. Every fort had a Sabnis and a Kárkhánis; the former did all the writing work while the latter served as a commissary of provisions and stores. The garrison in the forts was composed of the ordinary infantry, but this was quite a distinct establishment from the general infantry, and solely maintained for the protection of the forts only.

8. Shiváji's revenue arrangements were generally based on the principles laid down by Dádoji Konddéva. The assessments were imposed on the actual yield of the crop, three-fifths of which were given to the cultivating Ryot and two-fifths to the State. The system of farming the revenue was discountenanced, the collection being entrusted to departmental agents chosen by him. A kárkún was appointed to superintend the collections of every two or three villages, who was subordinate to the Tarafdár, who held charge of a larger area. There was a Subhédár over a considerably large area with a fort or two in it, where the collections

were deposited. The Déshmookhs and Déshpándés were strictly prohibited from having any thing to do in the revenue management of the country; nor were they allowed to collect their dues which were paid to them annually by means of an order. The conduct and work of the Pátils, Khots and Kulkarnees were carefully watched. Religious endowments made by the Mahomedan rulers were continued; so also allowances to mosques and tombs of renowned saints.

← 9. Shiváji died in the 53rd year of his age on the 5th day of April 1680. It will no doubt be admitted that he was really an extraordinary personage, and though it is very difficult to form at this distant date a correct estimate of his character, still from tradition and old records it can safely be asserted that in the annals of India his name stands without a rival. It certainly was not the feat of an ordinary person to have collected a band of Máwalis and having put himself at their head and inspired them with wonderful enthusiasm led them to perform heroic deeds. His revenue arrangements and military discipline as also the rules of conduct prescribed by him for the guidance of his officers and men furnish a true index of his not only wonderful but astounding talents and genius.

As a statesman and administrator he may fairly lay claim to a very high rank in the page of history. He was pleasing and affable in his manners, of a jovial mood and highly intelligent features, very rigorous in the punishments he inflicted on delinquents, and liberal in the rewards he distributed among his deserving followers. He was particu-

larly kind to those who were either captured or fell in the hands of his men, to women and helpless men and to those who yielded and swore allegiance to him and placed themselves under his protection. He appreciated the merits and valorous deeds of his soldiery and frankly acknowledged their obligations whenever he thought he was under them, which he did evince by the bestowal of handsome gifts and presents. Naturally endowed with an intellect of a superior order, he could perceive it in others and always endeavoured to stimulate and patronize it. He was a keen sighted politician, patient and persevering ; and for the accomplishment of his object seldom hesitated to make use of intrigues. In short wherever the Maráthi language is spoken his name is still held in veneration and his deeds remembered with feelings of enthusiasm.

10. Before concluding, it may be worth while to say a few words here with regard to the Maráthi manuscript of which the following pages are a translation. Mr. T. Bosanquet, for some time Collector of Kolaba found it, it is said, with the Patil of Páchád—a village in the Mahad Taluka (more popularly known by its old name Raigad) of the Kolaba Collectorate. It appears to be a copy of a very old manuscript from the language used throughout, which is of the old style. The structure of sentences is incomplete in several places and almost the whole manuscript abounds with obsolete words and expressions. The translator has however used his best endeavours to make the translation

as clear and at the same time as literal as possible. He has also added numerous notes to render the sense of the original more intelligible and he trusts that his labours will meet with a favorable reception.

↳ 11. The translation has been prepared for Mr. T. Bosanquet under the directions of Mr. J. Elphinston Collector of Kolá bá now acting at Ahmednagar ; and the desire of keeping a permanent record of the same as also an expression of its approbation from numerous friends and acquaintances have prompted the translator to cause it to be printed. Numerous mistakes may have crept in the translation as well as the printing for which the translator humbly begs to be excused, assuring at the same time his readers that should he find an opportunity of printing a second edition of his work, which is not unlikely, he will také care to see that they are removed.

Alibag, 1st March 1884.

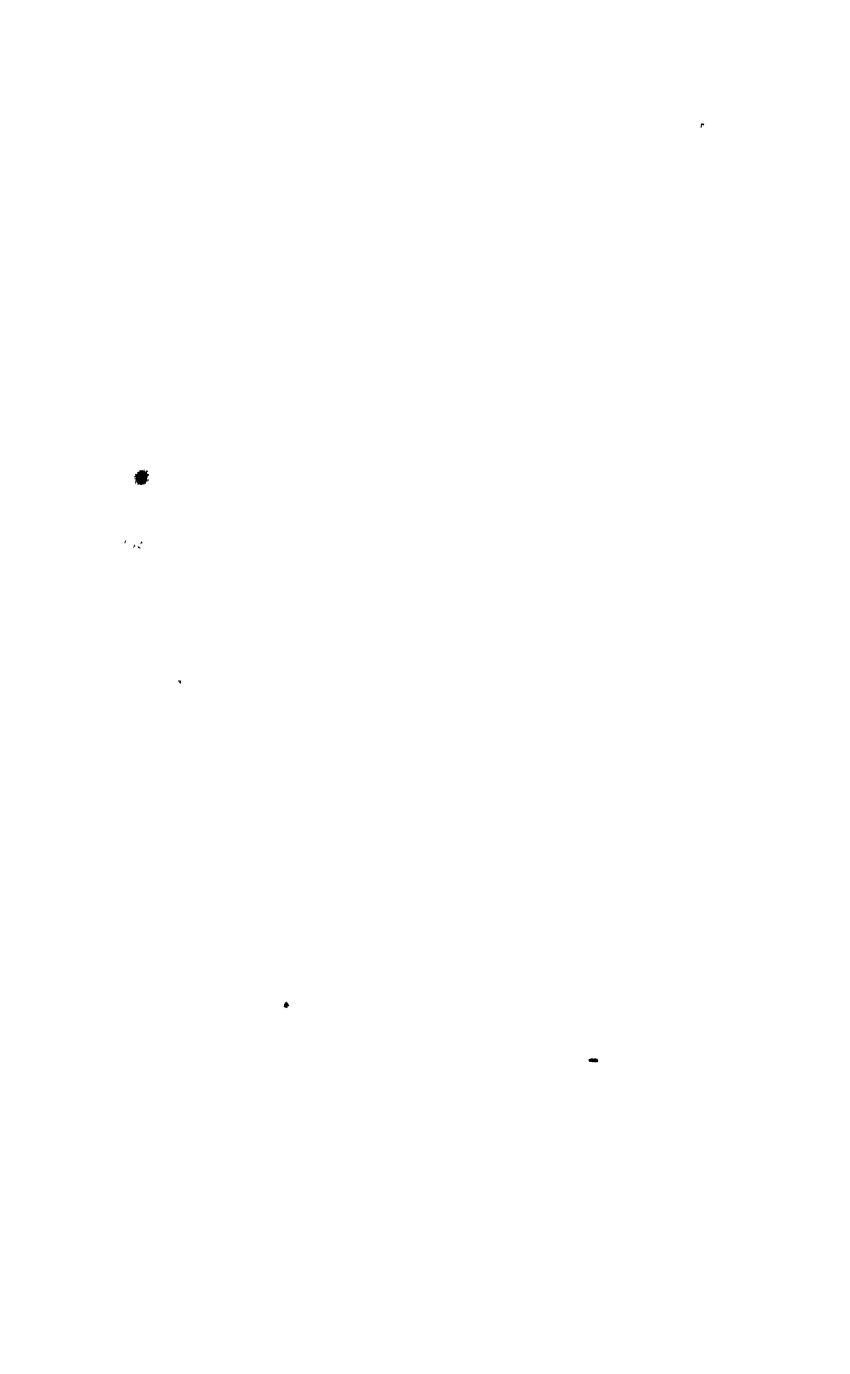
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In presenting to the public this edition of the "Life and Exploits of Shiváji" the translator has to express his regret that owing to unavoidable circumstances he could not present it earlier and within the period promised in the advertisement. He however hopes to be excused for this long delay and trusts that the work will meet with a more favourable reception.

The translator acknowledges with thanks the liberal support given him by Mr. K. M. Chatfield Director of Public Instruction, and H. H. the Mahárájá of Travancore who purchased a good number of copies of the first edition. He has also to express his obligations to H. H. the Gaicowar of Baroda who has kindly consented to purchase good many copies of the second edition. He is also indebted to Mr. W. F. Sinclair of the Bombay Civil service, now Forest Settlement Officer of Kolaba for the pains he has taken in going over the pages of the first edition and correcting proof sheets and adding a few valuable notes.

Alibág, 10th }
June 1886. }

JAGANNÁTH LAXUMAN MÁNKAR.



DHATURBHUK ANJARIYA
C. O. GOCOLDAS JETHANEE, ESQ.
MANDVI, BOMBAY

From

KRISHNAJI ANANT SABHĀSAD.

To,

HIS HIGHNESS SHRIMANT

CHHATRAPATI.

I the humble servant of Your Highness after paying my respects to Your Highness and all the courtiers respectfully beg to relate in obedience to Your Highness' orders the history of your grand sire from the beginning. Your Highness' humble servant has the honor of being perfectly acquainted with your grand sire's chivalrous deeds by which the Carnatic and many other territories and strongholds were subjugated and brought under the Maráthá yoke.

1. The father of Sháháji, that is, the grand father of Rájá Shiváji was Máloji who had a brother named Vithoji. Máloji was the most influential Vizier in the kingdom of the Adilsháhi* and was a pious devotee of Shree Shambhu Mahádeo. A fair was held in the month of Chaitra (April or May) every year on the top of the hill where the temple of Shree Shambhu was situated. Great scarcity of water then prevailed and the fair-going people had to fetch it after a troublesome journey from a place situated six miles below the hill. Máloji Rájá

* The territory subject to the Government of the Emperor of Bijápur.

resolved therefore to dig a large tank for the benefit of pilgrims and others. Accordingly he spent an immense sum and filled the tank with water. The very night Shree Shambhu Mahádeo appeared to him in a dream and said "As a reward for your piety I shall be born in your family and protect Gods and Brahmins and destroy the wicked. I shall also give you a kingdom in the Dekkan as far as the Nerbada." This pleased Máloji exceedingly. He therefore distributed ample alms. Afterwards two sons Sháháji and Sambháji were born to him. They both were very fortunate and held jágirs under the Government of the Nizámsháhi.* On the termination of the Nizámsháhi Sháháji became Vizier of the Adilsháhi government under the designation of Mahárájú and commanded an army of ten or twelve thousand. Sambháji Rájá was then in the service of the Mogul, holding the office of Vizier. Sháháji had two wives, the elder was Jeejávu Báí who was the mother of Sambháji Rájá and Shiváji Rájá. When Shiváji was born, Shambhu Mahádeo appeared to Sháháji in a dream and said "The child is my incarnation. He has to undertake several enterprises. Let him be under your fostering care till he attains the twelfth year of his age, but afterwards give him independence and let him go wherever he pleases." The next day ample distribution of alms and charities was made.

2 The younger wife of Sháháji named Tukái Báí was the mother of Vyankoji Rájá. Thus Shá-

* This refers to the government of the territory belonging to the king of Ahmednagar.

hájí had three sons in all. One of them Sambhájí was as above stated, in possession of an independent jagir in the dominions of the Bijápúr government; but he died of poison treacherously administered to him in pills by the royal consort of Sultan Mahomed.

↳ Shivájí went to Sháhájí who was then in Bangalore in the Carnátic, and assisted his father in the management of state affairs. Sháhájí had one Náropant Dixit in his service who had two very wise sons Raghunáthpant and Janárdanpant. Sháhájí's jagir included the pergunnah of Poona placed under the care of a shrewd carcoon Dádoji Konddeo. While returning from the Carnátic where Dádoji had gone on a visit to his Royal master, he was entrusted with the care of Shivájí and Jeejai Báí who were accompanied by Shankurji Nilkanth the Peishwá, Krishnájipant the uncle of Náropant Dixit, Bhái the minister, Sonopant, the Councillor and Raghunáth Ballál the Head clerk. The party left for Poona, and on his arrival there Shivájí at once took possession of the twelve Máváls,* captured and put to death the Deshmookhs who had them in their possession. In the meantime Dádoji Konddeo died; whereupon Shivájí assumed the government of his kingdom. There was at this time one Subhánji Mohité the brother of Shivájí's step mother who was appointed Mokúsi†

* The region along the eastern side of the Sahyádrí Range.

† The holder of villages or lands, or a share in the rule over them and revenue arising from them, granted on condition of military service or in Inam.

of the Mahal* of Supé by his father Sháháji. Shiváji went to Supé to demand from his uncle a present of money for the Shimgá festival. When there he imprisoned his uncle and seized his three hundred horses, money, jewels, clothes and everything that belonged to him and thus possessed himself of the Pergunnah of Supé. Shiváji then appointed Tukoji Chore as the commander of his forces, Balkrishnapant his Muzumdár,† Sonopant his Dabir,‡ and Rághunáthapant his Sabnis.§ Thus shrewdly and carefully did Shiváji manage the affairs of his kingdom. He then put to death one hundred warriors, captured two hundred horses and laid his hands on three lacs of Hones¶ and on rich cloth and Jewels and with the booty returned to Poona. He then took Ahmednagar, fought bravely with the Mogul and captured seven hundred horses and elephants and found a large treasure. Whereupon about three or four thousand horse and two thousand Silédárs|| flocked to his standard and were put under the command of Mánkoji Dáhátondé. Kondáné afterwards called

* A subdivision of a division of the country.

† A public officer whose province it was to inscribe all writs and deeds, and to write on all accounts of receipts and disbursements the words "approved," "admitted," "passed". He answers to Auditor or Accountant General.

‡ A Secretary or Notary.

§ The Head clerk whose business it was to pay the public servants of a district or charge.

¶ A gold coin.

|| A horse soldier who provides his own horse.

Shingarh belonging to the Adilsháhi government was seized and made his military head-quarters; so was also the fort of Purandhar seized and taken possession of. The latter also belonged to the Adilsháhi kingdom and was commanded by a brave Bráhmín named Nilkantráo. He had two sons who quarreled with each other; whereupon Shiváji went to Purandhar to effect a reconciliation between them, but on his arrival there he imprisoned both of them and helped himself with the fort.

4. Shiváji then reduced ~~Kalyán and Bhiwandi~~ in the Konkan and took possession of the fort which was one of the Adilsháhi possessions. Thus did Shiváji go on settling his people in one place after another. He then built a fort on a mountain called Murbád and named it Raigarh. Four settlements were made on the level surfaces of the mountain.

5. There was at this time Chandraráo reigning at Jowli in the Konkan who possessed very strong forts and had a set of hardy followers. His kingdom could not be obtained unless Chandraráo was put to the sword. Shiváji therefore called Raghunáthpant to him and said "It is only you who can perform this piece of work; go to Chandraráo as on an embassy." Raghunáthpant thereupon set out with some chosen horsemen and twenty-five swordsmen and on his arrival there sent word to Chandraráo to say that he was sent by the Rájá and craved an interview to explain to him the object of his visit. Chandraráo received him and had a talk with him on several subjects, the true one being concealed. He was shewn a place to put up at, where he lodged for the

day. The next day he again went to Chandraráo and had a private interview, when Chandraráo and his brother Suryájiráo fell dead under the blows of a dagger. Raghunáthpant immediately set out with twenty-five men and was pursued by the followers of the assassinated king, who shared the fate of their master. This being accomplished, Raghunáthpant again saw the Rájá who immediately marched on Jowli and found no difficulty in conquering it, for, when the leader was dead what resistance was to be expected from his followers?

↳ 6. The Míwalis were then granted leases to settle there. Pratápgad was next taken. Chandraráo had another brother named Hanmantráo who had taken refuge in a place called "Chaturbát" near Jowli. Seeing that there would be no peace at Jowli until he was removed, Shiváji sent Santáji Kuvaji Máhaldár who pretending to have a private talk with Hanmantráo on some marriage alliance secretly despatched him with his dagger. Hanmantráo being thus removed, the conquest of Jowli was completed.

↳ 7. The valley of "Sivtur" was then in the possession of a robber chief Bábáji Koudnác. He was captured and his eyes put out.

↳ 8. Survés was then reigning at Shringárpúr. Shiváji marched against him and took his capital. Survés then took to flight. Whereupon Sirké the minister of Survés was induced to give up the cause of his master and put Shiváji in possession of the kingdom. For this he was admitted into friendship and was given grants of villages. He also got his son married with his daughter.

9. For the trouble Moro Trimbak a Brahmin, took in the conquest of Jowli and Shringárpur, Shiváji dismissed Shamráo Nilkant from the office of the Peshwá and gave it to Moro Trimbak. So also was Nilo Sonadév given the place of Muzumdar for his services after the dismissal of Krishnájipant. Anantájipant received for his labours the Surnisi,* Ganga Shimgáji was made the Waknis,† and Prabhákarbhat was the family priest, Nétáji Pálkar being made the Sarnobat of‡ the army.

10. During the Sarnobatship of Nétáji Pálkar, the army consisted of 2,000 Infantry and 3,000 Silédars. The Máwalis numbered 1,000 souls. Yessáji Kank was made their Sarnobat. Such were the measures adopted for the security of Government. The wife of Shiváji named Sayibái the daughter of Nimbálkar gave birth to a son who was named Sambháji Rájá. There were great rejoicings and alms-giving on the occasion. They took up their residence in the hill fort at Rájgad.

11. This news reached the Emperor of Delhi and Ali Adilsháhá the Emperor of Bijápur. The wife of Sultan Mahomed who was the queen

* The Post of general Record keeper, Registrar and Superintendent of correspondence, by whom all deeds and grants were examined and authenticated.

† The manager of the household, and chief caterer a sort of major-domo. Under Shiváji the Wáknis was one of the eight principal ministers whose duty it was to keep the private journal, record and letters, and to superintend the household troops and establishment.

‡ The highest military officer, the Governor of a fort.

regent of Ali Adilsháhú and had therefore the entire administration in her hands was much grieved at this piece of intelligence. That Shiváji had taken the hill-forts belonging to the Bijápur kingdom, that he had subjugated the country, destroyed one or two kingdoms and had turned out a great róbber were the thoughts that tormented her. With the object therefore of crushing him she sent a messenger with a letter to Sháháji who was then at Bengrul* to say that it did not become him as a servant of the Bijápur Government to have sent his son to Poona who turned out disloyal to the Bijápur Government, captured four hill-forts and subjugated the country around and conquered one or two states in alliance with the Bijápur Government, that he ought therefore to warn his son and keep him under proper control failing which the Government would seize that son and keep him in their custody. Sháháji in reply wrote saying that though Shiváji was his son, he was a runaway and that therefore he had no control over him; that so far as he was concerned he was a devoted and loyal servant of the Government, that the Government might attack his son Shiváji and dispose of him as they liked, and lastly that he would never interfere. On receipt of this reply she called together the Vizier and the Amirs of the court and asked if any of them would undertake to attack Shiváji. None shewed his willingness except Afzulkhán the vizier who said that he would before long bring Shiváji as a captive

* This is the modern Bangalore.

to the court. The queen regent was overjoyed and presented Afzulkhán with clothes, jewels, elephants, horses and immense treasure, and having commended his valorous spirit she furnished him with a retinue composed of 12,000 horse, and the grandees of the court. He proudly marched at the head of this army and reached Tuljápúr. Here he broke to pieces the idol of Shri Bhowáni the tutelary deity of Shiváji's family and ground the pieces to dust. Thence he proceeded to Pandharpur and polluted the shrine there. Thence he went on to Wái, where he hit upon the plan of sending an embassy to Shiváji for the purpose of negotiating with him and treacherously catching him alive. Whereupon he sent for Krishnáji-pant one of the envoys and instructed him to go to Shiváji and deliver to him the following message:—"Your father Sháháji and the Bijápúr Government have been old friends and therefore there should be no misunderstanding between you and them; I shall request the Government to make over to you the Konkan proper as a jágir and to ratify your possession of the hill-forts belonging to the Government, already taken by you and to satisfy all your desires with regard to Sarinjams;* you may have an interview with the Emperor, but if you do not wish it, it may be dispensed with." He told Krishnáji-pant thus to try his best to induce the king to come

* This word means villages and lands granted in Inam to persons from whom the maintaining of forts or troops for the public service is required or upon whom a horse, a pálkhi or other honorable yet expense-involving gift has been conferred.

for an interview with him, but that if he (Kri-shnájipant) did not succeed, he might inform the king that he (Afzulkhán) was ready to see the king personally if allowed. The king in the meanwhile learnt that Afzulkhán was appointed by the Government at Bijápur with 12,000 horse to march against him. He then got his whole army ready with the intention of offering Afzulkhán a battle at Jowli and himself proceeded to Pratápgad. But in this idea he was not encouraged by his followers who were then more for peace than for a battle. The king however persisted saying that if peace was made and an interview granted, he might share the fate of his brother Sambháji. That he would never advocate peace, and said "Let us fight and leave the rest to God". Then the goddess Bhowáni of Tuljápur shewed herself to him in a dream and assured him that she was pleased with him and that she would help him in every way, saying that she would have Afzulkhán killed by him and promising success told him not to fear. Thus assured he awoke in the morning and sent for Jeejáwu to whom he communicated his dream. He also sent for Gomáji Náik Jamadár, Kri-shnájí Náik, Subháñji Náik, Sirkárkun Moropant. Gungáji Mugáji, Nétáji Pálkar, Rughunáth Ballál Subnis, the family-priest and other grāndees of his Court to whom he similarly communicated his dream and said that as the goddess Shree Bhowáni was favorable to him, they would see him put Afzulkhán to death. They replied that if the attempt was successful, well and good, if not, the result would be fraught with danger. The king

said that if peace was made he apprehended danger to his life, but that if a battle was given, it would be all the same for them whether they came successful or fell in it, as, in both the cases their names would be immortalized. The precept laid down in the Gitá,* he said, was in favor of such a course; there was no other alternative but that a battle should be given. The king further said that his mother Jeejáwu and young Sambháji should be sent to Rájgad, so that if Afzulkhán was victorious, he might dispose of him (king) alone as he liked, but if he fell in the battle, there was Sambháji who might be placed on the throne and to whom fealty might be sworn. Having issued these instructions he bowed down to his mother and took leave of her. The mother blessed him saying "May success attend thee." The king then proceeded to Pratápgad and ordered Nétáji Pálkar Sarnobat to follow him to the Ghauts with the army saying he would then send for Afzulkhán and see him at Jowli for the purpose apparently of negotiating peace and thus seducing him to a conference. Nétáji Pálkar was in the meanwhile to form an ambuscade on the top of the Ghauts. He was to be accompanied by Trimbak Bháskar and Shámjiráo Padmanábha a rich grandee from the Konkan, with a large army. This arranged, the king's mind was at rest. In the meanwhile Pantáji-

* A sacred poem forming part of the Mahábhárat, the great Sanscrit Epic. It is a discourse between Krishna and Arjun in which Krishna advocates war, and prevails upon Arjun to fight with his kinsmen the Kauravas.

pant an envoy of the Khán arrived. He was admitted into the fort where an interview took place between him and the king. Among other things, the envoy communicated to the king the Khán's message. The king said that he honored the Khán just as he honoured his own sire and that he would as in duty bound have an interview with him. He then assigned Pantájipant a suitable place to put up in and permitted him to occupy it. At night Pantájipant was sent for, for a secret conference at which the king and Pantájipant were alone present. The king then asked him to relate on oath everything in detail regarding the Khán's intentions. "We are, he said, united in interest. I have hitherto managed to maintain the kingdom and as you are a wise person, it now becomes you to save it from destruction. I will now hand over the management of the whole kingdom to you with immense treasure but tell me, I pray, the real intentions of the Khán." Thus seducing him to familiarity he succeeded in drawing out the truth from Pantájipant who said "the Khán has promised the Bijápur Government that under the pretext of an interview he would bring you as a prisoner to the Bijápur Court. If you have courage enough, you might call him to a secret conference and accomplish your object by destroying him. You would then be able to rout his army and secure the kingdom for yourself." The king approved of these suggestions and presented Pantájipant with 5,000 gold Mohurs and desired him to say to the Khán "the king is much afraid of you; he has no courage to come for an interview with you at Wai. As you

are an elderly personage, it will bespeak your magnanimity to go to Jowli for the interview and then encourage him to accompany you for being introduced to the Emperor of Bijápur; and thus secure his welfare and future advancement." With this message he sent Pantájipant to the Khán who was then at Wai. The message was accordingly delivered by Pantájipant, who said, "The king is timid: he has not courage enough to come to you for the interview. You will therefore kindly go to Jowli to see him and assuring him of protection take him to Bijápur." The Khán was much pleased with this message. He passed through the Radtondi Ghaut and appeared before Jowli, and encamped at the foot of Pratápgad. He planted sentinels on all sides. There were about 12,000 horse with camp-followers, musketeers, artillery and guns mounted on camels placed in different positions where water was easily obtainable. The Khán then sent Pantájipant to the king with a message desiring him to come for an interview.

12. Accordingly Pantájipant had an interview with the king and among other things informed him that as arranged he had prevailed upon the Khán to come at last and that he had succeeded in bringing about the desired interview between their Majesties; that the king might do as he desired when they were alone for the purpose of the interview: that the interview should take place on the day following the next; that it was so arranged that the king should come down to the foot of Pratápgad and that the Khán was to issue from his camp and that the interview was to take place in tents pitched for the purpose on the boundary. Pantájipant then

took leave of the king and returned to the Khán and communicated to him the arrangements at which the Khán expressed his approbation. The next day the king held his court at the foot of the mountain. The pavilions were decked with blue canopies fringed with pearls, and contained soft seats and cushions and were hung with variegated curtains. The king then sent a word to Nétáji Pálkar who was on the Ghátmáthá to be ready with his army for an attack at a signal given (which would be the blast of a collirie horn) for, the next day he would have an interview with the Khán and accomplish his object by assassinating him. That at the signal given Nétáji was to descend the mountain and hem in from all sides the Khán's army and rout it. The king who had also ordered up Moropant Péschwá from the Konkan informed him of the proposed signal. He then concealed some soldiers chosen from among the army, in the Gháuts and posted them in ambuscades. After bath and meals the king put on a steel chain armour reaching the waist, and over it a jacket embroidered with gold. On the head he wore a turban woven with gold and put on short breeches girding the loins with a narrow but long piece of cloth called "káchá." He carried in his hands a crooked dagger and fixed on his fingers a "Wágnakh.*" Thus accoutred he set out accompanied by Jewbá Mardané who was armed with a sword and a shield, and by

* Literally meaning tiger's claws: this is a small steel instrument made to fit on the fore and little finger. It has three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half closed hand.

two other followers, "Bargeers*" being posted in different places around as he proceeded. The Khán also came out with great pomp and ostentation. He was accompanied by 15,000 troops and a body of infantry consisting of one-thousand men armed with match-locks. Pantájipant on seeing this remarked with due respect to the Khán that the army would alarm the king and the object of the interview would be frustrated. "Why need we, said he, this exhibition to overawe such an insignificant person as Shiváji?" "The king," continued he, "is coming only with two followers; you should take with you only two and then try issue with him when you meet together." The Khán thereupon ordered the army to halt at a little distance from the place assigned for the interview and accompanied by a brave fencer named Sayad Banda advanced in a palanquin in front of which walked two armed men. Thus he arrived at the tent pitched for the purpose, and seeing the decorations of pearls and the soft cushions and "gadis" was grieved at heart that such an insignificant person like Shiváji, the son of Shaháji a mere vizier should possess pavilions and cushions so wrought with gold and fringed with pearls—things which even the Emperor did not possess. He must, he said have got these riches by foul means. Whereupon Pantájipant said that the riches must eventually return to the Imperial Treasury and that therefore there was no reason for anxiety. So saying, he led the Khán into the pavilion and seated him there. Harkaras† and

* A trooper that is mounted and equipped by the chief or state that employs him, as opposed to Silédár.

† A courier. a spy

messengers were then despatched to fetch the king immediately. The king who was then at the foot of the hill advanced slowly to the pavilion but halted on learning that the Khán was accompanied by a very expert swordsman by name Sayad Banda, and sent for Pantájipant. On his arrival the king said "I have the same reverence for the Khán that I have for father Shaháji; arrange things in such a way that I may not feel alarmed in his presence. I am afraid of Sayad Banda who is with the Khán; see that he is removed to a distance." Pantájipant then went to the Khán and caused Sayad Banda to be sent away. The Khán was then left with only two followers. The king then proceeded with two followers Jiwbá Maháli and Sambháji Káhuji. The Khán also advanced a few paces to receive him; and while embracing each other, the Khan pressed the king's head under his armpit, and having unsheathed his sword thrust it into the sides of the king who received no hurt as it only clashed against the chained steel armour in which he was dressed. The king thereupon plunged his "Wágnakh" into the bowels of the Khan who wore only a robe, and pulled them out. He next used his Vinchu*. Having thus inflicted two wounds the king disentangled his neck from the Khan's armpit, leaped down from the platform and left the scene. The Khan then raised a cry "Help, help, murder, murder, treachery, treachery." Hearing this the palanquin-bearers rushed forward and putting him into the palanquin bore him away.

* Literally meaning scorpion. The dagger is aptly named from its resemblance to that reptile.

But while they were moving with the palanquin, Sambháji Cowji Maháldar wounded the palanquin bearers in their legs and brought the palanquin down to the ground. He then cut off the Khan's head and brought it to the king. Sayad Banda then hastened to the scene and showered his sword blows upon the king. The king took his own sword from Jiwba Maháli and while engaged in fencing, averted four blows of Sayad Banda by means of his sword and Vinchu. Sayad Banda was then on the point of inflicting a wound on the king's hand when Jiwba by means of his sword which he had about him cut the arm of Sayad Banda clean off at the shoulder. This done, Jiwáji Máháli, Sambháji Kahuji Maháldár and the king went to the fort with the Khán's head, and when there, they fired a gun. At this signal Nétáji Pákar and Moropant Péshwá with his Máwalis from the Konkan attacked the forces of the Khán on all sides. The Khán's army which consisted of 2,000 regular troops and 10,000 camp followers having learnt that his head was taken to the fort, were disheartened, and a panic fell upon them. At the same time the king's forces hemmed them in: a bloody battle ensued which lasted for nearly six hours. The grandees who accompanied the Khán's forces, warriors fully armed, Máhádín and Usdin Pathán, the Rohillas, the Arabs, the Sarnees, the Sar Viziers, the Fargees, Maráthas of noble blood, Dhangars,* Brahmins, the men in charge of the bullocks which dragged the gun carriages, the Carnatic marksmen, the archers, and all other arm bearers and

* Shepherds.

the gunners all fought desperately, without any distinction of rank. The Mawalis fought on foot hand to hand. Some of the elephants that were brought to the battle field lost their tails, tusks and trunks while others lay dead on the field. The horses were killed at one blow. The battle field was strewn with innumerable carcasses of the dead. Pools of blood were formed. The clotted blood and the flesh of the dead together lay like mire under the treading feet of the warriors. The following is the list of the live and dead stock that fell in the hands of the Maráthas.

About 75. Elephants.	About 4,000. Horses.
„ 1,200. Camels.	„ 7,00,00,000. Cash.
„ 75. Viziers.	„ 200. Cart-loads
„ 3,000. Jewellery.	of cloth.

Beside these several guns and immense jewellery were captured; so also were cattle. Those who surrendered themselves to the conquerors, helpless men, women, and children were allowed to depart unmolested. The king's followers knowing the generous disposition of the king followed his example in allowing the helpless to depart unmolested. Fazal the son of Afzulkhán under a disguise betook himself to the woods. Innumerable others fled away.

13. Thus the king was victorious. He descended from the fort and applauded the spirit of his followers who fought for his cause with their heart. The "Watans*" of those who fell in the battle were continued to their sons; where there were no sons, half portions of the watans were continued to their widows.

* Grants of lands and other hereditary allowances.

The wounded were, according to the nature of the injuries they had sustained, rewarded with from 25 to 200 Hones. Those who fought hard received as presents horses, elephants, necklaces set with jewels, head-ornaments, pearls, rings, pearl-necklaces, waist-girdles set with diamonds and several clothes and other ornaments. Some received even 1,000 Hones as their rewards and were thus pleased.

14. This was like the quarrel between the Kauravas* and the Pándavas† in which several warriors fell on both sides. It was not an ordinary exploit that the king should have taken Afzul Khan aside and put him to death. The lion destroyed an elephant. In stature, strength and treachery Afzulkhán was every bit like Duryodhan.‡ The king killed Afzulkhán just as the Pándavas killed the Kauravas. This could not have been achieved by a mortal. The king was really an incarnation of God.

15. The Viziers and the Amirs of the Khan, who had been taken captives were dismissed with rich rewards. Pantájipant's services were appreciated. He also was presented with rich clothes, jewels, ornaments, horses, elephants, palanquin and immense wealth. The king's mother who was in the fort at Raigad being informed of the victory was highly delighted. Alms and sugar were distributed and there

* The heroes of the Mahábhárat, the great Sanscrit Epic. Duryodhan was the eldest of the 101 sons of Dhritarástra and Gandhári, who were known as Kauravas. † The Pándavas were the five sons of Pandu. ‡ In the great war between them all the Kauravas were killed and the Pándavas were victorious.

was great rejoicing, "Nagáras,*" were beaten, "Karnás†" were blown and guns were fired. The Mother also distributed liberal alms. The joyful news was communicated in every quarter. All were highly pleased.

16. On the fourth day a messenger brought news to the Emperor and the queen-regent that the Khán had been treacherously killed, his head being taken off by the conquerors, and the whole army completely routed and plundered. Ali Adilsháha, grieved at the news, descended the throne and went to his palace. He then seated himself upon a couch and gave himself up to lamentations. The queen-regent also came to know this sad affair while she was sitting upon her couch. She cried out "Allá Khudá," and threw herself down it, lamented the loss, and said "Allá has destroyed the Adilsháhi kingdom and given it over to Shiváji. The rule of the Musulmans is now over and that of the Hindoos restored." Thus giving vent to her feelings she fainted but soon recovered her senses through the timely assistance of a maid servant. She refused to eat for about six days. All the citizens and the army were seriously meditating this misfortune and it was a general talk then that the victorious king would come in a day or two and destroy every vestige of the Musulman power by seizing the fort and the city.

17. Afterwards Shiváji had a dream in which the goddess Bhowáni shewed herself to him and said that she wished to live in his kingdom and be worshipped there. The king then ordered five pieces

* Drum.

† Horn.

of marble from the river Gandaki and with these had a temple built in honor of the goddess on the Pratápgad hill. On this occasion he gave away immense wealth in religious charities and made golden ornaments studded with precious jewels for the image. He also appointed a Havaldár, a Muzumdár, and a Peshwá for the management of the temple. Festivals began to be observed, vows paid and fairs held in honor of the goddess and every thing here went on just as at Tuljápur. The pilgrims who went to Tuljápur were directed by the inspiration of the goddess to go to Pratápgad and offer vows there.

18. The death of Afzulkhán the powerful Vizier of the Bijápur kingdom weakened its power. The king taking advantage of this captured all the forts of the Bijápur kingdom in the Konkan. He also took 50 other hill forts. The Ghauts surrendered to Shiváji who had then a formidable army consisting of 7,000 foot, 15,000 horse and 12,000 camp followers besides Bargeers and Silédárs. The whole army under Nétáji Pálkar Sarnobat overran Pálghát, Párandé, Hávéli, Kalburga, Newasa, Udgir and all the country as far as the Godáveri, and exacted tributes. The Sarnobat then fought a battle with the Subhédár of Aurangábád who advanced against him with his army; killed him and many of his elephants and horses and captured Aurangábád.

19. The following measures were adopted by Shiváji for the protection of his acquisitions.

A Sarnobat, a Havaldár and a Sabnis were appointed to guard the forts. A Commissariat Department was attached to each fort. A kárkun was

appointed under the Sabnis to assist him in his accounts. In case of strong forts five Tat-sarnobats were appointed. All these officers were required to be vigilant, careful and cautious. A sufficient number of fighting men was appointed to guard the forts. These last were divided into parties of ten men each under a Naik. These were chosen by the king himself from amongst Hetkaris, gunshots, archers and others. The Havaldárs and Surnobats were chosen from amongst the Maráthas of noble descent to whom lands were assigned as Personal Ináms. New offices were established; all these officers were to be opposed in interest, and to be independent of each other, so that no Havaldár could have had the sole command of a fort nor, in case there arose a quarrel, could any of the men engaged treacherously surrender it to an enemy. In the same manner the army was divided into Pagas. The strength of these was enormously increased and Siledárs were appointed over them. None was allowed independence. In the Pagas too every horse had a Bargir and 25 such Bargeers were under the command of a Maráthá Havaldár who was a Dhárekari. Five such Havaldárs constituted a Jumlá under a Jumládár who drew 500 Hones as his salary besides a Pálakhi (palanquin). His Muzumdár got 100 to 125 Hones besides. Every 25 horses had a Pakhálji and a Nálband (veterinary servant). Ten such Jumlas were commanded by a Hajaria who received 1,000 Hones. To assist him the offices of a Muzumdár and a Maráthá Kárbhári were created. These four were held responsible for the revenue and expenditure. A Panch-Hajaria had the command of 5 such

Hajárias. He had 2,000 Hones for his allowance. In the same way Muzumdárs and Kárbháris were considered Revenue officers. Every Páágá had a Mámlá. The Silédárs had separate Subhás but they and the Páágás were also subordinate to the Sarnobat. The Hajárias and the Sarnobat appointed the Vák-nisi kárkuns and Halkaras. The then Sarnobat had a very expert messenger named Hirji Jádaw who was made the Naik of messengers. He was appointed to the post after a careful examination of his qualifications.

20. It was ruled that the army should retire during the monsoons to their Head quarters. There should be sufficient provision made of grain, medicines and accommodation in shape of houses thatched with straw, for men and horses. Soon after the Dasrá festival, the army should leave the Head quarters. At the time of leaving the camp a memorandum should be made of the property and other articles belonging to all the men. For eight months the army should maintain themselves in the country at large and recover tribute. No man in the army was to take with him wife, mistress or prostitute; one who infringed this rule was to lose his head. In the country, the army should not arrest men, women or children. A strongly built bullock capable of carrying loads might be seized. The Bráhmans should not be molested. For eight months the army should be moving out. At the end of Waishákh (May) they should return to the Head quarters. Soon after arrival the army should be searched. If any person was found in possession of more articles (more than those enumerated as belonging to

him in the memorandum framed at the time of léayin the Head quarters), their price should be fixed and deducted from his allowance. Costly articles should be made over to Government. If any one concealed them and the Sirdár came to know it, the person concealing them was to be punished. After return to Head quarters, the Sirdár was to take an account of money, gold, silver, jewels, cloth and other articles and with them to go to the king and pay his respects to him. In the presence of the king he was to render an account of them and make over the things to the king. The men in the army were to render similar accounts and represent special claims, if any, to any of the articles and beg the king to give them. The army should then return to the camp. After a halt of four months they should see the king on the Dasrá day and then take his orders and proceed to the country as directed by him. Such was the arrangement with regard to the army.

21. Similarly one Náik was appointed over ten Máwalis (the people from Máwal); one Havaldár over fifty persons; one Jumládár over two or three Havaldárs. Ten Jumládárs formed one Hazári. A Jumládár received as his yearly emoluments a sum of 100 Hones.* A Sabnis† received as his yearly emoluments 40 Hones. A Hazári received the yearly

* A gold coin; the exact value of this coin can not now be ascertained, as there were various kinds of it and it is not known what particular kind is meant.

† The Head Clerk attached to one of the Darakdár. His business was to pay the Sibandis and public servants of a district or charge.

emolument of 500 Hones. His Sabnis received 100 Hones. The Hazáris were headed by a Sarnobat. Yesáji Kank was appointed to this post and every one was required to be obedient to him. The Sarnobat, Muzumdár, Fadnis, Chitnis and other Huzur officials received their yearly allowances by means of Remittance orders drawn at the Huzur. Those who cultivated the land had their allowances adjusted according to the existing custom; others receiving their allowances by Remittance orders drawn by the Huzur. No allowances were to be paid by allotment of Jágirs or Haks over the revenue of any portion of the country. All payment was to be made by Remittance orders or from the Government treasury. The infantry standing in the forts and in the country was to be paid by the kárkuns, as, by the bestowal of Jágirs and Haks the Ryots would be in disorder and would be powerful; while the officers of Government would be powerless; if the Ryots were powerful, there would be mutiny in different quarters; the persons holding Jágirs would, in harmony with their tenants show disloyal conduct; the bestowal of Jágirs should therefore be discountenanced. Over the country acquired by conquest a kárkun should be appointed for the necessary supervision. The kárkun to be so appointed must be familiar with reading and writing and keeping accounts. A kárkun competent in these subjects and in Jamábandi was alone to be kept in the district and was to be entrusted with the (Moozmoo*) supervision of a

* The authority collecting the revenue demands of Government and exercising supervision over its expenditure.

Mahál. A similar one was to be appointed to the (Hawúlá*) charge of a Mahál. Another was to be appointed to the (Muzmi) supervision of a Subhá; and after he had gained experience in his duties a Havaldár was to be appointed over a Subhá and the Havaldár who was competent in writing and careful in his work was to be entrusted with a Mámlá.† Those who were not familiar with writing were not to be entrusted with the management of a Mahál. Such were to be told to look out for employment under the Emperor's Government, or to take a horse and perform the duties of a Silédár.‡ Kárkuns should be appointed in the District. The Havaldár of a Mahál was to receive 100 Hones and Muzumdár 75 Hones as their allowance per mensem. A Subhédár was appointed over two or three Maháls the revenue of which amounted from 75,000 to 1,25,000 Hones who received as his allowance 400 Hones. There was also appointed a Muzumdár over a Subhá, who received 100 Hones as his allowance. The Subhédár was to maintain a palanquin within his allowance of 400 Hones. A Havaldár was allowed Abdágir.§ The rule of granting a Chhutra¶ or Chhatri to the Vizier was abrogated because it was

* Charge, care, custody or trust.

† Civil employment under Government especially the collection of the Revenue, and management of a district.

‡ One who maintains a horse at his own expense and renders service to Government.

§ An ornamented flat umbrella borne over Rájahs and grandees in their processions.

¶ A large and lofty parasol, usually of red silk. It is an ensign of dignity.

considered incompatible that both the Emperor and his servants should have the same insignia of honor. In the Infantry regiments those who received an allowance of from 100 to 125 Hones had to maintain an Abdágir. In the district the portion of country paying two lacs of Hones as revenue was made a Subhá. The Kárkun appointed to watch the revenue and expenditure of that portion of the country which was turbulent had a force of Infantry and cavalry given with him and quartered in strong numbers wherever required. .

22. Similarly land was surveyed and measured into "Cháhurs". Five cubits made one "Káthi" (a rod used as a land measure). Twenty such square Káthis made one "Bighá"; and one hundred and twenty Bighás made one "Cháhur". Villages were thus portioned out and lands assigned to each village. The whole produce of the land according to Bighá was divided into five equal shares out of which the Ryot received three, and two were given to Government. New Ryots had cattle supplied to them. Grain and money were advanced to them for seed which were recoverable after two or three years. In this way the Ryots were governed. The kárkuns were enjoined to visit the Ryots in their villages and demand from them the share due to Government of the produce of their land. The Ryots were in no way the slaves and bondmen of the Pátíl, Kulkarni or Déshmukh who had no control whatever over them. As regards that portion of the country which was obtained by conquest from the Adilsháhi, Nizámsháhi and Mogulái Governments, the Ryots there were under the yoke of

the Pátíl, Kulkarni, and Déshmukh who collected the revenue and paid it into Government treasury. Wherever the Mirásdárs* levied from one to two thousand Hones from the villages in their charge, they paid to Government a fixed sum of two to three hundred Hones only on account of those villages. At this rate the Mirásdárs became a wealthy class of people and they built strongholds in the villages and became powerful. They did not pay their respects to the Diwán† and repeatedly quarrelled if more was demanded from them. The country thus became powerful. The king therefore reduced the country, destroyed the strongholds, took possession of the stronger forts and having encamped his men there annihilated the Mirásdárs. Whatever the Mirásdárs levied by this mode of farmed revenue was thus saved to Government. The Jame-dárs were granted fixed allowances of grain and money according to the revenue of the village; the Deshmukhs, Pátíls and Kulkarnees had also fixed allowances sanctioned to them. The Jamedárs were not allowed to build fortified compounds, but simple houses. They were also prohibited the possession of guns. The Kárkun of the Diwán of a small village received a monthly allowance of 3 hones. An officer was appointed over from five to seven villages who received 5 hones monthly. Dewas-thán allowances were continued; so were allowances to mosques and temples. Bráhmíns proficient in the

* The holder of an hereditary office or public employment (usually with land attached) in a village.

† Under the Moguls, this was the officer in charge of the Revenue administration of a district.

knowledge of the Vedas and the Shástras, astrology and in the performance of religious rites throughout the country were allowed Warshásan allowances which the kárkuns were to see paid to them at their places of residence.

23. The intelligence of this management of affairs reached the Emperor Aurungzéba at Delhi. He became uneasy and exclaimed. "Shiváji has become powerful; he destroyed Afzulkhán of Bijápur with 12,000 soldiers; and took the forts belonging to the Emperor's Government. What should be done to arrest his progress?" In this anxiety, he resolved to summon a council of his Vizier and the other grandees of his Court. In this council it was decided to send a lac (1, 00, 000) cavalry to attack the king under the command of Nabáb Shástékhán who was the husband of the Emperor's aunt. Shástékhán was a brave and influential person. He was despatched with choice Viziers, brave warriors, a lac (1,00, 000) of horses, with instructions to destroy Shiváji and level him to the ground and to capture all the forts and strongholds. A regiment of the Rohillá Patháns, a body of archers and swordsmen formed his retinue. The artillery drawn by elephants, guns, swords, tents and canopies, one hundred ordinary elephants, four hundred war elephants, camels, carriages containing guns and a vast army accompanied him. With treasure as countless and immense as that of Ráwan,* this Ráwan of the Kaliyug† (that

* The sovereign of Lanká or Ceylon killed by Ráma or Ráanchandra. The antagonist of the hero of the Rámáyana, one of the Sanskrit Epics.

† The four ages known to the Hindu Shástra are Krit, Trétá, Dwápár and Kali. Ráwan flourished in the Trétá yuga.

is, of the present age) marched from Delhi at the head of a force composed of elephants, camels, carriages, mules, and with gold, silver, Mohurs and Hones aggregating to 32, 00, 00, 000 hones in value. Nabáb Shástékhán was the very image of the Emperor himself. With this vast army he started towards the south to make an invasion on the king. Wherever the army encamped it occupied a space as large as that occupied by two villages in length and one in breadth. He reached Poona after three months.

24. The king came to know this as soon as Delhi was left. He was at Rájgad where he held a council of his Sirdárs, Sarnobats and other grandees of his Court. All unanimously agreed that the king should seek an interview of the Nabáb and propose terms of peace since it was fruitless to fight under such disadvantageous circumstances especially as the army of the Emperor of Delhi was incomparably superior in numbers to their own. The king did not like this proposal for, thought he " Shástékhán was not a great man of Rajpút blood, nor a Hindú as he was. He was a Musalman and a kinsman of the Emperor and not a follower of the Hindu Faith; there could be nothing like bribing him as he (Shástékhán) would not save him (king); he might perhaps destroy him if he had an interview. His presence was a great danger." The king therefore boldly resolved to fight and await the result. The very night the goddess Bhowani appeared in the king and said. " Be not afraid of the warrior whose name is Shástékhán; I shall kill him just as I killed Afzul-khán. Be not in anxiety. As soon as Shástékhán encamps, try to rush in his army and fight." So say-

ing the goddess disappeared and the king came to consciousness. The kárkuns who were near and who had taken down the words of the goddess, shewed them to him. The king seeing that the goddess was favourable to him, nerved himself with courage. When the intelligence of Shástékhán's arrival in Poona was brought to him, he caused a selection to be made of choice Máwalis and of his own people and with a thousand of such men and one or two thousand brave soldiers selected from his army he descended from Rájgad. He also took with him Dáji Bápuji and Chinnáji Bápuji Dëshpánde Tarf Khed. Both these brothers were very wise politicians and the greatest favorites of the king. He placed two armies one under the command of Nétáji Pálkar and the other under that of Moropant Peishwá. One cavalry was placed under the command of Nétáji Pálkar. Another regiment was also formed of the Máwalis. These he stationed a mile in length on four sides of the place where Shástekhán's army had encamped; while the king himself armed with a shield and a sword took with him a chosen band of a thousand brave warriors and proceeded towards the Nabáb's encampment. In front marched Dáji and Chinnáji Bápuji Khedkar, the army with the king following them. Midnight came when they approached the Nabáb's encampment. Here the thousand men who accompanied the king were divided into two parties which were stationed on both the sides of the Nabáb's tent. With two hundred men chosen out of these the king made his entry unperceived by the guards who were fast sleeping. When they entered the Nabáb's

pavilion, they found there the khán sitting in company with some women. Candles and brass-lamps were burning. At the sight of these strange intruders, they raised an alarm. Meanwhile Chimnáji Bápuji killed five or six Khojús who were in front, and put to flight the women and put to the sword as many as he could find ; some were killed by the king's men ; while others lay concealed. There was an uproar from which the Nabáb learnt that the men of the Emperor's enemy had got in. He rose from his seat in the pavilion and rushed among the women ; lights were extinguished ; there was dark. The Nabáb would not stir ; some of the old in his camp were slaughtered in different places, as they were taken to be the Nabáb. As the Nabáb lay concealed among the women, the king being a pious warrior would not raise his hands on the women. The Nabáb however received sword blows which cut off three of his fingers. Loud screams were now heard. The king then issued and mingled in his army which he had placed under the command of the Surnobat and left the scene. The Nabáb's army began to make a search in their encampment after the assailants but could find no traces. The king returned safe with his army.

25. After daybreak all the Viziers came to enquire after the khán's health and to their horror found that three of his fingers were cut off. They also found that several of their men were killed and the women wounded. The Nabáb said "It is strange that the enemy of the Emperor should have come to the very threshold of my tent and no vizier or sirdár should have been on his guard. All are

deserters. I cannot trust any one now. Today the king has come to my tent and cut off my fingers; tomorrow he might cut off my head. Shiváji is a very treacherous rogue; he will still perform treacherous acts. I have no confidence in my army. I should therefore return to Delhi. I can not put up with these men." Having thus resolved he started on the third day for Delhi.

26. The king who had returned to Rájgad sent a messenger who brought news that Shástekhán had three of his fingers cut off, that his right hand was maimed, that several of his men were cut to pieces and that he himself had returned to Delhi. This intelligence pleased the king much. He said that the name "Shástekhán" given by the Emperor to the Nabáb was not deserved by him, as his actions did not correspond with his name. On the occasion of his defeat therefore, guns were fired; sugar was distributed and there was joy. The king began to look after state affairs. Shástekhán after rapid marches arrived at Delhi. The Emperor was surprised to learn of the Nabáb's discomfiture and was sorely grieved. He said "What an army of the Nabáb and how should it have suffered discomfiture. Surely Shiváji was not a man but a devil." He gave vent to several such ejaculations and when he learnt of the Nabáb's arrival, he refused him an interview for the Nabáb had by his conduct frustrated his plans. He sent him word to retire to his house and remain there. He dishonored the Viziers who had accompanied the Nabáb and stopped their allowances. They said that the sirdár who led them was appointed over them by the Emperor whose

orders were that he should be obeyed. If the sirdár returned defeated, what were they to do? If the Emperor wished it, a valiant leader might be appointed over them with whom they were prepared to go and fight with the enemy and strive hard for success. This proposal was pondered over and approved. The difficulty was as to what sirdár should be appointed to the command; who would come out successful? The choice at last fell on Jeyasing the valiant prince of the Rajputs. The Emperor then sent for him and said to him, "You are a Rajpút, so is Shiváji; but you are a devoted servant of the Emperor, be true to your salt." He replied that he would never prove disloyal to the Emperor. The Emperor then offered him a present of a head-ornament and gave him leave to depart. He started from Delhi with the same pomp and grandeur as those of Shástékhán. The vast army that accompanied him marched with hot haste so as to fill the whole air with dust. Towards the south they wended their course. On the way Jeyasing thought to himself:—"Shiváji is a very skilful, brave and valiant soldier. He killed with his own efforts Afzulkhán. He also effected an entry in the Nabúb's tent and there committed havoc. How was victory possible?" While he was thus anxiously pondering over his situation, the learned Bráhmín priests suggested to him that the Gods might be propitiated whereby victory was certain. Accordingly the Rajput chief mentioned the names of Chandí* Baglá-mookhi* and Káltrayi*, Goddesses; and gave direc-

* These are the names of Rajput Goddesses who were propitiated in times of imminent danger.

tions to propitiate them. He also caused the religious ceremony of repeating a thousand and more times the name of Kártikaviryá to be performed. Forty thousand Bráhmíns were employed in the work of propitiating the Gods and Goddesses. The propitiating ceremonies commenced everywhere. Two crores of Rupees were set apart for expenditure in connection with these ceremonies. The ceremonies lasted for 3 months. After the consummation ceremony alms and feasts were given to the Bráhmíns and after rapid marches the Rajput Chief and his army arrived in the direction of Rájgad where the king Shiváji was encamped. Messengers brought news to the king that Jeyasing had arrived with 80,000 horsemen and with Dilélkhán and his 5,000 Patháns. The king became anxious at these tidings. He summoned a council of his Sirkarkuns, Viziers and others who said:—"Afzulkhán and Shás-tékhán were incompetent Musulmans and therefore fell victims to strategems. The Rajput knew all that and would not therefore be deceived; peace ought to be made with him at any rate." The king said "The Rajput might successfully be induced any how to accept terms of peace, but I am afraid of Dilélkhán who is a great favorite of the Emperor and a treacherous rogue; I really cannot imagine what mischief this rogue would do. If he had not accompanied the Rajput prince, our object could easily have been accomplished. However let us trust in Shri Bhawáni and act as she dictates." The next day the goddess appeared in Shiváji and spoke;—"My child the present is a very critical moment; Jeyasing can not be killed nor

would he listen to terms of peace ; you will have to seek an interview with him, and to go to Delhi where danger will await you ; but you need not fear, as, I shall accompany you and by various endeavours protect you, my child, from danger and make you victorious. The kingdom I have given my child is not given to last for one generation. It is to last for twenty seven generations. I have every concern for the kingdom. If my child acts imprudently, it is my look out to see that bad consequences do not ensue. Be not in anxiety on any body's account." After these instructions the Goddess disappeared. These words were taken down by the kârkuns who read them to the king when he came to consciousness. The king was highly pleased and nerved himself with courage.

27. In the meanwhile Jeyasing pitched his camp between the forts of Purandhar and Kondhâné. He sent a letter to the king saying :—" We are one ; please see me ; we shall do every thing for your welfare. " This letter reached the king at Râjgad who read it and began to consider as to what learned person should be deputed as an envoy with his reply, as, the Rajput had with him a large number of learned Brâhmins while he himself was learned and well versed in the Shâstras. At last he resolved to depute Raghunâth Pandit to whom he handed over his reply, clothes and jewels with instructions to proceed and who accordingly went to the enemy's camp. The news that an envoy had arrived from the king reached Jeyasing. He received the envoy with due honors and had an interview with him. Jeyasing said :—" The Emperor

of Delhi is powerful ; it is of no use to make an enemy of him. The king should pay him his respects and have an interview with him. I shall take him with me and bring about an interview between him and the Emperor. The king is to me like my son Rámasing. I will do no mischief or harm to him." To show that he was sincere and in earnest, he took a few of the Tulsi leaves with which he had worshipped the image of the God Thákurji and gave them into the hands of the envoy. He also gave the envoy a present of clothes for himself and for the king that of clothes and jewels with a message to the king that he should come for the interview the same day. The envoy took his departure and returned to Rájgad where he narrated all that had occurred at the interview. All were pleased ; orders were issued to fortify all the strongholds with guns.

28. Dilélkhán in the meanwhile learnt that an envoy from the king had arrived in Jeyasing's camp. He was grieved at heart. He said that both Jeyasing and Shiváji were Hindús and would at last be one. The next day he went to Jeyasing and had an interview with him. Dilélkhán said "What is the use of sitting idle? I am going to capture the forts of Kondháné and Purandhar ; and when I capture them, Shiváji will surrender himself." Jeyasing replied "If you succeed in capturing them, it will be all well arranged ; but if the contrary happens, our reputation will be tarnished. It is therefore better to leave the forts to themselves, and to confine our action to the plain. It is of no use to take any force to the forts." At this Dilélkhán

was much enraged. He left the place saying that he would immediately proceed to capture the fort of Purandhar, and if Jeyasing liked it, he might capture Kondháné. He came to the army and took with him 5,000 Patháns on foot, and 7 or 8,000 bullocks with artillery and a force of 20,000 composed of Pénthárees, sailors and light-armed men. They commenced the march. The fort of Purandhar was then commanded by Murár Báji Prabhu the Sirdár of the noblemen, who had with him a thousand men. There were a thousand more who were detached for duty on the fort. Murár Báji took with him 700 chosen men and descended from the fort to encounter Dilékhán. They encountered Dilékhán while he and his 5,000 Patháns and bullocks were on the ascent to the fort on all sides, and mixed among them. A bloody battle ensued. Murárráo and his men fought desperately. 500 Patháns were killed. The khán's artillery, archers and light-armed men made an attack. Murár Báji at the head of his men rushed in the onset with a shield and sword in his hand on Dilékhán. When he saw that the choice soldiers in his army fell, he said:—"What is the use of my surviving? The chosen men of the king's army have fallen and shall I live to show my blackened face to my master the king? It is better to encounter death in the face." So saying he came face to face with Dilékhán. The khán said to him:—"Surrender yourself to me and save yourself from death; you are a brave warrior and I admire your courage." To this Murárji replied:—"We are the servants of king Shiváji; do you expect us to submit to your yoke?" So saying

he rushed straight on the khán and was about to give him a sword blow when the khán with a dexterous caper averted it and darting an arrow killed Murár Báji on the spot. The khán expressed satisfaction and surprise at the brave and valiant conduct of Murár Báji. He said "God alone creates such warriors." 3 Hundred men fell with Murár Báji, while the remaining four hundred returned to the fort. Dilélkhán took down his turband and said that he would replace it after he had captured the fort and not till then. So saying he marched straight to the gate and sat there under a canopy of the shields. The men in the fort not losing courage when they learnt of Murár's death, began to fight desperately ; saying :—"What matters it if one Murár Báji is killed ? We are equally brave and shall fight to the last."

29. The intelligence that Dilélkhán besieged the fort of Purandhar and that Murár Báji fell in the action with his 300 men reached the king at Rájgad. He became anxious and said :—"If such a strong fort is falling into the hands of Dilélkhán, other forts would also be reduced without any effort. It is useless to see the Emperor after the forts are reduced and captured for, it is proper that so long as the forts are in my possession, I should see the Emperor and make over to him with my own hands the forts, if any are to be given and settle the terms of peace." So saying he sent his envoy Raghunáthbhat Panditráo to Jeyasing the Mirzá king to say that he was immediately coming for an interview, as it was not right to do so after Dilélkhán had taken possession of the fort. The envoy went to Jeyasing with the

message. Jeyasing consented and ratified his consent by oaths and solemn pledges. Panditráo returned to Rájgad. Soon after, the king took with him a thousand chosen men and having made a bow to Shri Shambhú, Shri Bhawáni and to the learned Bráhmíns in his service and received their blessings, he marched off and came to the camp of Mirzá Rájá. Panditráo announced the king's arrival. Jeyasing on hearing this immediatly walked on foot towards the gate of the camp to receive the king. The king alighted from his palanquin. Both met, and sat on one seat. The king spoke to Mirzá Rájá :—" I am like your son Rámasing. Protect me as you protect him ;" and sat quiet. Jayasing Rájá then said :—" It is true ; you are a Rajput ; we both are of the same class. I shall forfeit my head if anything treacherous befalls you." With this assurance he took a solemn oath. The king then said :—" I am ready to part with whatever forts you may require ; but Dilélkhán must be recalled. I shall give the fort of Purandhar to you, and hoist your flag thereon, but would not like to see the infidel victorious." Jeyasing was pleased ; he said :—" Dilélkhán is a very proud courtier but a favourite servant of the Emperor. He expects every one to do him homage ; you yourself should go to him for an interview. As you are a Rajput, I shall give with you a more powerful man than Dilélkhán who will procure the desired interview ; you need not entertain any anxiety, as your safety is my greatest concern. You may, if you like, take with you 400 or 500 warriors whom I am ready to place at your disposal." To this Shiváji replied :—" I am Shiváji. Do I fear

Dilélkhán? I am ready to have an interview with him, as you promise me safety."

30. So saying he asked leave to depart. The Mirzá Rájá gave with him his uncle Subhánsing who was a great warrior, and a strong man, stronger even than the khán, with instructions to take the king to the khán and bring him back in safety the Mirzá Rájá saying he had full confidence in Subhánsing's fidelity. Subhánsing took with him 50 brave warriors like himself and set off. The king arrived at the gate of Purandhar where Dilélkhán then was. A message was sent to Dilélkhán that Shiváji had an interview with Mirzá Rájá and that he had come for one with him (Dilélkhán). At this Dilélkhán was enraged; so much so that he bit his wrist. That Shiváji should have seen Mirzá Rájá and by commencing negociations with him should have given the Rájá credit for the victory, both being Rajputs, and that he should not even have been consulted and thus deprived of the credit due to him—these were the thoughts that tormented him. The king approached. Dilélkhán rose from his seat and advanced; and with anger embraced the king and held him fast in his embrace for a Ghatká.* Dilélkhán was a very strong man, as strong as an elephant or even more. He ate as much as an elephant. In stature he was just like the monster Hidimb;† but the king was no less strong. He did not heed in the least this embrace of the khán. After they

* A period of twenty-four minutes.

† A monster whose death at the hands of Bhima, one of the Pándavas is described in the Mahábhárat.

were disengaged from their embraces, they both took seats. Subhānsing sat near them. On Dilélkhán's asking him as to when he came he said that he had an interview with Mirzá Rájá and had only just come to have an interview with him (khán). Subhānsing then said :—"Khánji the king has come ; to-morrow he will give away any fort that may be required. The Mirzá Rájá orders you to descend and return to your camp." The khán was sorely grieved that his intentions were not fulfilled. He said :—"You are officers and must be obeyed ; but this fort must be given to me to-morrow ; I shall plant my standard and come away." Subhānsing said : "The fort is ours, you may come away." Dilélkhán then kept a guard at the fort and descended to proceed to his camp. Betelnut and leaves were given to the king. Dilélkhán said :—"You may proceed to Mirzá Rájá. He is our superior both in age and position ; whatever he does is acceptable to us." The king and Subhānsing then took their departure and came to where the army of Mirzá Rájá was encamped. Subhānsing informed the Rájá of the king's arrival. Both the Rájá and the king dined together. A tent was supplied to the king. In the night they had a talk. Mirzá Rájá said :—"Make over all the forts to the Emperor and proceed to pay your respects to him." The king said :—"I am willing to give you twenty-seven of my forts and to proceed to Delhi for an interview with the Emperor, with my son Sambhájí. I shall obtain from the Emperor the sovereign sway over the Deccan." Mirzá Rájá consented and marched from Poona. The king caused his son Sambhájí to

be brought to him and made over twenty-seven forts to the Mongul Emperor ; the remaining forts were strengthened and left under the care of Moropant Pëshwá, Nilopant Muzamdár, Nétáji Pálkar and the king's mother. The king then arranged to proceed to Delhi for an interview with the Emperor. To give intimation of the king's movement to the Emperor, Mirzá Rájá deputed his envoy to him. The king addressed a petition to the Emperor praying for an interview, which he handed over to his envoy Raghunáthpant Kordé, the brother-in-law of Nathúpant Dabir, and despatched him with Mirzá Rájá's envoy to the Emperor.

31. The Rájá and the king then started for Delhi. The Mirzá Rájá with the king in his company and his army directed their march towards Bijápur. The Mirzá Rájá and the king marched in one Howdá.* All the viziers respectfully bowed. Dilélkhán would not bow, under the pretence that as both the Rájá and the king were sitting together, he did not understand to whom to make a bow. They reached Bijápur. There was peace. They then turned towards Delhi. On the way Mirzá Rájá said:—"The Emperor is a shrewd politician and full of treachery. What shall we do if he acts treacherously towards both of us on seeing us go to him together ? For this reason I shall stop at Aurangábád while you proceed to Delhi. I send a message to my son Rámsing who is an influential courtier at the Delhi Durbar, to arrange about your interview ; you need only go

* An uncovered box or chair upon an elephant for the convenience of the riders.

through him and secure for yourself a grant of territory and then return to the Deccan. I shall go to Delhi after you leave it and in the meanwhile I shall be out here. You need not apprehend any treacherous conduct on my part as I am here." So saying he despatched a letter to Rámsing and sent the king away. The king took with him the following kárkuns and attendants:—

Kárkuns.	Attendants.
(1) Nirjái Ràoji	(1) Hiroji Farjand.
(2) Dattáji Trimbak.....	(2) Rághoji Mitra.
(3) Trimbak Sonadéva...	(3) Dawalji Gádgé.
(4) Mánkoji Hari Sabnis	1000 Máwalis.
3,000 Horsemen.	

32. With this retinue the king and his son by forced marches proceeded to Delhi. The Emperor when he learnt that Shiváji was coming to him for an interview, despatched orders to all the Fouzdárs and the *Mokásis in his Districts, enjoining the former to go to the places where he halted and there pay him respects, to supply him with all the provisions and forage he required and to look after his wants generally. The Fouzdárs did act according to these instructions and the king reached Delhi after two or three months. Soon after, Rámsing had an interview with him. Raghunáthpant Kordé the envoy sent first also came in. They had a talk about the Emperor. They said that they could not make out what lurked in the Emperor's mind. Rámsing then returned to the Emperor. The Em-

* The farmers of the revenue of villages or lands granted on condition of military service or in Inám.

peror then assigned to the king a fine building to dwell in, which came to bear his name. Then having waited for an auspicious day, the king proceeded to the interview with the Emperor. The Emperor held his court and armed himself with five weapons, girded up his loins and putting on an armour sat on his throne. He also caused about 2,000 brave men to be seated about the throne apprehending that Shiváji might try the same treacherous feat with which he had destroyed Afzulkhán at an interview, as he (Shiváji) was not an ordinary human being but a devil (satan). Rámsing took with him the king, Sambháji Rájá the king's son, and ten men selected from his retinue, for the interview. Rámsing and the Emperor exchanged looks. The Emperor asked if the person he introduced was Shiváji. On this question Shiváji made three bows intending one for Shambhu Mahádeo, the other for Shri Bhawáni and the third for his father, and stood as he was ordered near Jeshwantsingji Maháráj the king of Márwád—a state yielding a revenue of 9 Crores. The king's son also stood by him. The king asked Rámsing as to who it was by whom he (king) was standing. Rámsing replied that it was Jeshwantsing. At this the king was enraged and said there were Amirs in his own court like Jeshwant and asked what the Emperor meant by making him stand behind a man who in position was far inferior. So saying he angrily asked for the dagger with which Rámsing had armed himself. Rámsing said:—"Be patient and calm yourself." This noise was overheard by the Emperor who asked what the matter was. Rámsing replied:—"The wild tiger is

chafing from heat: nothing else." These words created suspicion in the mind of the Emperor who apprehended serious consequences. He therefore directed Rámsing to take the king to the quarters assigned to him saying that the interview would take place leisurely the next day. The king then accompanied by his son, by Rámsing, and by his followers returned to his dwelling. The Emperor was delighted at the king's departure, observing that a great calamity was averted, as Shiváji's mien showed marks of perturbation. After the king's return to his dwelling, he had a talk with Rámsing. The king said:—"What sort of Emperor is this? I am Shiváji, and should he have made me stand below Jeshwant? The Emperor understands nothing." Rámsing replied:—"You should not come for an interview: and even if you should, you should keep appearances and retire. After your safe return we shall have acquired a good deal." So saying Rámsing returned to his dwelling.

33. The king then held a council of his kárkuns, courtiers and Raghunáthpant Kordé. The king asked:—"What should be done next? I know what sort of reception I have had at the interview with the Emperor. I do not know how I can obtain his leave to return unless I promise to undertake some work for him." He then sent Raghunáthpant Kordé to the Emperor telling him to make a petition to the Emperor to the effect that as ordered by the Emperor he had come with his son for an interview and that he awaited the Emperor's orders; that if it pleased the Emperor he was ready to serve him by taking possession of the entire Adilsháhi

and Kutubsháhi kingdoms, and tendering them to him ; that he expected the Emperor to put to test his service as he did that of his other Subhús. The king also told Raghunáthpant to draw the Emperor to his secret Council Hall and there discuss with him this topic. Raghunáthpant Kordé accordingly went to the Emperor the next day with the petition containing the required communication. The Emperor read it and his suspicion was aroused ; he made the following endorsement thereon:—"Wait a little, and your request will be granted." The envoy returned and told the king accordingly. The king hearing this reply, conjectured that there was suspicion in the mind of the Emperor and that therefore the reply did not appear to him to have been given with a free heart.

34. The same day Shústékhán sent a message to Jáffarkhán who was the Diwán to the present Emperor (the duties however being performed by his Deputy), and who held that post in the time of the Emperor's predecessor also, to the following effect:—"Shiváji is very expert in treachery. When he entered my camp, he jumped forty cubits from the ground and entered the pavilion. If the Emperor were to grant him an interview, he is sure to jump forty or fifty cubits and play foul with him also." Jáffarkhán communicated this message to the Emperor. The Emperor was struck with wonder and his suspicion was now confirmed.

35. The next day the king came to know that Jáffarkhán had poisoned the mind of the Emperor against him. He therefore sent his envoy Raghunáthpant to him to beg an interview. Jáffarkhán anxi-

ously pondered a long while when he received this communication: and at last consented. The king then went to Jáffarkhán. He was well received. He asked for grants of Inám lands and allowances. The Diwán did not care to listen with concern. For the sake of appearance only he said "Very well." In the midst of this conversation, Jáffarkhán's wife, the sister of Shástékhán, sent him a message from inside the house that he had better dismiss Shiváji from his presence sooner than he intended to do, as he was the man that had killed Afzúlkhán, and cut off the fingers of Shástékhán and that it was not unlikely he might simily destroy him. A present of dress and clothes was then made to the king and he was allowed to take his departure. The Diwán said:—"I will move the Emperor to grant you lands and allowances." The king then returned to his quarters and said:—"Jáffarkhán also did not speak with a free heart. The will of Shri Bhawáni will prevail."

36. The next day the Emperor sent an army (Cavalry and Infantry) of 5,000 men under Poládkhán the Kotwál* to keep guard about the quarters where the king had put up. The king was frightened and holding his son Sambháji to his bosom gave vent to sorrow. Nirájipant, Dattájipant and Trimbakpant consoled him and began to consider what plan ought to be tried next. The goddess Bhawáni then appeared to the king in a dream and said:—"Be not in anxiety. I will take away yourself and your son in safety from this place." This he communicated to his courtiers who were glad to hear it.

* The chief officer of the Police or constabulary of a town.

37. The next day the king ordered out sweetmeats and other articles worth a thousand or two thousand Rupees, and arranged them in ten baskets made of Bámbús which also he had ordered out. He also hired two laborers for each box. These sweetmeats he sent as presents to the Viziers. The sentries on the guard asked whose boxes they were and where they were going. The laborers replied that the baskets contained sweetmeats which were going as presents from the king to the four Viziers. The sentries opened one or two baskets and found that they really contained sweetmeats. They therefore allowed them to go on. This course was continued for some time. After about a week, the king told his horsemen and kárkúns to effect their escape. They acted accordingly some however still remaining with the king.

38. When this practice had continued for some time, he one evening put Sambháji his son into one basket and himself got into another. He removed his dress and ornaments and put them on the person of Hiroji Farjand whom he made sleep on his cot, and covering his body with a scarf, only kept his hand bare so as to be seen. He also caused a boy to be in attendance. According to previous arrangements, the kárkúns who were already sent away, were waiting for him at a village six miles distant from Delhi. After they had neared the suburbs of Delhi, they alighted from the baskets and went on foot to the village where the kárkúns were stationed. All of them then held a council in the Jungle and agreed that to go direct to their own country was not safe as the Emperor's forces would in that case pursue them,

and therefore resolved to go to Wáránasi* beyond Delhi. Having formed this resolution, the king, his son Sambháji Rájá, Niráji Ráoji, Dattáji Trimbak and Rágho Mitra Maráthú started. They started for Wáránasi in the disguise of Fakirs† and with ashes rubbed to their bodies. The rest were allowed to go wherever they pleased.

39. At Delhi Hiroji Farjañd was sleeping on the cot. The people of Poládkhán who were on the guard went to the room and believed that it was the king sleeping with the scarf on his body. The boy was then pressing Hiroji's feet. They asked the boy as to why the king slept that day so long. The boy replied that the king's body was paining. They therefore returned. Hiroji slept till midday. After waking up, he put on his trousers and turband and came out of the room with the boy, saluted the sentries on the guard; and when they asked him as to why the king slept so long that day, he replied that the king's body was paining and desired them to see that no body disturbed his sleep until he had returned from the Bazár where he was going for shopping. So saying Hiroji and the boy issued out. They repaired to the camp of Rámsing where Hiroji secretly told him all that had transpired, and left him to take the road to his country.

40. Rámsing then went to the Emperor for an interview. He said to the Emperor that Shiváji was introduced by him; that the Emperor kept him

* A name for Benáres; derived from the names of two rivulets Wárná and Asi, running by the city, the one on the north, and the other on the south.

† A Mahomedan mendicant.

under surveillance not his own (Rámsing's) so that he was now in no way responsible for him. The Emperor answered " You have no concern whatever with him. He is the Emperor's servant and he should expect reception from the Emperor : you have nothing to do in the matter. " So saying Rámsing made a respectful bow and retired to his quarters.

41. (The next day) at about nine o'clock the sentries on the guard said " There is no moving to and fro of people today. The servants say that the king is ill, and therefore perhaps no body is coming. What is the matter ? " So saying one of the guards entered the room and saw that there was none on the cot. That the king had run away was the conclusion arrived at. Poládkhán carried these tidings to the Emperor. Poládkhán said :— " The king was in the room ; we every now and then saw him and notwithstanding he has all of a sudden disappeared. God knows whether he has run away, or penetrated the ground beneath or the skies above, or what other contrivance of escape he has hit upon. " The Emperor was surprised to hear this. He fell in anxiety. He summoned his army and sent two lacs and sixty-thousand cavalry to pursue him from all the directions giving them the following instructions:—" Shiváji is very expert in tricks. He must be in the disguise of a Fakir, or Brahmin mendicant or of a destitute beggar ; you must make a strict and careful search after him and discovering him, capture and bring him as a prisoner. " The army went in all the directions. The Emperor suspected that the king must have concealed himself somewhere in the town and that he might do him some mischief in

the night. He therefore kept a careful lookout and a strong guard of armed men about him night and day and kept himself awake on his cot.

42. The king and his son Sambháji by rapid marches during nights went to Mathurá. Having made a search in the town to ascertain if there were any acquaintances, they found out Krishnájipant, Káshiráo and Wisájipant three brothers who were the brothers-in-law of Moropant Peishwá. Niráji-pant recognised them. He went to them and told them all that had occurred. They boldly consented to receive them. Whereupon the king kept his son Sambháji with them and said:—"As soon as I reach my country, I shall arrange to send you a letter and a messenger; you must then bring my son with you and accompany him to my country with your families. I shall arrange everything for you and reward your devotion handsomely." Then taking Krishnájipant one of the brothers with him he started for Wáránasi and desired him to render him the necessary assistance in undertaking that pilgrimage. He reached Wáránasi. He secretly bathed there early at dawn and paid his homage to the god Shri Wishwéshwar. He borrowed large sums of money and spent them in charity. The attendants performed the ceremony usually performed at Gayá on the occasion of a pilgrimage there. He then resolved to return to his kingdom. If he proceeded straight, he thought, he might bring himself face to face with the Emperor's army sent for a search after him. He therefore returned to Rájgad by Gondáwan, Bhágánagar and Bijápur. On the way he was on the point of being detected, but Shri Bhawáni brought

him safe to his kingdom with Nirájipant, Dat-tájipant and Rághoji Maráthá. Soon after their arrival messengers and letters were sent to Mathurá. In commemoration of the king's safe return alms were liberally distributed. The king's mother, the kárkúns, the army and the guards on the forts were all pleased; everywhere there was great rejoicing.

43. The king then contemplated to take back the 27 forts ceded to the Mongul. He told Moropant Peishwá, Nilojipant Muzumdár and Annáji Sabnis to try their best and take them saying that the whole kingdom depended upon their exertions. The king in person told the Máwalis to help in the re-taking of the forts. Tánáji Málsurá who headed a thousand Máwalis promised that he would take the fort of Kondháné. He was presented with clothes and betel nut &c. He took with him 500 chosen men for the enterprise and approached the fort and during night time 300 of them scaled the sides of the fort like so many monkeys. Two brave and sturdy Máwalis first went up and then they helped the others to get there. The fort was then under the command of a Rajput named Udébhán. His followers who were Rajputs brought him news that the enemy's men had appeared. They armed themselves, girt up their loins and lit up torches and let off fireworks. Swordsmen with shields in their hands, archers, gunners and others all making up 1,200 men came to the front. The Máwalis then raised their war cry of "Shri Mahádéva" and penetrated the forces of the Rajputs. A bloody battle ensued which lasted for three hours. 500 Rajputs fell. Udébhán and Tánáji Málsurá confronted each

other. Both were brave warriors. With swords in their hands they inflicted wounds on each other. The shield in the left hand of Tánáji was cut off. Another could not be procured to replace it at the time. He then made his left hand the shield. A desperate conflict ensued between the leaders. Each one received and inflicted sword blows on the other. At last both fell in the action. Rámáji Málsúra the brother of Tánáji Málsúra with courage came to the rescue of his men and killed several Rajputs some of whom died by leaping from over the fort walls. 1,200 Rajputs were killed in all. The fort was captured. He then set fire to the stables on the fort. The king saw the light from Rájgad and was pleased to find that the fort was taken. The next day a messenger brought news to the king that Tánáji Málsúra fought desperately, killed Udébhán the commander of the fort, and having taken it, himself fell in the action. The king said :—“ One fort is taken, but the other is lost.” (alluding to the loss of Tánáji.) He felt for Tánáji's loss. The fort was taken possession of. He applauded the courage of his brother Rámáji (also called Suryáji) Málsúra and gave him his brother's post. He presented gold armlets to the soldiers, riches, and rich clothes to all the men and thus pleased them. Thus was the fort of Kondháné taken. Moropant Peishwá, Nilopant and Annájipant with the help of the Máwalis captured and took the 26 forts surrendered in peace to the Mongul, within four months. Faithful men were chosen to be the garrison on the forts and Sabnã and Sarnobat appointed over them. The king then began to manage his state affairs. In the

meanwhile Krishnájipant, Káshirao and Wisájipant the three brothers from Mathurá to whom messengers and letters were sent arrived with Sambháji and their families at Rájgad. Sambháji was given a Jánwa (the sacred thread worn by Bráhmíns) and a degoji (Dhotar) and called by them their nephew. The father and the son met. There was great joy. The three brothers were applauded and they received the title of " Trimbakráo " and a present of 2 lacs and an allowance of 10,000 Hones. The rich were given high posts in the state. Mokúsá allowances were granted. For his labors and sufferings Nirájipant who had accompanied the king and who was a Brahmin from the Nizám's kingdom, well up in morals, politics, and a knowledge of law, was made a Judge to administer justice in the king's dominions. Nirájipant's son Pralhádipant who was then a boy was taken to the king to pay him his respects. The king said:—"The boy shows promising signs; he will be an officer." The king was contemplating as to what appropriate post should be conferred on Dattájipant, when in the meanwhile Gangájipant Wákniś* having died his post fell vacant and was conferred on Dattájipant. He was reckoned among the Sirkúrkúns. Rágho Mitra was appointed as the head of the Huzur Establishment. All those persons who had endured fatigue and privations in the king's company were applauded.

* The duty of this officer was to keep the private accounts, records and letters. He was a superintendent of the household troops and establishment. He is the provider or caterer and the manager generally of the business of the household ; he thus corresponds well with Major domo.

44. The king then engaged chosen men to be about his palanquin with the intention that on occasions of danger which were possible as he was an enemy of the four Emperors, they might prove useful. He then made a careful search in the Máwalis and having chosen the best men made them into parties each under an independent chieftain as follow :—

Parties composed of 100 men each.

Parties composed of 60 men each.

Parties composed of 40 men each and

Parties composed of 30 men each.

Two thousand best Máwalis were chosen and thus distributed into parties. Some of these were armed with guns, some with spears; while others with daggers and large swords. All these men were supplied with turbands wrought with gold, for the head, and scarfs for their bodies. Gold armlets adorned both the arms of some; silver ear-rings were also used; the scabbards had their mountings, fastenings and trappings of gold and silver. The guns had their barrel-rings of gold; so also the spears. All these were furnished to the men at the king's expense. All wore uniform dresses. These two thousand Máwalis were always with the palanquin. Each one excelled the other in bravery. 1,000 horsemen, Jumládárs* and other men all together formed a retinue of 2,500 persons. They were instructed to be always armed and to be walking with the palanquin on all sides.

45. The fort of Panhálá which then belonged

* The officer who was entrusted with the accounts of the Revenue Department.

to the Adilsháí kingdom was captured, the king remaining at Rájgad. In the meanwhile Siddijore vizier from Bijápúr with 20,000 cavalry besieged the fort. As the fort was very recently captured, there was no sufficient time left to fortify it. Letters were however sent to Nétáji Pálkar the Commander-in-chief of the king's forces to go to Uprálá with the army and kill Siddijore. But the Commander-in-chief was at a distance with his forces, and he could not therefore arrange to be in time at Uprálá. Under these circumstances the king considered it prudent to deliver the fort to Siddijore who took possession of it and encamped there.

46. The king then summoned Nétáji Pálkar to him and finding fault with him for not having attended his call in time, removed him from his office of Sarnobat (Commander-in-chief of the forces). Kadtoji Gujar who was Sarnobat of Rájgad was then appointed Commander-in-chief of all the forces, under the appellation of Pratapráo. During Pratapráo's tenure of office all the Maráthás of 96 Maráthá families who were in the four Bádsháhi kingdoms and all those who were in the Districts were gathered, the best of them were selected, horses were purchased, stables built and Shilé-dars * were enrolled. In this way the Maráthás established themselves in the four Bádsháhi kingdoms. The king after his safe flight from Delhi with his son, and return to his own country captured 27 forts within four months.

47. Aurungzebe who came to learn of these exploits of the king became anxious. He called his

* A horse soldier who provides his own horse and arms.

eldest son Sháhá Alum to him and amongst other things said to him :—" Shiváji cannot be taken by force of arms. You go and stay at Aurangábád and form friendship and peace with him. If he does not come for an interview, it might be dispensed with ; and making large grants of allowances either in his name or in that of his son, engage his army in our service. Whatever the king wants whether it be a grant of lands or territory, money, riches or military stations, it may be given to him, and by these and similar means engage him in our service. Do this and everything will have been gained." So saying he placed sixty to seventy thousand horsemen at the Sháhá's disposal and despatched him. By forced marches the Sháhá reached Aurangábád and sent messengers, letters and envoys to the king at Rájgad. The king read the letters and was pleased to see that they contained an offer of peace. He then deputed Raghunáthpant Kordé to Aurangábád with presents of rich clothes and jewels to the Sháhá. Raghunáthpant had an interview having been hospitably received by the Sháhá. A secret council was held where among other things the Sháhá said :—" The king is my brother. We should be on friendly terms with each other. The king should come for an interview. I shall grant special allowances in favor of his son. The king should also give a force of horsemen to serve under us as also a rich Brahmin. We shall make grants and allowances of lands. The king should not make inroads on the Emperor's territory, but be in harmony with him." He then caused a grant of riches to be made in favor of Sambháji as also the territory of Berárs which yielded

a revenue of 15 lacs of Hones and having made a present of the best horses and clothes to the envoy gave him leave to depart with a present of the best jewels and clothes for the king.

48. After his return Raghunáthpant had an interview with the king and laid before him the jewels and clothes presented by the Sháhájádá and told him about the grant of riches and territory (to Sambháji). The king listened attentively and said:— "I cannot endure to be an enemy of the Emperor of Bijápur, Bhágánagarkars and the Mongul. Mine is a newly established kingdom, and that too torn asunder by recent two or three invasions. It is therefore better to form an alliance with one of these enemies, to hold courage for two years more and then act as the tide of events dictates." Thus resolving to make peace with the Mongul (of Delhi) he placed a force of 5,000 horsemen under Pratápráo the Sarnobat and sent them to the Sháhá giving with them Nirájipant Sirkárkún, the principal officers of the Surnis and Pralhádipant who was the son of Nirájipant and who was made Subuis of the army, as also Ráoji Somnáth kárkún who was intended to be the Subhédár of any portion of the territory which the Sháhájádá might give as a grant. Peace was made with the Mongul. The grant to Sambháji was accepted; and Nirájipant and Pratápráo went to Aurangábád.

49. The Sháhá received them with the greatest honors and assigned to them a spot for their quarters. He also made all of them presents of elephants, horses, jewels and clothes. He gave as Jágir the Berars which yielded a revenue of 15 Lacs of Hones.

Ráoji Somnáth was appointed Subhédár over this portion of the country. All the people received a good deal of money and other valuables. The Sháhádú informed all this by letter to the Emperor at Delhi. He was much pleased with the information. He was glad that his territory was now safe. The Emperor's army was at Aurangábád for two years. The king had now leisure to collect the revenue due to him from the country made over to him, as well as from his own. Some of the Adilsháhi forts and country were captured. The Sháhá and the king became thick friends; they exchanged presents.

50. This information was carried to the Emperor at Delhi by some of the followers of the Sháhá who were at Aurangábád. The Emperor became anxious. He thought that as the Sháhá and the king had become friends they might prove disloyal to him and rise in mutiny against him. He, therefore, resolved to create dissension among them and with this object wrote to the Sháhá to say that Shiváji was a rogue, and that as his commanders Pratápráo and Nirájipant were with their armies, the Sháhá should not trust them; that it was not unlikely they might play foul at Dowlatábád; that the Sháhá should therefore imprison them and remove all their horses to the stables and that he should not neglect to carry out these instructions. The Sháhá's envoy who was at the Emperor's court immediately sent these tidings to the Sháhá with a warning to be on his guard and act cautiously.

51. The Sháhá having received this message, communicated it to Pratápráo and Nirájipant whom he had called to a secret conference for the purpose;

and having presented them with rich clothes, jewels and silver asked them to depart saying:—"You should flee to the king tomorrow in the night with your armies. You need not care for your valuables if they remain behind, as they will be duly sent to you within three or four days, or you might come and take them away. After receipt of the Emperor's letter I shall have to imprison you. The sooner you leave therefore the better." Nirájipant and Pratáp-ráo returned to their camps, gave secret instructions to their armies to make the necessary preparations to depart and all left the place the next day. By forced marches they came to the king and had an interview with him and showed him the treasure, clothes and curious ornaments and other articles which they had brought with them. The king was pleased. He said:—"For two years the army well maintained itself, and I made a personage like the Sháhájádú my friend. Both these objects I have gained; I am now at liberty to start with my army." The king's army accordingly went to Aurangábád.

52. A week after, letters addressed to the Sháhú were received from the Emperor. The Sháhú read them and said:—"The Maráthās are rogues. They have already run away; it is now a week. Had they been present now, I should have imprisoned them." He then sent a reply to the Emperor saying that he would have acted in obedience to the Emperor's instructions but that he regretted that as the Maráthās had run way a week before the receipt of the Emperor's letters, he had no opportunity of arresting and imprisoning them. The Emperor was

surprised at this intelligence. He said:—"The Maráthás are liars."

53. In the meanwhile Pratápráo and the king had an interview. Horsemen were equipped. They went on destroying the enemy's army which invaded their territory, and devastating the Mongul's territory. Rustumjámá the Vizier from Bijápúr laid siege to the fort of Rángná which belonged to the king, with 7 or 8 thousand men. The men in charge of the fort fought desperately. The king sent them succour and Rustumjámá was slain and the fort defended. After Rustumjámá's death Abdul Karcem and Bólolkhán Viziers from Bijápúr laid siege to Rángná with 12,000 cavalry. The men in charge of the fort again fought desperately, the king sending them succour. Bólolkhán was thrown in disorder. Several of his men were killed. Elephants, horses and camels also were lost in the rain that fell. Bólolkhán himself effected his escape. The fort was thus saved from falling into the hands of the enemy. The king then stationed from two to five men in disguise in each town in the Mongul's territory who were to keep a sharp look-out, two of whom were to stay in the towns and two or three to bring news to the king. The king after receipt of the necessary information sent his forces and captured towns and cities.

54. In the meanwhile Bahirji a messenger from Surat arrived and said to the king:—"If Surat be taken, immense wealth would be found." The king then thought that as most of his army was composed of hired mercenaries, they would not do the work as satisfactorily as required and that he had there-

fore rather go in person with his forces. Having formed this resolution the king applauded Mukáji Anandráo the foster son of Máhárájá Sháháji, and Venkáji Datto a Brahmin both of whom were renowned warriors and who had resigned the service of the Máhárája and come over to the king. He placed under them a body of 5,000 horse, and taking them with him as also Pratápráo Sarnobat, other warriors, 10,000 horsemen, 10,000* Shiléárs. from 5 to 7 thousand chosen Mawalis, Sirkárkúu Moropant Peishwá, Nilopant, Dhanájipant, Dattájipant and Bál Prabhú Chitnis, he started for Surat. They went through Kolwan and by forced marches appeared suddenly near the walls of Surat. The people of Surat were taken unawares. The forces entered the long street of shops near the gate of Surat. The army of the Mongul meanwhile approached. A bloody battle ensued. Several of the enemy's people were killed. The king's forces then laid siege to merchants' houses and took away from them gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones and jewels and gold coins such as Hones and Mohurs, and put them into their bags. They did not touch cloth, copper utensils and other insignificant articles. This pillage lasted for two entire days. The best horses that were found in the battle and in the merchants' houses were taken. The king then determined to return. One half of the number of horses was reserved for the purposes of warfare, the other half being loaded with bags containing the booty. The infantry were provided with long bags to hold such booty. Thus prepared

* A horseman who provides his own horse.

they started. The fort of Surat was not taken as there was no time left to do it. They were therefore content with having pillaged the town. The news that Surat was plundered reached the twenty two Oomrow Sirdars of the Emperor, of whom Mobatkhan and Dawoodkhan and others with a thousand cavalry each pursued the king and overtook him. The news that he was pursued had however reached the king in time. He had therefore, sent away the booty, horses and infantry; while he himself on horseback, armed with a shield and sword, and with 10,000 cavalry was awaiting the enemy's advent. They met at Khadasé. A bloody battle ensued which lasted for six hours. The Maráthás fought well. Three thousand Monguls were slain; four thousand horses fell in the battle. Two Mongul Viziers were captured; the Maráthás were thus victorious. On their return march the king and his forces were opposed by Raibágin the widow of Jagjeewan Oodéram the son of Oodéram one of the Mongul Viziers, with a force of 5,000 horsemen at Oodilkhind. These horsemen were routed; Raibágin was hemmed in. She then swore allegiance to the king saying she was his daughter, and promised him fealty. After her subjugation the king returned to Rájgad.

55. After his return the booty from Surat was counted and it was found that five crores of Hones and four thousand horses were got in the bargain. These horses were branded with a square mark on their right hips and were reserved for purposes of warfare. All the forts belonging to the Adilsháhi and Nizámsháhi governments were subsequently

captured ; several of the impregnable hill fortresses were reduced, and new ones were built in several places on the understanding that owing to their absence the districts suffered from foreign invasions. The country in the Konkan from Kalyán and Bhiwandi to Rájúpúr was reduced to subjugation. The Déshmookhs and others who opposed his course and offered battle were vanquished. Those who swore allegiance were properly rewarded and protected. At this time the fort of Rewdandá* which was situated in the Rájúpúri waters and which belonged to the Nizámsháhi government was held by the Habshi who reigned there supreme. He possessed forty or fifty ships of war, and had plundered the country around. His people began to molest the Ryots in the king's dominions. The king therefore appointed Dáji Pasálkar over a force of from one to two thousand Mawalis to look after his Ryots. Dáji was a great warrior. His mustachios were as long and thick as a human arm from the shoulder to the elbow, and when he twisted them, he could hold a lemon in each extremity.

56. In the meanwhile Káyasúwat came from Rájúpúri with a force of 5,000 men to fight. Both Káyasúwat and Dáji Pasálkar were valiant soldiers. They confronted each other and fought desperately and having inflicted 25 wounds on each other fell dead. Their armies then returned to their quarters.

57. At this time Máhárájá Sháháji the king's father had a fall from his horse while he was going

* In this and subsequent passages the reference is clearly to Danda Rájúpúri and Janjirá. Rewadanda was then and long before and after, a Portuguese possession.

to Bijápúr, at Bodegiri a village situated in the foreign country of Chitradurg, and died. When this intelligence reached the king, he was grieved. He gave vent to lamentations and performed the funeral ceremonies and rites and distributed alms, profusely. The king said :—"Had my sire remained to see my exploits, it would have been better. To whom shall I now show them? When I destroyed Afzulkhán, defeated Shástékhán, went to the Emperor at Delhi with Mirzá Rájá and after my flight captured several forts and towns and formed an army of 40,000 Shílédárs and horsemen, my sire was thoroughly pleased and satisfied and in token of his satisfaction frequently sent me presents of rich clothes and ornaments. I have no elder now in the family." The king's mother was about to burn herself on a funeral pyre when the king sat on her lap and with his arms folded around her neck and with oaths importuned her to desist from so doing. The king and other officers of the state prevailed upon her to abandon the idea, the king saying :—"As there is no elderly person now left to witness my exploits you at least remain to do it."

58. The king now began to consider the best means of overthrowing the Siddi of Rájpurí of whose ruin he now became as anxious as one is of destroying a mouse which has become troublesome in his house. Raghunáth Ballál Subnis voluntarily proffered his services and undertook to make an invasion on the Siddi. He, therefore, took with him 7,000 Mawalis and marched towards Rájpurí. On his way he plundered and reduced Talé, Ghosálé, and other towns and made clear all the country as

far as the seacoast and Rájpurí and killed one or two forces of the Siddi that were sent to oppose him. The Siddi entered into negotiations for peace. He begged a certain portion of territory for himself, and sent respectable men with solemn pledges to fetch Raghunáthpant to him for an interview. Raghunáthpant accordingly came to the interview. Peace was made. Presents of clothes and horses were made to him and he then returned to his own country. After a few days Raghunáthpant died and soon after the alliance made by the Siddi became null and void. The Habshi (Siddi) changed his conduct and molested the king's Ryots. The king then sent Vyankoji Dattoji with an army. Vyankoji plundered the Siddi territory and reduced and confiscated it. The Siddi then sent an army composed of his own men, horsemen and followers to attack Vyankoji Dattoji. They met and a battle was fought in which Vyankoji killed with his own hand 300 Habshees and some horses. He fought very hard and received 12 wounds. The Siddi wished to make peace but the king would not. In his kingdom new forts were rising in several places. A hill tribe near Rájpurí which had become powerful was reduced, forts were erected in its vicinity, the adjacent country was brought under the yoke and from 5 to 7,000 followers were stationed in different quarters. The Siddi was thus rendered powerless and deprived of the Rájpurí territory. He then by means of the ships which he owned devastated other countries and maintained himself on their pillage. The king to check him caused a variety of ships to be built and placed them under a chief-

tain named Daryásárang who was made Subhédár. Nearly two or three hundred ships were got ready with one Subhédár over each. Frequent were the fights that ensued between these and those of the Siddi in which the latter were routed. The Siddi at last conveyed provisions stealthily. The king's ships went on ravaging the seacoast towns of Bidnur, Sonda, Shrirangpattan and others which belonged to the Monguls, Firangis, Walandis, the English and the Kilatab who then had the mastery over the sea.* They fought in several places and maintained themselves on the pillage they got which they took to the king. The number of ships at last rose to 700. The king thus came to possess an army over the sea as it were. This was in his estimation a great acquisition. He was sorry that Rájpurí situated in the waters still remained to the Nizámsháhi Government and that therefore the name of that Government also still remained. If therefore forts were built on hills in the sea, he thought, the supremacy over the waters would be acquired and those that reigned supreme over them would be held under proper check. He also thought that his name would remain after his death as long as these forts existed. Having formed this idea he caused innumerable forts to be built on the plain, over the hills in the sea and in islands.

59. At this time in the Kúdál territory in the

* The author makes a curious mistake in calling these ports, and making this a maritime campaign. The Firangis of course, are the Portuguese, and the Walandis *Hollanders*. The Kilatab are not so easily identified; perhaps they were merchants from Kalhát in Arabia.

Konkan there was a Desái whose name was Lakham-sáwat and who had grown very powerful. He possessed an army of 12,000 men. The Kúdál territory belonged to the Adilsháhi Government. He sent a word to the Bijápur Government that if supplied with an army of horsemen and others, he would with their assistance and with that of his own men undertake an invasion over the king and thus relieve the Konkan from his grasp. On receipt of this message Kháwaskhán the commander of the forces who was a great warrior was sent from Bijápur to Kúdál with a force of 10,000 men. These combined with the men of Lakhamsáwat and went on relieving the Konkan. The king learnt of their progress; he made a selection of his own men and proceeded against the combined armies. Báji Ghorpadé who was coming from Bijápur for the assistance of Kháwaskhán with 1,500 horsemen was taken by surprise. A bloody battle was fought in which Báji Ghorpadé was killed with his brothers and others and 1,200 horses. The king then resolved to march against Kháwaskhán and deal with him as he had dealt with Báji Ghorpadé. But Kháwaskhán having in the meanwhile learnt of Báji Ghorpadé's overthrow and the total annihilation of his army was terrified; he therefore took to flight and returned straight to Bijápur. The king then obtained a victory over Lakhamsáwat, routed his army and killed many. Lakhamsáwat left the Kúdál territory and ran to that of the Firangis. The Kúdál territory was ravaged by the king. The Firangis who feared the king would not allow him to remain in their territory. He then commenced negotiations

with the king and for that purpose deputed Pitámbar a Shenvi (a fish eating class of the Brahmins) as an envoy to the king and having sworn allegiance personally came for the king's interview. He said to the king that he was a kith and kin of the Bhosalé and that therefore, it was right for him to expect the king's protection. The king then granted him the Désh mukhi right over Kúdál and an allowance of 6,000 Hones on the condition that he was not to build a compound fortified with ramparts and towers and that he was to remain in Kúdál without any retinue or a crowd of followers. His sirdars Rám Dalvi and Tán Sáwat the king provided for by giving them commands over 1,000 men of his own army and kept three servants of his own stationed in three different places in the Kúdál territory. Lakham Sáwat was thus prevented from having an interview even with his own Sirdars and the conquest of the Kúdál territory was complete.

60. The fort at Fondé belonged to the Adilsháhi Government and was commanded by Mobatkhan a valiant and powerful soldier. This fort was besieged by the king's forces and blown up. Mobatkhan was reduced and permitted to return to Bijápur. Ibrahimkhan a brave Musulman Sirdár of the king's forces who had accompanied the king did several exploits and captured several forts situated in the Konkan and over the Ghauts as also the territory from Gokarn Mahábléshwar to Supé over the Ghauts. He also threatened the Portuguese Government at Goa and obtained from them guns, cash and jewels and forced them to accept a lease for carrying on their trading business. Thus he overran the whole of the Konkan.

61. At this time there ruled at Bidnúr one Shiváppá Náik. Bidnúr was a celebrated place. The king sent spies and having learnt from them that there was no passage from over the ghauts by which they could reach that town, he prepared his ships, sailed with his army and appeared suddenly before the town at day break. The inhabitants were taken unawares. The army landed and plundered the town for one whole day. Jewels, clothes and other valuable articles were got in the booty and were as numerous as those got in the booty when Surat was plundered. The king then returned to his territory. The whole booty was worth 2,00,00,000 (two crores) Hones.

62. The king then directed his attention towards Káranjé a big town in the Mogalái Government. Spies who were sent having returned with the requisite information, the king marched at the head of his army and on his way pillaged the streets of Aurangábád and Barhánpur and overran seven other towns and appeared before Karánjé. He halted there and plundered that town for three days, causing hidden treasure to be dug out from big edifices. He returned with a large booty which consisted of cash, jewels, gold, silver and rich cloth. The Mongul Commanders Diléikhán, Báhádoorkhán, Ikláskhán, Bélolkhán and Indramani attacked the king from all sides with their armies composed of from 10 to 12 thousand men each. A bloody battle ensued, the Monguls were routed and several of them killed in the action; elephants, horses, camels and other property were captured. The enemy's leaders being defeated returned covered

with shame. The king returned with his army to Rájgad safe. Dilélkhán with a force of 12,000 men followed him from a distance of 10 to 12 villages as far as the shores of the river Bheema. The king after his return counted the booty and found that it was worth seven crores of Hones.

63. He then captured the fort of Ráirigad which belonged to the Adilsháhi kingdom. The king found that it was a capital fort and was pleased with it. The ramparts on its four sides were quite perpendicular and impregnable, very high and seemed as if the whole was one compact mass of stone carved out so that no grass grew thereon during the rains. He compared it with the fort of Daulatábád which he said was no doubt an excellent fort on the face of the earth, but that it was less in height, while this fort was ten times loftier. He therefore, determined to make it the seat of his throne. With this resolution he caused houses, compounds, apartments for the rich officials of his Court, palaces for the queens, big edifices, stables for elephants, horses, cows, and quarters for the Sirkárkúns and the Commanders of his forces, as well as storhouses, rooms for carriages and palanquins to be built in the fort. Out of the king's six wives Soirábái the daughter of Mohité; gave birth to a male child. The child came out of the womb with his face turned towards the ground. When the king learnt this, he profesied that the child would overthrow the empire of Delhi. The astrologers presaged that he would be a powerful monarch and would be more famous than king Shiváji himself. The king named his child Rájárám, and said that

Rájárám would keep his subjects happy; that he would achieve deeds more chivalrous than his own and would be more popular, and that he alone would be the person to preserve and prolong the fame he himself had acquired. The king distributed alms. At this time Moropant Peishwá captured some forty forts situated between the fort of Trimbak and that of Sáléri, built new ones, overran the territory of Kolwan, took Rámanaggar and Jowahir and built forts there also.

64. The Emperor of Delhi was exceedingly grieved to hear that Surat, Bidnúr, Káranjé, Barhánpur and Aurangábád were plundered, that Sáléri and all other forts were captured and that Khándeish, Báglan, Guzerát and the Berars were being settled by the enemy. "What should be done?" He said; "I sent a force of horsemen and all of these the enemy routed and defeated. Whom shall I send next? Were I to send the Sháhájáda, there is fear of his uniting with the enemy and capturing Delhi itself. Were I to go in person, the fate that overtook Shástékhán might perhaps be mine and who would help me then? It is, therefore better that so long as Shiváji is alive I should not stir out of Delhi." So saying he called to him Ikhláskhán and Bélolkhán and sent them to Sáléri with a force of 20,000 men with instructions to capture the fort. He also sent Dilékhán with 10,000 horse to Rowlá Jowlá to capture the fort there. After Dilékhán's arrival at the fort a bloody battle was fought; the men in charge of the fort fought desperately. Dilékhán did not succeed in taking it. Moropant Peishwá sent a reinforcement of 1,000

Mawalis who surprised the enemy. Rámji Pángérá who commanded 1,000 Mawalis gave a battle to Dilékhán at the foot of the Kunérá fort. Rámji Pángérá harangued his men and asked those who were willing to fight to the last, to come forward and all of them fought desperately on foot and hemmed in the enemy's forces. The battle lasted for nearly three hours and the men on both sides fought as vigorously as if they were so many comrades playing the "Tipri*" play in the Shimgá festivities. Dilékhán's 1,200 Patháns resisted the Mawalis; at last Rámji Pángérá and his 700 followers received on their bare bodies from 20 to 30 wounds each from the enemy's swords and arrows and thus fell. It was a bloody battle and Dilékhán was struck with admiration at the heroic conduct of the Mawalis.

65. Ikhláskhán encamped at the foot of the fort of Sáléri and laid siege to it. When this intelligence reached the king he sent letters and messengers to Pratápráo his Commander-in-chief whom he had sent into the Mongul territory with an army directing him to proceed to Sáléri up the Ghauts with his army and attack Bólolkhán and defeat him and intimating to him that Moropant Peishwá would also attack him from the other side so that he expected both to attack the enemy simultaneously from both the sides. Pratáparáo and Moropant accordingly reached Sáléri with their armies. The cavalry rushed into the enemy's army from one side, the Mawalis

* A festival amongst cow-herds consisting of songs and dances and lively sporting especially the circular dance as performed by Krishna and the Gopis or cow-herdesses.

rushed from the other and a general onset ensued. The battle raged fiercely. It lasted for about twelve hours. Several of the Monguls, Patháns and Rajpúts fell. The dust on the ground flew to the skies so that for six square miles everything was veiled in obscurity and neither friend nor foe could be identified, so intense was the ardour with which both the armies fought. 10,000 men fell on both the sides. Innumerable elephants, camels and horses were killed. The battle field was all besmeared with pools of blood. Six thousand horses, one hundred and twenty-five elephants, countless numbers of camels and bullocks of the enemy were captured as also immense treasure, jewels, ornaments, clothes and beddings. Twenty-two high Viziers were captured alive, Ikhláskhán and Bélolkhán were routed. One or two thousand of the enemy's forces effected their escape by flight. In this battle Pratápráo, Anandrao, Vyankojipant, Rúpáji Bhoslé, Súrýáráo Kákdé, Sidoji Nimbálkar, Khandoji Jagtáb, Gondji Jagtáb Santáji Jagtáb, Mánáji Moré, Wissáji Ballál, Moro Ranguáth, Makúnd Ballál, and other officers played a very prominent part. The Mawalis and their leaders also behaved well. Moropant Peishwá and Pratápráo the Commander-in-chief especially exerted their utmost. Súrýáráo Kákdé the valiant leader of a detachment of 5,000 men also fought well and fell dead by a cannon ball. Súrýáráo was not an ordinary personage. Like Kárna* of the Mahábhárat

* Kárna who was a very great warrior was one of the heroes of the Mahábhárat the great Sanscrit epic. He sided with the Kawarawas. In the long war that lasted between the Pandus and the Kawarawas he was killed by Arjun the 3d of the Pandus.

he was a valiant and brave warrior. Many other illustrious leaders fell. The king's forces were thus victorious in this battle.

66. Moropant Peishwá and Pratápráo Surnobat communicated the intelligence of this victory to the king. The king was overjoyed when he learnt it. Guns were fired and sugar was distributed in token of the rejoicing. The messengers who brought the intelligence were presented with gold armlets and immense treasure was given as reward to Pratápráo Surnobat, Moropant Peishwá and Vyankájipant. The leaders of Mawali detachments of 1,000 and 5,000 men were also rewarded and applauded. The king then sent direction to supply clothes and horses to the Viziers who were captured and to release them. The Peishwá, the Surnobat and other leaders gladly received these orders and released Bélolkhán and other captured Viziers furnishing them with clothes and horses. Dilékhán who was on a distance of four marches from Sáléri ran away when this intelligence reached him.

67. The Emperor at Delhi became uneasy when the news of the defeat of his forces reached his ears. For three days he did not leave his room and would not eat. He gave vent to expression of sorrow and said:— "The Lord God, it appears, has already wrested the supreme power inherent in the Emperor of Delhi and hitherto in the hands of Musulmans, and delivered it to Shiváji. It would be better if death snatches me away before Shiváji ceases to exist, as I cannot now endure the anxiety I feel from his exploits." Bahádúrkhán Koká the brother of the Emperor came forward and con-

soled him saying that the Emperor need not be in anxiety and that he might rule at Delhi in peace as he was ready to march against Shiváji and to keep him in awe, and to try by all possible means to deter his army from making inroads on the Emperor's territories. So saying he prevailed upon the Emperor to take his seat on the throne. The Emperor applauded Bahádúrkhán's spirit and presented him with clothes, ornaments, his own necklace and the head ornament which he wore over his turband and which was inlaid with diamonds; two elephants, horses and immense treasure. He then placed at his disposal 70,000 horsemen and gave him an order addressed to Dilékhán the Commander of the Emperor's forces. Such was the vast army that marched from Delhi towards the south against the king.

68. The king learnt of these preparations. He said:—"Bahádúrkhán is an insignificant being like a tame cattle. What else is he? Who should fear him? He will require two years to arrive in my kingdom. Annáji Dattú Surnis in the meanwhile gave order to Múlsáwat the leader of a detachment of 1,000 Mawalis to attack the fort of Panhállá which belonged to the Adilsháhi Government. The fort was accordingly taken. Similarly the forts of Satára, Chandan, Wandan, Nandgiri and Parli were captured. The king left Rájgad to see personally the forts and the country. On his way he took the forts of Wái, Karhád, Sirále and Kolhápur and captured the country as far as Hookéri and Ráibág. The territory he thus acquired extended over a large area and he now considered it necessary to make arrangements for administering and governing it. For this purpose he made over the

country from Kalýán, Bhiwandi to Kolwan and Sáléri over the Ghauts, the Konkan, Lohgad, Junnar and the twelve Mawals from the Harálá Ghaut, to Moropant Peishwá. Similarly that portion of the country which comprised Chaul, Dabhol-Subha, Rajpuri, Kúdál, Khoré and Akolé was made over to Annajipant. The country over the Ghauts from Wái to Tapti and Túngbhadra rivers was assigned to Datopant who was to remain at the fort of Panhállá. Such was the distribution of the territory. He also kept from five to seven Brahmin Súbhédárs in the territory obtained by conquest from the Mougul government, who were to obey the orders of the Peishwá. He also appointed kárkuns over the forts. The Sirkárkuns appointed over the portions of the territory so distributed were to regulate the allowances of deserving men placed under them. The Mútaliks* of the Sirkárkuns remained with the king. The Sirkárkuns were to visit the king once every year bringing with them the accounts of revenue collections and expenditure of the country under them as also the amount of collections paid to them by their subordinates.

69. Abdul Karim Bélolkhán now marched from Bijápur against the king with 12,000-cavalry. This intelligence reached the king who issued orders to Pratápráo and summoned the whole army. The king addressed them in the following terms :—“Bélolkhán of Bijápur is displaying great agitation; destroy him and be victorious. The army accordingly marched

* The term Mútalik was applied to the deputy of any person holding a hereditary office, acting for him in his absence and allowed to use his seal.

against the Nabáb and encountered him near Ubráni. He was hemmed in on all sides by the king's forces. A fierce battle ensued which lasted till sunset. At last the Nabáb who could no longer endure the pangs of thirst went to a spot where water was procurable and drank it there. Returning thence he secretly informed Pratápráo the Commander-in-chief that he did not march against him out of his own will but in obedience to the Emperor's orders and that thenceforth he was one of Pratápráo's own men and that he would on no account enter into hostilities with the king. By these and other conciliatory expressions he succeeded in effecting peace. The king learnt this and expressed his disapprobation of the measure. He was angry with the army and warned them to be careful in future asking:—"What for was peace made?" Pratápráo with his army now penetrated into the Mongul's territory and having overrun and pillaged Bhágúnagar, Deogad, Rámgiri, and Bajédesh returned to his head quarters. In the meanwhile Nilo Sondeo the Muzumdár who was with the king died. His duties were therefore ordered to be performed by his younger son Rámchandrapant who was a competent person and a great favorite of the king who loved him for his qualifications and who always said that he would be a thousand times more illustrious than his father. Náropant the elder son of the deceased Muzumdár was not so competent and he was therefore only nominated to the post vacated by the death of his father.

70. Subsequently Bólolkhán was sent by the Emperor of Bijápur into the Panhállá territory. When the king learnt of his arrival there he sent a message

to Pratápráo telling him that as Bólolkhán repeated his incursions often, he (Pratápráo) had better encounter him with his whole army and destroy him, and that if he failed to do this he had not show the king his face. Pratápráo accordingly marched with his whole army and encountered the Nabáb at Jesri. A bloody battle ensued in which Pratápráo fell by the blow of a sword. Bólolkhán then retreated to Bijapúr and the king's forces encamped below Panhállá.

71. The intelligence of Pratápráo's death was received by the king with great sorrow. He said:— "This day I have lost one side; I desired Pratápráo that if he failed he had not show me his face. He has done so and acquired glory. How is the army to be managed now? Who should be appointed Commander-in-chief? So saying he went to the army and taking it with him repaired to Chiplún a sacred place situated in the Konkan where Parshurám once reigned. He then had an inspection of his army and distributed treasure amongst his officers, cavalry and infantry. There was in the army one Esji Mohité a Jumládár who in consideration of his bravery, patience and other soldierly qualifications in which he excelled was appointed the Commander-in-chief under the designation of "Hambirráo." The whole army was placed under him.

72. Soon after this Bahádúrkhán and Dilólkhán marched from Delhi with their forces and arrived at Ahmednagar. When the king learnt of their arrival he gave intimation to his officers in charge of the strongholds, and having caused them to be fortified remained on his guard. He then secretly sent letters

and messengers to Nabáb Bahádúrkhán saying:—
 “Accept sums of money and then act as you choose.”
 At the same time he gave orders to his army, and Hambirráo in obedience to those orders penetrated at the head of his army into the territory of the Mongul government and having overrun Khandeish, Báglan, Guzerát, Ahmedábád, Barhánpúr, Berars, Mahúr and the country as far as the Narmadá river and Jálnápúr, levied tribute and confiscated them. He obtained immense booty and began his march. Bahádúrkhán with all his forces pursued him. When he had a glimpse of the king’s forces he was afraid and slackened his course so as to be behind them on a distance of seven or eight villages. Dilélkhán became impatient and approached the king’s forces. Hambirráo did not heed him. By force of his arms he returned with the booty to his country and placed it before the king.

73. At this time Gágábhat having heard of the king’s fame came from Benáres to have an interview with him. Gágábhat was a stern and pious ascetic, a competent scholar and had studied the four Védas and six Shastras. He was also conversant with astrology and practised the Yoga*. In fact he was expert in every science so that he may justly be styled the Brahmadáva† of the Kaliyuga‡. On his ar-

* Yoga means spiritual or abstract devotion: union with Brahma through abstract meditation or contemplation: also the practice or exercise of this sort of worship for which several attitudes or postures of the body are prescribed.

† The first God of the Hindu triad.

‡ Kaliyuga means the fourth age of the world; the

rival the king walked a few paces to meet him on the way and received him with the greatest honors. He worshipped him in a variety of ways with offerings of jewels, ornaments, palanquins, horses, elephants and immense treasure. Gágábhāt was highly pleased. He was rather uneasy that while the Mahomedan Emperor sat on the throne under a Çhhatra*, king Shiváji who had overawed the governments of the four Emperors and possessed three-fourths of a lac of cavalry and infantry, forts and strongholds, should have no throne and other insignia of honor enjoyed by the Musulman Emperors. He therefore expressed his opinion that the Marúthá king should use all those insignia. The king approved of it. All the rich were consulted and they also concurred in the opinion and liked the idea. The king's genealogy was then traced and it was found that he was the descendant of the pure Kshatriya family of Shisodé which had come from the country to the north and settled in the south; and as the Kshatriyas of the north were allowed the rite of using the sacred thread, Gágájbhāt bestowed it upon the king and thus made him a pure Kshatriya. On this occasion large sums were given away in charity. Brahmins well versed in the Vedas came from their own country and from the territory of the Monguls. All of them

iron age or that of vice. It commenced according to some 300, according to some 300, according to others 3,101, according to others 1,370 years before the Christian era. Its duration is through 4,32,000 years: at the expiration of which period the world's existence is to cease.

* A large and lofty parasol usually of red silk held over a king.

were invited to stay; sumptuous dinners were given to them. A golden throne weighing 32 Maunds was made and inlaid with the choicest and most precious jewels that could be procured from distant countries. The fort of Ráiri where the throne was placed was named "Ráyagad." Then on a propitious day which was the 13th of the lunar fortnight of Jeshta in the Sháliyáhn year 1596 known as the "Anand" Samwatsar the king performed his ablutions and ceremoniously bathed and having worshipped Shri Malá-déva, Bhawáni, Bálambhat the son of his household priest Bháskarbhat and other illustrious and sacred personages with offerings of ornaments and clothes, bowed to them and mounted the throne. The eight ministers and illustrious Brahmins then coronated him by sprinkling over his head the sacred waters brought by them from different sacred places and filled in golden jugs. The king had put on a costly dress and precious jewels and repeatedly bowed to all the sacred and revered personages. Lotus flowers made of gold and set with precious jewels and a variety of flowers made of gold, and clothes were distributed in large numbers. The sixteen great gifts* were also given away. The throne was

* The sixteen great gifts were :—

1. A human image made of gold.
2. A golden image of Brahmadéva.
3. A golden representation of Brahma's egg, representing the universe.
4. An image of "Kalp" tree.
5. Gift of a thousand cows.
6. A golden image of the cow called "Kámdhénú."
7. A golden horse.

adorned with eight pillars decked with jewels. The eight ministers stood by them. All the ceremonies and rites prescribed by the Shástras and performed on the occasion of the coronation of illustrious monarchs that flourished in the Krit, Trétá, Dwápar and Kali ages were observed on this occasion. The eight Ministers that stood by the eight pillars of the throne were as named below:—

1. Moro Trimbak who was styled the Chief Minister.
 2. Náro Nilkanth and Ramchandra Nilkant Muzumdars who were styled "Amatya" meaning Counsellor.
 3. Annáji Dattú Surnis who was styled "Sachew."
 4. Dattáji Trimbak Wáknis who was styled "Mantri."
 5. Rámchandrapant the son of Trimbak Sone-déwa Dabir who was styled "Súmant."
 6. Neeráji Ráoji styled "Nyáyádhish."
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8. A golden horse and chariot.
 9. Gift of five ploughs.
 10. Gift of land or of money to purchase land.
 11. A golden coil representing the sphere or system of the universe.
 12. A golden creeper with its stem, leaves and tendrils.
 13. Gift of the seven seas ; i. e. of a quantity of each of the seven substances respectively composing them viz :—milk, curds, ghee, honey &c.
 14. A cow made of a gem.
 15. A golden pot.
 16. An elephant or its value.

7. The son of Raghúnáthpant Panditráo who was styled "Dánádhyaaksha."
8. Hambirráo Surnobat who was styled "Sé-nápati."

The eight ministers had these eight Sanscrit surnames assigned to them. Bál Prabhu Chitnis and Nil Prabhu Kárkuns and high functionaries stood in their respective places. A parasol adorned with jewels and fringes of pearl was held over the king. The appellation of "Ohhutrapati" was then assumed by him, and in correspondence and other transactions an era established by him came to be used since the date of his coronation. Since that day beggars, Brahmins, ascetics, recluses, mendicants, Jogis and Jangams who had all assembled were given for four months rich dinners and grain. When they were allowed to take their departure, they were presented with money, ornaments and clothes according to their deserts. Gágáhat especially received immense treasure and costly presents. The whole expenditure on account of this coronation ceremony amounted to one crore and forty two thousand Hones. The eight ministers received a lac of Hones each, besides one elephant, horse, clothes and ornaments. Thus ended the coronation ceremony. Hitherto the Monguls and other foreigners ruled over the earth as Emperors, but now this was the first Maráthá king that assumed the dignity of Emperor, an event of no ordinary importance.

74. The intélligence of these occurrences reached Bahádurkhán Koká. He marched as far as the shores of the Bheemá and encamped there. He

thence wrote to the Emperor at Delhi informing him of the coronation. The Emperor descended his throne and retired to his bedroom where placing both hands on the ground and naming his gods, he gave vent to sorrow. For two days he did not touch food or water. He said :—“The Lord God has deprived the Musulmans of their Imperial dignity and throne and made them over to the Maráthás. This is a climax of our miseries.” Thus he was afflicted with great sorrow. The Viziers and high functionaries consoled him in several ways and with oaths and solemn pledges induced him to occupy the throne. The Emperors of Bijápur and Bhágánagar also received the intelligence of the king’s coronation with sorrow, so also the Emperors of the Rumshám,* Iran,† Duran‡ and of the seas were grieved at heart when this intelligence reached them.

75. The king then devoted his attention to the affairs of his internal administration. The territory under the Nizámsháhi Government was overrun and that under the Mongul Government was confiscated. The Emperor of Bhágánagar made peace with the king and detained with him Pralhádpant the intelligent son of Nirájpant as his envoy. He paid the king tribute and thus made him his friend and ally. Several other minor states were captured ; others paid tributes and became the king’s subjects. The king then intended to capture the Carnatic territory lying between the rivers Tungbhadrá and Kávéri. He resolved to go in person as he thought that if he entrusted the task to his army, a longer time would elapse. He was however afraid that

* Constantinople. † Persia. ‡ Tartari.

Bahádurkhán who was stationed at the village of Godad might harass his territory in his absence. With the view therefore of seducing him into an alliance for one year, which period he considered sufficient for the conquest of the Carnatic, he sent Nirájipant Nyáyádlhish to him with a present of treasure, ornaments and precious jewels to request him not to molest his territory during his absence. With a chosen army composed of 25,000 horsemen and with Sirkárkuns Raghunáth Náráyan and Janárdan Náráyan who were familiar with the Carnatic territory he started. Moropant Peishwá, the Surnis Wáknis and other forces were kept for the defence of the country. He then began to consider the best means of raising funds for the invasion of the Carnatic as it was his intention not to touch his treasury for this purpose. There was no doubt, he thought, immense treasure in the Bhágúnagar State, but then as that State paid an annual tribute, any harsh measure adopted to raise funds from that quarter would not be justifiable; it was therefore better to form friendship with the Emperor of that State who would do all the needful. Accordingly he wrote to Pralhádpant the envoy in the Bhágúnagar Court informing him of his intention to have an interview with the Emperor. Emperor Tánsháhá to whom Pralhádpant communicated the contents of the letter became apprehensive. He said :—“ There is no use having an interview with the king. He treacherously killed Afzulkhán, defeated Shástékhán, went to Delhi and browbeat Alamgir the Emperor there. What shall I do if he treats me similarly and if anything unpleasant occurs? I am

rather prepared to grant him whatever he demands." Pralhádipant with solemn oaths and pledges assured the Emperor, Anknájipant and Mándnápant his ministers, of the king's good intentions and convinced them that there was no harm if the interview was granted which he said, the king sought as a friend of the Emperor.

76. Pralhádipant informed the king accordingly. The interview was arranged. The king then with his army advanced towards Bhágánagar and by forced marches arrived within its precincts. Here he issued instructions to his army not to touch even the most insignificant thing belonging to the subjects of that Government; some had to pay with their heads for transgression. Whatever things were required were purchased from the Bazár. When the Emperor learnt that the king's forces entered the precincts of his Government without making any depredations, he was much pleased and he resolved to walk a few villages ahead to receive the king. The king who was a great politician sent him a message on oath to desist from so doing saying that the Emperor was his elder brother and he his younger. This message pleased the Emperor much. Mándnápant and Anknápant came forward and led the king into the town. While entering the town, the king's forces were all dressed in rich garments. It was on an auspicious day that he entered the town for the Emperor's interview. The town-streets were all sprinkled over with saffron water and adorned with flower garlands; banners and flags waved to and fro. The towns people stood by millions to have a glimpse of the king. Platters

containing burning lamps were waved by the women in the town in the king's face to whom they bowed. Gold and silver flowers were sprinkled over the king. The king gave the townspeople in return immense treasure and clothes, and arrived at the Emperor's palace with his army and sent him a message on oath not to descend as he himself was coming upstairs. The Emperor accordingly remained in his place. The king stationed his men well armed below, and ascended the flight of steps leading to the palace. The king was accompanied by Janárdanpant, Pralhád pant, Sonáji Náik and Báji Dhásré. He entered the palace; the Emperor came forward to meet him; both embraced each other and then took a seat. There were in the palace Mándnápant, Anknápant, Janárdanpant, Pralhád pant, Sonáji Náik and Báji Dhásré besides the king and the Emperor. Mándnápant took his seat, the others were all standing. The king and the Emperor were best friends; they therefore talked a great deal on a variety of topics. The wives of the Emperor were struck with astonishment when they beheld the king from behind the curtains. The Emperor was also pleased. For three hours he listened to the king who narrated to him his own exploits. After presenting several ornaments decked with jewels, clothes, elephants and horses to the king, and clothes to his attendants he gave them leave to depart. The Emperor escorted the king as far as the bottom of the flight of steps leading to the palace and then they separated. The king then with Raghunáth Náráyan Dabir, Hambirráo and other Sirdars whom he had stationed below. and

with his army returned to his quarters. On his way back he distributed coins to the townspeople. After the king's departure the Emperor was satisfied. He said :—“ The king is honest, he adhered to his words and deeds.” He praised Pralhád pant for his honesty and gave him several presents and sent him to the king. The next day Mándnápant invited the king to an entertainment at his house. The dinner was prepared by Mándnápant's mother. The king Mándnápant and Anknápant dined and after presents of ornaments, clothes, elephants and horses the king was allowed to return to his quarters. The renowned Sirdars under the Bhágúnagar Government similarly entertained the king. One full month thus passed away in the Bhágúnagar territory. The Emperor called to him Mándnápant and ordered him to give the king whatever he required and thus send him pleased. Then on an auspicious day he invited the king to an interview. He presented him with immense treasure, ornaments inlaid with precious stones and jewels, innumerable elephants and horses. While the king and the Emperor sat on the throne they received the salutes of all the Sirkárkuns, Hambirráo and other Sirdars, the Emperor presenting them all with ornaments, clothes, elephants and horses according to their deserts. The Emperor then said :—“ I expect you to be useful to me on every occasion. The tribute payable every year will be so paid.” The king then with oaths promised his cooperation and he was allowed to take his departure ; the Emperor observing that Pralhád pant might always be detained by the king at his court, as his (Emperor's) repre-

sentative and envoy. The king then returned to his quarters.

77. He thence led his army towards Chandi taking with him all the presents received in the Bhágá-nagar State. He reached the sacred shrine of Shri Shayalya. He bathed in the waters of the river Nilgangá and offered his devotions at the shrine. The king was charmed with the delightful scenery. He compared it to Kailás,* so pleasant it appeared to him. He thought of offering his body and head in sacrifice at the shrine. At this thought Shri Bhawáni appeared in him and said:—"If you do this, you will forfeit salvation. Do not therefore do it. I have several exploits to be accomplished by your hands." So saying the goddess disappeared. When the king came to consciousness, these words of the goddess were communicated to him by the kárkuns. The king then abandoned the idea of self-sacrifice.

78. He then proceeded to conquer the Carnatic and with this view laid siege to Chandi. Rúpulkhán and Nasrikhán the sons of Khánkhán the Bijápur Vizier, who were in Chandi were promised protection, brought over to the king's cause and permitted to leave the place. After their departure Chandi was taken. Shérkhán another Bijápur Vizier and a valiant soldier had encamped near Trimali Mánál with 5,000 cavalry, elephants and immense treasure. He attacked the king, and in the battle that ensued his forces were completely routed and he himself was captured. 5,000 horses and 12 elephants were

* The paradise of the God Shiva.

killed. Immense treasure fell into the hands of the king. Thus was Trimali Mahál captured.

79. King Vyankáji the younger brother of Shiváji was then reigning at Chandí or (Chandore). He sent his kárkun Mahádpant Pingalé, Konhér Mahádéva Jamádár and Jagannáthpant to the king to have an interview with him. The king received them with the greatest honors. They related to him everything concerning Chandore. The king then presented them with jewels and horses and permitted them to take their departure. After their return they narrated to king Vyankáji all that had occurred at the interview with the king. The king then thought of seeing his brother, when Vyankáji accompanied by the three persons whom he had sent before and by Bhiwáji and Pratápráo arrived. The brothers met. There was great rejoicing. They were together in one place for eight days. The king then addressed Vyankáji in the following terms :—
 “ Since I obtained our sire’s leave and proceeded to Poona I acquired a large kingdom. I am the eldest of us all and have achieved splendid exploits. I therefore expect you to hand over to me the twelve strings used as badges by our sire which are in your possession. It is not impossible to make new ones for myself, but as they were once used by our sire, it is but fair that I should use them.” Vyankáji persisted in his refusal. His officers and kárkuns pointed out to him that in refusing he had not acted prudently as the king was sure to take the badges by force of his arms. This terrified Vyankáji who in consequence ran away at night with the badges.

80. The next day the king learnt of Vyankáji’s

flight. He was surprised and said :—“ What have I to do with those badges? Of what avail are they, when my fame is already spread everywhere over the sea-girt earth. The eight directions know it. As they were used by my sire I longed to have them. If my brother wanted not to part with them, he ought to have done so. Why should he have thus run away? Younger as he is he has given proof of an understanding worthy of his age.” The king’s men found some of Vyankáji’s kárkuns and sirdárs who were running, and brought them to the king who gave them all presents of clothes, ornaments and horses and sent them to his brother at Chandore. King Santáji a bastard son of the Mahá-rájá (Sháháji) then came to see the king. They both met. Santáji was presented with a thousand horse in the Carnatic and was granted allowances in land and money. Then after presents of elephants, horses, clothes and ornaments Santáji took his departure. He was allowed to remain in the Carnatic with an army.

81. At this time there was a station of the Adil-sháhi Government in the fort of Bangalore. This fort had no equal in the world. The water in the ditches around the ramparts was unfathomably deep and was the abode of from 10 to 12,000 alligators. The platforms behind the battlements were so broad that two carriages could be driven on them in one line. The outer walls of the fort were so strong that they could resist the cannon-ball. The king laid siege to this fort and captured it; he took several other forts, built new ones and conquered a territory yielding twelve lacs of Hones. He also

took the fort of Chandi which was not an insignificant place but the seat of an empire as powerful as those of Bijápur and Bhágánagar. The king should have made that place the seat of his Government but as he had to look after the preservation of his principal conquests, he appointed Raghunáth Náráyan as Muzumdár and stationed him at Chandi with a force under Hambirráo Sarnobat. The king then took with him Anandrao and Mánáji Moré who had their armies at Chandi, and proceeded up the Ghauts, took the forts of Kolhár and Bálápur, ravaged the country, built two or three new forts and having conquered Pálégad appointed kárkun Rango Náráyan as Sarsùbhédár and made over this territory also to the management of Raghunáth Náráyan. He stationed Mánáji Moré with his army in the Kolhár territory and having taken Anandrao with him proceeded to Kopál and thence to Lakshméshwar and having captured the fort there punished Khán Godá Désai. The king having learnt that the Désai now and then ravaged the Kolhár territory had already deputed Niloji with a large army to overthrow him; and Niloji accordingly having encountered him at Múrbé had totally defeated him. The king then returned to the fort of Panhállá. Niráji pant who was left with Bahádurkhán as the king's representative returned with presents of clothes from the Khán to the king and had an interview with him.

82. King Vyankáji having learnt that Hambirráo Sarnobat and Raghunáth Náráyan Muzumdár were stationed in the Carnatic, took his forces with him and attacked Hambirráo. Hambirráo having

arranged his army in battle array encountered king Vyankáji. A bloody battle ensued. By virtue of the king's righteous deeds Hambirráo defeated him; 4,000 of his horses were killed and twenty to twenty five elephants fell as also Bhiwji Rájé, Pratápji Rájé and ten to twenty other valiant leaders. Immense treasure fell into the hands of Hambirráo. Those leaders who were captured alive were presented with clothes and coin and ordered to depart. Raghunáthpant and Hambirráo then proceeded with their armies to Chandore. King Vyankáji then interposed a rich man for negotiating peace. The generals communicated the facts to their sovereign master. The king sent them the following reply:—"As Vyankáji is a younger brother (of mine) I consider it necessary that he should be protected. You should therefore make peace with him, and not mind what he says as he is but an urchin."

83. The leaders then made peace with king Vyankáji. Hambirráo departed with his army while Raghunáthpant with 10 to 12,000 horse-men and infantry remained in the Carnatic for its defence. Hambirráo after his arrival saw the king who received him with great honors and rewarded his deserving followers. The king then with his whole army laid siege to Jálnápur, pillaged the town and took the Fouzdár of that place captive. Treasure, gold, silver, jewels, cloth, elephants, camels and horses were seized. Rustumkhán the Mongul leader now attacked the king; Sindoji Nimbálkar the leader of 5,000 men of the king's army fought with him for three days. Rustumkhán was taken captive. In the meanwhile a reinforcement of 20,000 men

under their leader Késrisingh and other Amirs came to his assistance. Késrisingh secretly sent a message to the king informing him that if he intended to fight with Rustumkhán, he might do so but desiring him at the same time to march off so long as he (Késrisingh) had not encountered him. After receipt of this message the king left with his army which, it was arranged, was to go from behind the Jadgiri mountain. At this time Bahirji a messenger of the king came forward saying that he would take the army to their place in safety without encountering the Mongul leader, and asking the king not to be in anxiety on that account. For three successive days and nights he did not misspend a single moment and at last brought the army in safety to Powgad. The king was pleased with him. All the booty he possessed was granted to him and other rewards were also given to him. The king then leisurely led the army to Purandhar.

84. Sambháji Rájá the son of king Shiváji had now fallen out with his father. He went over to the Mongul territory and saw Dilélkhán who was encamped at Jáwdá. Dilélkhán received him with great honors and informed the Emperor at Delhi accordingly suggesting that the Emperor might shower praises upon him so that he would be instrumental in creating dissensions and factions in his father's government whereby the king's forces would come over to his cause, and the forts and strongholds would also be gained. The Emperor however thought otherwise. He said that if he praised the king's son, it was possible that one day or the other his own son the Shahújádá and the king's son might

make common cause, seduce his men and rebel against him. He therefore resolved not to praise him but to have him brought before him and kept in confinement. Accordingly he wrote to Dilélkhán asking him to come over to him with Sambháji Rájá. Dilélkhán's envoy who was at the Emperor's Court gave him previous intimation of the contents of this letter and Dilélkhán gave secret information to Sambháji Rájá of the Emperor's plans and hinted to him that he should have recourse to flight. Sambháji Rájá accordingly ran away from him and arrived at the fort of Panhállá. The intelligence of his son's return reached the king. He was overjoyed and came to Panhállá to see him. The father and the son met; there was joy. The king then addressed his son in the following terms:—

“ My son, do not abandon me. Aurangzéb is my enemy; he should certainly have made you the victim of his rage, but thanks to Shri Bhawáni, by her blessings you have returned safe. You are the elder of my sons. I know it is your desire to possess an independent kingdom and to exercise sovereign sway over it; and it is incumbent upon me also to see that you have one. You know I have two sons, one yourself and the other Rájáram. You know also that I have two kingdoms, one that of Chandí which extends from the river Tungbhadrá to the river Kávéri, and the other which extends from the river Godáveri to as far as near Tungbhadrá. As you are the elder of my sons, I give you the Carnatic, the other I make over to Rájáram. Thus both of you will rule over two independent kingdoms; and as my

age is now fast advancing, I prefer spending my days in devout prayers to Shri Bhawáni."

Sambháji Rájá then made the following reply:—

"Sire, I have no desire for a kingdom; I value your affection more. I shall subsist gladly on milk and rice and serve you. This alone is the ambition of my life."

This reply pleased the king. The father and the son then busied themselves in computing and ascertaining the area of the Carnatic, the amount of treasure, the number and names of kárkuns and sir-kárkuns, the number of the army, horses, silédárs, sirdárs, forts, strongholds, ships of war and of men on the forts and found that all these were as follow:—

18 KÂRKHÂNÂS.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Treasury. | 10. Place in which wild beasts and birds, game animals and apparatus of the chase are kept. |
| 2. Wardrobe. | |
| 3. Corn-depôt. | |
| 4. Place for elephants. | |
| 5. Granary. | 11. Gymnasium or Palaestra. |
| 6. Room in which carpets are kept. | 12. Gunpowder magazine. |
| 7. Kitchen. | 13. The place where camels are tied up. |
| 8. The place in which are kept the drums and other instruments of a band. | 14. The place where elephants are tied or kept. |
| 9. The apartment appropriated to Sherbet making. | |

* An office or place where business is carried on.

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|---|--|
| 15. The place in which records and registers are deposited. | 17. The hall. |
| 16. The aviary. | 18. Outhouse or place for water for the Royal use. |

12 MAHÁLS.*

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Treasury bags. | 8. Chariots, carriages &c. |
| 2. Building where horses are kept. | 9. Cows, buffaloes and cattle of the State. |
| 3. Store-room. | 10. Place for retirement. |
| 4. Tailor's room. | 11. Place for Palanquin. |
| 5. Exchange room. | 12. Place for airing. |
| 6. Building materials. | |
| 7. Stock of arrows. | |

Treasure consisting of Gold and Silver coin & cloth.

GOLD COIN.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Ten Lacs Guburs. | Three Lacs Adwan Hones. |
| Twenty Lacs Mohurs. | One Lac Gútee Hones. |
| Two Lacs Dhárwádi Hone. | Ten Lacs Ingots of gold weighing 12½ Candies. |
| Fifteen Lacs & nine Ká-wér Hones. | 1½ Lac Tádpati Hones. |
| Ten Lacs Satlamyá. | Three-thousand Pútli.† |
| Two Lacs sixty-four thousand and thirty Achútrái Hones. | Four Lacs Shivrái Hones. |
| Fifty thousand Jadi Hones. | Three Lacs four-hundred and fifty Déwrái Hones. |

* Wealth, goods, effects and property of any description.

† *i. e.* Venetian Sequins.

Two Lacs Pralayagad Hones.	thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine
Three Lacs ninety-nine	Fullum.*

SILVER COIN.

Ten Lacs Chúi Kabri.	five hundred Chandramé.
Fifty-thousand Dhárwá-di and Hookéri.	One Lac fifty thousand & nine Nisháni Hones.
Five Lacs Rupees.	Twenty Lacs Asrufé.
One Lac Rials.	Fifty Lacs Basri Kabri.
Twenty five Lacs Dá-bholi small.	10,00,000 Silver and silver utensils weighing 50 Candies.
Twenty five Lacs and	

CLOTH.

Embroidered, plain and colored cloth of various countries of the value of 10,00,000 Hones.

The Fullum Hones comprised of the following varieties:—

Afurgi.	Déwjawli.
Bhiwarkati.	Rámmahipuri.
Tráwáluri.	Chandáwari.
Surjáram.	Bilamdhari.
Mahomedshái.	Ulsuri.
Yékéri.	Udgoli.

Horsemen and Silédárs numbering 1,05,000. The following were the names of the leaders of the 45,000 Págas:—

* This coin is less than a Pútli, valuing about 3 Rupees.

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|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Hambirráo Sarnobat. | 15. Tukoji Nimbálkar. |
| 2. Anandráo Hazári. | 16. Vyankáji Khándkar. |
| 3. Nétáji Pálkar. | 17. Sumbháji Yékráo. |
| 4. Mánáji Moré. | 18. Sumbháji Hambir- |
| 5. Rupáji Bhoslé. | 19. Nimbáji Pátolé. [ráo. |
| 6. Gondji Jagtap. | 20. Dádji Powár. |
| 7. Suntoji Jagtap. | 21. Shámákhán. |
| 8. Khundoji Jagtap. | 22. Parsáji Bhoslé. |
| 9. Dhanáji Jádaw. | 23. Wágoji Sirké. |
| 10. Jétáji Kátkar. | 24. Kristnáji Gutgé. |
| 11. Dádji Kalékad. | 25. Mánoji Nimbálkar. |
| 12. Janoji Katé. | 26. Cristnáji Powár. |
| 13. Suntáji Ghorpadé. | 27. Dattoji Moré. |
| 14. Télangráo. | 28. Muhiméji Wicháré. |

THE FOLLOWING IS THE LIST
OF SILEDÁRS:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Nágoji Ballál. | 15. Mahádji Náráyan. |
| 2. Rághoji Ballál. | 16. Jánráo Wághmáré. |
| 3. Sunkroji Rám. | 17. Bulvantráo. |
| 4. Chandroji Bahirdéw. | 18. Amráji Pánsuré. |
| 5. Hambirráo Ghor-
padé. | 19. Janáji Sindé. |
| 6. Rámáji Janárdan. | 20. Báloji Thorat. |
| 7. Rámáji Bháskar. | 21. Rámáji Guddé. |
| 8. Harbáji. | 22. Déwji Ughdé. |
| 9. Kristnáji Jáwdéw. | 23. Hambirji Dandgad. |
| 10. Báláji Nilkant. | 24. Hambirji Sélké. |
| 11. Gunesh Tukdéw. | 25. Kéroji Powár. |
| 12. Chundoji Náráyan. | 26. Sadápurné. |
| 13. Trimbak Vithul. | 27. Oochlé. |
| 14. Gunésh Shiwdéw. | 28. Khundoji Báolé. |
| | 29. Pursoji Sitolé. |

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|--------------------|
| 30. Gunooji Sitolé. | | 33. Mánoji Nalgé. |
| 31. Báji Nalgé. | | 34. Withbáji Lélé. |
| 32. Mayáji Nalgé. | | 35. Janáji Sáwant. |

THE FOLLOWING IS THE LIST OF THE
LEADERS OF 1,00,000 MÁWALI SIRDÁRS.

Yesji Kank Sarnobat.		Withooji Kadu.
Sooryáji Málsoora.		Indráji Gurwádi.
Gunooji Hurkore.		Jáwji Mudné.
Bhiwá Dalvi.		Nágoji Furjand.
Kondji Wadghám.		Tánsawat Múwle.
Yesji Harkore.		Málji Farjand.
Bálooji Harkore.		Dhawlé.
Soñ Sawli.		Tánáji Yeshwant.
Chánji Kadu.		Tánáji Párkaré.
Kudálkar.		Rám Sálvi.
Trimbakji Prabhu.		Tánsawant
Kondji Furjand.		Crishnáji Bhoslé.
Mudhoji Cháwdekar.		Mudhlé.
Tánáji Sállár.		Hirooji Maráthá.
Duryáji Sukhulkar.		Pémáji Moré.
Piláji Sulgé.		Hirooji Bhágánagar.
Jáwji Párwé.		Tooláji Kadu.
Mudháji Brahmin.		Tánáji Bhánga.
Mál Sáwant.		(37)—Total.

The following is the list of Commanders in the king's fleet.

- | | | |
|----------------------|--|-----------------|
| 1. Daryásawat Ságar. | | 3. Ibráhimkhán. |
| 2. Máyá Naik. | | |

The number of Elephants was 1260.

The following is the list of hill-forts, strongholds

and those built in the sea, belonging to the Adilsháhi and Nizámsháhi Governments captured by Shiváji:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Kondhané (or)* | 26. Kathingad. |
| Shinvagad. | 27. Tikonágad. |
| 2. Purandhargad. | 28. Kardangad. |
| 3. Rohidgad. | 29. Kholegad. |
| 4. Rúyagad. | 30. Sindigad. |
| 5. Lohegad. | 31. Kothurgad. |
| 6. Kot Fond. | 32. Rudramálgad. |
| 7. Kot Wishwáshewé- | 33. Mangalgad. |
| shwar. | 34. Kothulgad. |
| 8. Kot Kedár. | 35. Dhúlgad. |
| 9. Kot Akoli. | 36. Shriwardhangad. |
| 10. Kot Magrum. | 37. Madangad. |
| 11. Kot Kudal. | 38. Wirgad Ghosálá. |
| 12. Panállágad. | 39. Pándawgad. |
| 13. Kudusrigad. | 40. Chestangad. |
| 14. Bahavalgad. | 41. Wadangad. |
| 15. Gadágad. | 42. Kalyángad. |
| 16. Déogad. | 43. Sútáragad. |
| 17. Itkágad. | 44. Sumárgad. |
| 18. Padámgad. | 45. Rúsalgad. |
| 19. Songad. | 46. Wishálgad. |
| 20. Sudhárakgad. | 47. Sajangad. |
| 21. Mrigandhirkadgad. | 48. Táthodágad. |
| 22. Khambiragad. | 49. Rángnúgad, or Pra- |
| 23. Colaba Janjira. | sidhgad. |
| 24. Mandapgad. | 50. Manohargad. |
| 25. Samángad. | 51. Supékot. |

* "Gad" means a hill fort. "Kot" means a fort built on the plain and "Janjira" means a fort built in the sea.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 52. Hullyál kot. | 65. Chowri(or) Prassan-
gad. |
| 53. Kim kot. | 66. Bhorsud(or) Parwat
gad. |
| 54. Krishnágir kot. | 67. Máwooligad. |
| 55. Yelburgá kot. | 68. Sidhagad. |
| 56. Sáléri fort. | 69. Koredigad. |
| 57. Mhuhogad. | 70. Bhorap (or) Sudhá-
gad. |
| 58. Salotragad. | 71. Kurtu (or) Mardan-
gad. |
| 59. Ahiwantgad. | 72. Ghangad. |
| 60. Achulgiri. | 73. Páli (or) Sarasgad. |
| 61. Jáwlagad. | 74. Masidgad. (or) Salé- |
| 62. Trimbak (or) Shree-
gad. | 75. Sudhágad. [gad. |
| 63. Husha (or) Bhor-
ghargad. | |
| 64. Niwardhangad. | |

In the Kolhár & Bálápur Territory above the
GHAUTS.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 76. Kaléhar Kot. | 90. Bhimgad. |
| 77. Nandigad. | 91. Sarasgad. |
| 78. Chandangad. | 92. Abájiráyadurg. |
| 79. Mhahigad. | 93. Konargad. |
| 80. Ganeshgad. | 94. Makarandgad. |
| 81. Shriwardhangad. | 95. Thawur- kot. |
| 82. Wangad. | 96. Boodim kot. |
| 83. Tawálgad. | 97. Someshántgad. |
| 84. Bindnurgad. | 98. Hátmalgad. |
| 85. Bháskargad. | 99. Bhumandapgad. |
| 86. Prakáshgad. | 100. Mánik kot. |
| 87. Rimdoorgad. | 101. Manmalhár kot. |
| 88. Kolhar Kot naik. | 102. Mahipálgad. |
| 89. Mrithungad. | 103. Rámgiri. |

IN THE SHRIRANGPATAN TERRITORY.

104. Dharmapuri kot.	117. Kot Shamul.*
105. Telgiri kot.	118. Bhowánidulgad.
106. Pálangad.	119. Mujanuri kot.
107. Sundargad.	120. Welirad kot.
108. Máhimgad.	121. Dharampur kot.
109. Garud kot.	122. Ambrehur kot.
110. Tulágad.	123. Wamnur.
111. Ránpurkot.	124. Kot Kusnur.
112. Rangangad.	125. Yeshwantgad.
113. Pramodgad.	126. Dawnapatan kot.
114. Bithnur kot.	127. Pál kot.
115. Manohargad.	128. Chamwar kot.
116. Trichnápur kot.	129. Whawachi kot.

In the Carnatic—62. Forts. (names not mentioned)

The following is the list of those established by the king:—

IN THE CONCAN.

1. Ráyagad.	12. Kanérágad.
2. Kélina.	13. Proudthagad.
3. Toraná (or) Pra- chandgad.	14. Wangad.
4. Wirátgad.	15. Mahomedgad.
5. Kamalgad.	16. Rámdurg (or) Bhuj- bulgad.
6. Rájhounsegad.	17. Nawalgúnd.
7. Bálákot.	18. Shrimantgad.
8. Kothárgad.	19. Gajéndragad.
9. Kankádrigad.	20. Sawalgad.
10. Márkandgad.	21. Machatragad.
11. Rúwangad.	22. Kánchangad.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 23. Rámséjgad. | 51. Ráj kot. |
| 24. Péhergad. | 52. Ratnagiri-Jangira. |
| 25. Bháskargad. | 53. WijayadurgJangira. |
| 26. Bojbágad. | 54. Bálarájá. |
| 27. Nádángad. | 55. Anjanwél. |
| 28. Mahikhárigad. | 56. Muttgad. |
| 29. Rúngad. | 57. Wasantgad. |
| 30. Harischandragad. | 58. Sundargad. |
| 31. Kalyángad. | 59. Moregiri. |
| 32. Súmangad. | 60. Warudgad. |
| 33. Sirjágad. | 61. Mahimángad. |
| 34. Sháwalgad. | 62. Bhushangad. |
| 35. Mahitalgad. | 63. Bhupálgad. |
| 36. Mitragad. | 64. Machendragad. |
| 37. Kohingad. | 65. Páwangad. |
| 38. Balwantgad. | 66. Púrgad. |
| 39. Vyankatgad. | 67. Bhimgad. |
| 40. Pralhadgad. | 68. Seedhágad. |
| 41. Waradhágad. | 69. Chandragad. |
| 42. Pratápgad. | 70. Samangad. |
| 43. Kongári (or) Man-
galgad. | 71. Wallabhgad. |
| 44. Námarandgad. | 72. Kámnidhigad. |
| 45. Wosadgad. | 73. Gandharwagad. |
| 46. Bahirawgad. | 74. Mangalgad. |
| 47. Prachitgad. | 75. Mánikgad. |
| 48. Mahipatgad. | 76. Kunolágad. |
| 49. Gagangad. | 77. Sáranggad. |
| 50. Suwarndurg Jan-
jira. | 78. Putákágad. |
| | 79. Nadgiri. |

BELOW THE GHAUTS.

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 80. Jagdévagad. | 82. Gagangad. |
| 81. Kawalgad. | 83. Sudarshangad. |

84. Mahárájgad.	92. Pralhádgad.
85. Krishnagi rigad.	93. Mártandgad.-Janji- ra.
86. Ramangad.	94. Dirgahalidurg.
87. Sidhigad.	95. Balurongad.
88. Mulmárjúngad.	96. Suleymulkot.
89. Návádigad.	97. Mangalgad.
90. Kastoorigad.	98. Rámgad.
91. Rángad.	

IN THE VÉRUL TERRITORY.

99. Kot Vérul.	113. Trimalgad.
100. Sájrá Kot.	114. Gujlgad.
101. Gojrákot.	115. Trimali kot.
102. Lokasgad.	116. Lahángad.
103. Prángad.	117. Rájgad.
104. Mahimándangad.	118. Chédangad.
105. Junnargad.	119. Kristnagad.
106. Arjoongad.	120. Madonmatgad.
107. Deogad.	121. Awsurkot.
108. Arjoonkot.	122. Kámkot.
109. Karnaticgad.	123. Sirgad.
110. Arbhakakot.	124. Mudhágad.
111. Padwijugad.	125. Wallakháshagad.
112. Rasálgad.	126. Triwardhikot.

85. It was thus ascertained that the king's possessions extended from the fort of Sáléri to the whole territory lying on this side of the Godáveri, and over the Ghauts as far as the Tungbhadrá on one side, as also from beyond the Tungbhadrá to Kolhar, Bala-poor, Chandi, Vérul as far as the Kávéri on the other. The king desired his son Sambháji to remain at the fort of Panhállá and left with him Janárdanpant Sirkárkun and Somaji Naik. The king then asked

him to excuse his short absence saying that he was going to Ráyagad to arrange for the performance of his younger son Rájárám's marriage and after return would soon take in hand the important subject of administration of these possessions. Then turning to Sambláji he again said "As you are the elder, I expect a discreet policy on your part". The king then started for Ráyagad. The daughter of Pratápráo the late Commander was selected as a bride for Rájárám. The marriage was performed with great ostentation attended by a distribution of immense sums in charity. The bride was named Jánkibái.

86. Soon after this the king had a sharp attack of fever. He was a righteous personage, and possessed a foreknowledge of the time of dissolution. He thought within himself that his end was approaching and therefore summoned to him the wisest of his kárkuns and servants of whose names the following is the list :—

KÁRKUNS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Nilkanth Moréshwar
Pradhán. | 5. Raoji Somanáth. |
| 2. Pralhádpant. | 6. Abáji Mahádév. |
| 3. Gungádhari Janárdan. | 7. Jotirao. |
| 4. Ramchandra Nilkant. | 8. Bál Prabhú Chitnis. |

SERVANTS.

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Hiroji Farjand. | 4. Múdhóji Sarkhawás. |
| 2. Bábáji Gadgé. | 5. Suryáji Kadsré. |
| 3. Bájí Kadam. | 6. Mahádáji Naik. |

He said to them that the period of his existence was now drawing to its close and that he was going

to see the Goddess and reside in the Paradise of Shiva. The king further said :—

“ With regard to my sons I must say when I perceived that I was growing feeble, I told Sambháji my elder son at Panhállá that I was desirous of distributing my kingdom among my two sons. Sambháji did not like my proposal. My end is now approaching. From my original possession of the Mahál of Poona which was worth 40,000 Hones, I have now raised my acquisitions so as to be worth one Crore of Hones. I also acquired these forts, strongholds, Púgás and the army. If Rájárám lives long after my death he alone will preserve and enlarge this vast kingdom. Sambháji the elder is sensible but of loose and dissolute habits, and I do not know how to act under the circumstances especially as my end is now drawing nearer. You are old and experienced kárkuns and servants in this kingdom of the Maráthás and you must therefore have already been familiar with this state of things. After my death Sambháji by means of his exploits will usurp everything to himself. He being the elder, the army will give him credit for the fact and will flock to his standard. Rájárám being the younger, the army will not care to win his favors. The Sirkárkuns will advocate the cause of Rájárám and urge the necessity of dividing the kingdom amongst the two brothers. The Maráthás in the army will not agree with the kárkuns. They will play foul with the Sirkárkuns. Sambháji will put to the sword the eminent Brahmins of my time ; there will thus be sins of Brahmin-slaughter ; he will next raise his hands on the Maráthás and the Sirdárs in

the army, and degrade or even kill them. The mean and the insignificant will prevail. The respectable will dwindle into insignificance. Sambháji will indulge in intoxicating drugs and in amorous pleasures. In the forts, strongholds and throughout the kingdom there will be injustice and offences. Sambháji will not respect the worthy. He will squander away all the wealth and treasure. Aurangzéb so soon as he learns of Sambháji's weakness and the disorder into which the kingdom must fall will make an invasion and capture Bijápur, Bhágánagar and even this kingdom. Ultimately Sambháji will be ruined. Just as Fattékhán* turned disloyal to his father Malikamber Nizáinsháha and treacherously deprived him of his kingdom and ultimately lost it, so will Sambháji lose my kingdom. Rájárám will then succeed to the throne and will reconquer the lost kingdom and restore order. He will perform deeds more chivalrous than mine. Now with regard to the kárkuns, the eminent Sirkárkuns of my time Sambháji will not allow to see the light of the day. Pralhádpañt and Rámchandra Nilkanth will however be illustrious. Nilopant also will be popular. There will be a few others similarly illustrious but these will be very few. Of the Maráthás, Sambháji will extirpate many. Of those that remain, Santáji Ghorpadé, Bahirji Ghorpadé and Dhanáji Jadhaw will, if they live, perform chivalrous deeds. These

* Malikamber preserved for many years the kingdom of Ahmednagar from the invasions of the Mongul but his son Fattékhán killed him and ultimately made it over to the Monguls.

three Brahmins and Maráthás will prove serviceable in recovering the lost kingdom."

87. Thus spoke the king. After he had concluded all the attendants being oppressed with grief stood in silence and tears began to run down their checks. The king perceiving this again said,— "Be not sorry ; this is but a mortal world. As many as came to life perished. Calm your emotions and be of pure hearts and in peace and happiness. Now sit ye out as I am holding communion with the Goddess." The attendants accordingly sat out. The king then bathed in the sacred water of the Bhágir-thi, rubbed ashes to his body, put on a necklace of Rudráksha* and having composed himself to abstract spiritual devotion, was lost in solemn communion. He expired at Ráyagad in the afternoon of Sunday the 15th† of the lunar fortnight of Chaitra in the Sháliwáhán year 1602 Roudra Samvatsar. The angels of Shiva brought a chariot of the God in which his spirit was taken to Kailás, the perishable portion of himself, viz. the body, being left in this mortal world.

88. On the day of the king's demise there were an earthquake, the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars and a pair of rainbows at night in the heavenly firmament ; everywhere there was mist ; the people at Shrishambhu Mahádéo were frightened. The fishes leapt out of the water. The king's body was then burnt with sandal and Béltree‡ wood. The

* The berry of a tree sacred to Shiva, *Eleocarpus lanceolatus* or *ganitrus*.

† Corresponding with the 5th day of April 1680.

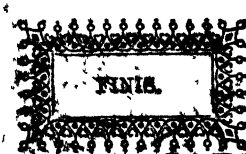
‡ A tree sacred to Shiva, *Ægle marmelos* or *Cratoeva religiosa*.

obsequies were performed by the younger son Rájá-rám, such was the king's life from the period of his birth to that of his death.

89. The king was no doubt an incarnation of the Deity. By his exploits he established his sway over the vast range of country extending from the Nerbadda to Shri Ráméshwar, and having harassed and overrun the territories of the Adilsháhi, Nizámsháhi, Kútubsháhi and Mogulái Governments and kept in awe the twenty-five Emperors that reigned over the sea, established a new kingdom of his own and assumed the throne and Chhatra under the title and dignity of the first Maráthá Emperor, and ultimately having died when he was disposed to die, went to Kailás. No such hero was ever born nor will there be any in the days to come.

90. Those who hear this history read out to them will be prosperous; such of them as have no sons will be blessed with sons; the unfortunate will be fortunate, and happiness and prosperity will reign in their families from generation to generation.

This history was compiled by Kristna the son of Anant at Chandi and finished on the 1st of the lunar fortnight of Chaitra of the Samvatsar "Ishwar."



HATURBHUK ANJARIYA

GO GOCULDAS JETIANEE ESQ.

MANDVI, BOMBAY

