Chapter One

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1.0. Objectives:
After studying this unit the students
1) Will understand the importance of historical sources and evidence for the writing of history
2) Will be introduced to important Indian, Persian, Portuguese and English sources for the writing of history of the rise of Maratha power.
3) Will understand the importance and limitations of Sanskrit sources like Shivbharat and SabhasadBakhar.
4) Will know the importance and limitation of Persian sources like Munthakhab-ul-Lubab and Tarikh-i- Dilkusha
5) Know the value of documents in English and Portuguese languages for writing the history of Marathas. They will also know about the places where these documents are preserved.

1.1. Introduction:

Historical sources are any traces of the past that remain. They may be written sources, documents, newspapers, laws, literature and diaries. They may be artifacts, sites, buildings. History is written with the help of these sources. Whatever the historian says or writes is based on the information and evidence provided by the sources. The historian gathers his information and evidence about the past events and culture by studying the historical sources. It is only by using this collected information that the historian can narrate the history of past events and individuals.

All the historical sources do not have the same authenticity and reliability. Historians test the authenticity and reliability of the sources by asking some questions: Who is the creator of the source? When has it been created? How was the source created? For whom was the source produced? What was the meaning of the source for its creator? In what circumstances was the source created? Historians ask these questions to test the authenticity and reliability of the source. Every source has importance as well as limitations. The historian has to take into account the importance as well as the limitation of the source to use it in an appropriate manner. The historian cannot collect accurate information and evidence to write and interpret the history of past if he/ she does not analyse the sources.

In the first chapter you will be introduced to historical sources which are useful for writing the history of the rise of Maratha power. You will understand their importance as well as their limitations. We will study some important Indian, Persian, English and Portuguese sources which are useful for writing the history of the rise of Maratha power during the period from 1600 A.D. to 1707 A.D. A number of sources of Maratha history have been brought to light by historians in the 20th century. A single historical source does not contain all the information regarding a historical event or individual. The historian has to study a number of historical sources to collect adequate information about a certain historical event or individual. Only then he can put forward a narrative which describes the historical event or activities of an individual.
1.2.1. Indian Sources: Shivbharat and SabhasadBakhar

Shivbharat

Shivbharat is an epic poem composed during the lifetime of Shivaji Maharaj by his court poet known as Kavi Parmanand. This epic is in Sanskrit language and is written in verse form. The epic narrates the history of how Shivaji Maharaj established his power. Therefore the source is important to understand the history of Shivaji Maharaj and the creation of Maratha ‘Swarajya’. Shivbharat is also known as SuryavasmsshaAnnupuran. This second name is mentioned in a number of places in the original manuscript of Shivbharat.

Paramanand was a Brahmin who was a resident of the Newase village in the present district of Ahmadnagar. He was appointed by Shivaji Maharaj to write his biography when Parmanand was residing at Varanasi. Some scholars are of the opinion that it was Shivaji Maharaj who conferred upon him the title of ‘Kavindra’ (King of Poets). Paramanand wanted to compose an epic having 1,00,000 stanzas like the Mahabharata. Therefore, he named his epic ‘Shivbharat’. However, the Shivbharat has little more than 2,000 stanzas. It is incomplete. It has only 31 complete chapters. The 32nd chapter is incomplete. The epic suddenly stops in the 9th stanza of the 32nd chapter.

The Shivbharat begins by taking a review of the life of Maloji, the grandfather of Shivaji Maharaj. The last event described by the Shivbharat is in May 1661. Paramanda has written the biography of Shivaji Maharaja in the form of a conversation between himself and some learned pundits of Varanasi. In the epic, Paramananda tells the story of the exploits of Shivaji Maharaja to the learned pundits. Sometimes Paramananda tells the history of Shivaji Maharaja as answers to the questions posed to him by the pundits.

The tradition of writing epic poetry prevailed in India since the ancient period. During the ancient period poets like Kalidas, Bharavi, Srijharsa, Kumaradasa, Bhatti etc. had composed many epic poems. Praising the hero of the epic was a characteristic feature of this tradition. Paramananda’s Shivbharat was also a part of this tradition. Therefore, it is a historical account as well as a poem which extolled the exploits of the hero.

Shivbharat contains a description of many events concerning the life of Shivaji Maharaj which have not been mentioned in other sources. The events which happened in the life of Shivaji Maharaj in 1661 and the military expeditions
he undertook during that year have been described only in the Shivbharat. Other than this it contains a detailed description of the Afzal Khan episode. The Shivbharat is important as a historical source for the following events:

1) The life and work of Maloji, the grandfather of Shivaji Maharaj
2) The reign of Shahajiraje Bhosale
3) The birth and early life of Shivaji Maharaj
4) Military activities of Shivaji Maharaj during the year 1661

Importance:

1) Though the Shivbharat does not include a number of important events and happenings in the life of Shivaji Maharaj, it remains an important historical source for writing the history of Shivaji Maharaj. This is so because it was written during the lifetime of Shivaji Maharaj. There is no doubt whatsoever that Paramananda was a contemporary of Shivaji Maharaj and that Shivaji Maharaj had appointed him. It must be noted here that no other contemporary biography of Shivaji Maharaj is available.

2) While composing his epic poem Paramananda has used an accurate historical framework. Descriptions of a number of events given by Paramananda in the Shivabharat can be confirmed from other sources. For example, it has been described in the Shivbharat that Shivaji Maharaj attacked the English factory at Rajapur in 1661 and ordered the soldiers to dig the floor in the factory. This description by the Shivbharat has been confirmed by Dutch sources. Moreover, the Shivbharat gives an accurate description of the fort of Panhalgad and the terrain around Sangmeshwar.

3) The chronology of events given the Shivbharat is accurate. Paramananda does not have any confusion regarding chronology of the events.

Limitations:

While deciding the value of Shivbharat as a historical source it should be remembered that it was composed by a court-poet of Shivaji Maharaj. Therefore it was natural for some amount of poetic imagination and exaggeration to creep into the epic. However, most of the times historians can easily identify the poetic imaginations and exaggeration and keep them aside. For example, at one place Paramananda says that Maloji, the grandfather of Shivaji Maharaj constructed
many wells which had steps made of gold. The poetic imagination and exaggeration of Paramananda in this example is easily identifiable.

Even though the Shivbharat is an epic poem, it is valuable as a historical source. The Shivbharat offers a lot of historical information to the historian if he takes certain precautions while studying it.

**SabhasadBakhar**

A number of historical narratives in Marathi language having a prose form were written during the medieval period. They are known as Bakhars. The Bakhars reflect the desire of the Marathi speaking people to know the history of the Shivshahi period. As a source of history, the Bakhars are unique in a number of aspects. Though the ‘MahikavatichiBakhar’ is the earliest it does not have the characteristic features of Bakhar literature. In fact, the earliest bakhar having all the characteristic features of Bakhar literature was written by KrishnajiAnantSabhasad. He wrote the biography of ShivajiMaharaj known as ‘SabhasadBakhar’ on the orders of his son ChhatrapatiRajaram in 1697.

After the rise of Maratha power in the 17th Century, a number of individuals began to use the traditional form of Bakhar literature to record the activities and work of the Marathas. The authors were influenced by the extraordinary personality of ShivajiMaharaj and wrote bakhars to describe his life and work. They wrote the history of ShivajiMaharaj in the prose form of the Bakhar.

A number of historians have suspicions regarding Bakhar literature as a source of history. Historians like V.K. Rajwade and Sir Jadunath Sarkar have said the utility of most of the Bakhars as a source for writing of history is of limited nature. Most of the bakhar literature is eulogistic and laudatory. According to Hervadkar, the characteristic features of Bakhar literature is as follows:

1) It is related to political history.
2) It is prose form.
3) It is commissioned by the patron under whom the author works.
4) It is has a mythological structure.
5) It gives emphasis on the supernatural and accepts traditions.

The SabhasadBakhar is the most reliable of all the Bakhars because it was written within 20 years after ShivajiMaharaj died.
SabhasadBakhar is the oldest existing account of the biography of ShivajiMaharajin Marathi language. The SabhasadBakhar was completed in 1697. It was written in the Ginjee fort in South India under the patronage of RajaramMaharaj, the son of ShivajiMaharaj by KrishnajiAnantSabhasad. KrishnajiAnant was an important minister in the court of RajaramMaharaj. His original surname was ‘Hireparkhi’ and his native place was near the fort of Vasantgad near Satara. Francois Martin, the contemporary French traveller, has written in his memoirs that there was a minister named KrishnajiAnant in the court of RajaramMaharaj who was second in importance only after the Peshwa.

The SabhasadBakhar begins with the description of activities of Maloji, the grandfather of ShivajiMaharaj in the court of the Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar. The Bakhar describes all important events in the life of ShivajiMaharaj as well as the establishment of Maratha Swarjya. The bakhar ends by describing the death of ShivajiMaharaj. Sabhasad wrote the bakhar with the objective of describing the rise of Maratha power under the leadership of ShivajiMaharaj. To do this he uses the framework of the struggle between ShivajiMaharaj and Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Sabhasad also describes the crises which had fallen over the Maratha power during the 1680s. Sabhasad has tried to explain the ups and downs of the struggle between ShivajiMaharaj and Aurangzeb. He tells us the reaction of Aurangzeb to every important activity undertaken by ShivajiMaharaj.

The SabhasadBakhar cannot be called a modern type of history. The concept of ‘history’ (Itihas) which prevailed during that period was different. The chronology of events was not given much importance. History was narrated without recording the dates on which the events took place. In the SabhasadBakhar we come across dates of only very important events like the birth and death of ShivajiMaharaj. SabhasadBakhar is not similar to the modern type of biography. The concept of biography in those days was limited only the exploits of bravery and extraordinary achievements of the hero.

Importance:

KrishnajiAnant was a contemporary of ShivajiMaharaj. Therefore, he was related with the life and times of ShivajiMaharaj and had knowledge about the events which happened in the life of ShivajiMaharaj. Moreover, we do not come across accounts of any supernatural happenings or myths in the SabhasadBakhar. These two things increase the value of the SabhasadBakhar as a historical source for writing the history of ShivajiMaharaj.
Limitations:

Though KrishnajiAnant was a contemporary of ShivajiMaharaj he relied on his memory while writing the bakhar. When he was writing the bakhar the fort of Ginjee was under siege of the Mughal army. In such circumstances of crises it was not possible for KrishnajiAnant to have access to documents or notes. Therefore, the KrishnajiAnant used his memory to describe the events and happenings of life of ShivajiMaharaj. We should also remember that Krishna Anant was an old man with a frail memory in all likelihood when he wrote the bakhar. For example, we find that KrishnajiAnant, even though he was a contemporary of ShivajiMaharaj does not even mention important events in the life of ShivajiMaharaj in his bakhar.

According to scholars the material of the SabhasadBakhar is a ‘mixture of truth and imagination’. SambhajiMaharaj met Shivaji at the fort of Panhala after his return from the Mughal camp. Sabhasad has given a heart-rendering account of this father-son meeting. He mentions that a reconciliation took place between father and son. This was natural as SambhajiMaharaj had returned to the ShivajiMaharaj from the enemy’s camp with a feeling of remorse. ShivajiMaharaj became sick after a few days. His sickness grew rapidly and he died on 3rd April 1680. Sabhasad informs us that when he was sick ShivajiMaharaj predicted to the chief Maratha leaders that SambhajiRaje will not protect the Maratha kingdom and will act cruelly. Many historians have taken objections to this statement of Sabhasad. Historians feel that that a loving and duty-bound father like ShivajiMaharaj could never have said such disparaging words and sowed obstacles in the path of a son who was remorseful and had just returned from the enemy camp. Sabhasad was writing the bakhar under the patronage of RajaramMaharaj. Therefore it becomes clear that he had the objective of praising RajaramMaharaj and defaming SambhajiMaharaj. The writing of Sabhasad is ‘political’ in this sense. According to scholars the defamation of SambhajiMaharaj and the laudatory praise of RajaramMaharaja done by Sabhasad are both untrue.

The SabhasadBakhar is a valuable historical source for writing the history of ShivajiMaharaj even if it has the above limitations. It is one of the main sources for writing the history of ShivajiMaharaj. However, the historian is advised to confirm the descriptions and information given in the SabhasadBakhar by studying other contemporary Marathi, Persian, English, Dutch, French and Portuguese sources.
Questions for Self Study- 1

A) Fill in the blanks with the appropriate alternative

1) Paramanand was a resident of the __________ village.
   a) Varanasi  b) Newase c) Ginjee  d) Dharangoan

2) There are ________ chapters in the Shivbharat.
   a) 10  b) 22 c) 31  d) 32

3) The Shivbharat starts by taking a review of the life and work of ____________
   a) Maloji  b) Shahajiraje  c) ShivajiMaharaj d) Shambhajiraje

4) The Shivbharat ends by narrating the events in the life of ShivajiMaharaj for the year ______
   a) 1661  b) 1664  c) 1671  d) 1680

5) SuryavamshaPurana is another name for the book _____
   a) Shivbharat  b) SabhasadBakhar c) ChitnisiBakhar d) Tarikh-i- Khafi Khan

6) The original surname of KrishnajiAnantSabhasad was ____
   a) Sane  b) Kulkarni  c) Khanolkar  d) Hireparkhi

7) KrishnajiAnantSabhasad wrote the biography of ShivajiMaharaj on the orders of ____________
   a) SambhajiMaharaj  b) RajaramMaharaj  c) Maharani Tarabai  d) SantajiGhorpade

8) The foreign traveler who has referred to KrishnajiAnantSabhasad in his memoirs is __________
   a) Francois Martin  b) Thevenoth c) Carreri d) Bernier

9) __________ is the oldest biography of ShivajiMaharaj in Marathi which is still extant today.
   a) MahikavatichiBakhar b) SabhasadBakhar c) Shivbharat d) Shiv Digvijaya

10) KrishnajiAnant wrote the SabhasadBakhar in _____
    a) Panhalafort  b) Ginjee  c) Dharwad  d) Karwar
1.2.2. Persian Sources: Muntakhab-ul-lubab of Khafi Khan and Tarikh-i-Dilkusha of BhimsenSaxena

Persian sources are very important for the writing the history of medieval India. Persian language was the language of administration in the Mughal empire. The historian needs to study documents in Persian language to understand the motives and activities of the Mughal emperor and his officers. For example, a number of Persian documents having valuable information have been published by Dr.AppasahebPawar, the first Vice-Chancellor of Shivaji University, in his ‘Tarabai Papers: A Collection of Persian Letters’. Other than the documents some Mughal officers have written books containing the history of the Mughal empire. The book Muntakhab-ul-lubab written by Khafi Khan and Tarikh-i-Dilkusha written by BhimsenSaxena give us important information about the Maratha-Mughal struggle.

A number of scholars have contributed in making these two Persian books available to people who do not know the Persian language. British historians Elliot and Dowson translated selected parts of Khafi Khan’s book in their ‘History of India as told by its own Historians’, Vol. 7 (1877). SetumadhavraoPagadi did the work of translating both the works into Marathi. SetumadhavraoPagadi translated and published the writing of Khafi Khan related to the Marathas in his book ‘MarathyancheSwatantrayudh’ (1962). In 1963 he translated the book of BhimsenSaxena and published it under the title ‘MoghalvaMarathe’. In 1920 PandurangNarsingPatwardhan had translated the work of BhimsenSaxena in Marathi as ‘BundelyanchiBakhar’.

Muntakhab-ul-lubab of Khafi Khan

Muhammad HashimKhafi Khan holds an important place among the historians of the Mughal empire. He wrote the history of the Mughal empire in 1734 in Persian language under the title ‘Muntakhabullubab-i-Muhamammadshahi’. The word ‘Muntakhab-ul-lubab’ is in Arabic language and means ‘Records (selected) of the Wise and Pure’. This book is also called Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan. The book was completed during the reign of Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1747).

Khafi Khan begins his history with the attack of Babur in 1519 and continues it till 1734. The position of the Mughal empire had changed when Khafi Khan wrote his history. The decline of the Mughal empire had begun. The
Mughal-Maratha struggle had intensified in nature. Therefore, we get a many references regarding the history of Marathas from the book of Khafi Khan. Even if the history of Khafi Khan was written more than 50 years after the death of Shivaji Maharaj, it is certain that he based his book on his own information and on information acquired from contemporary people.

Historians have a difference of opinion regarding the origins of the name of Khafi Khan. According to some historians Khafi Khan got the name because his ancestors originally came from a village in Iran called Khaf. While some other historians say that he got the name because he secretly (khafi) kept notes during the reign of Aurangzeb who had banned the writing of history. Khafi Khan calls himself Nizam-ul-mulki. This is because he worked as a diwan of Nizam-ul-mulk when he came to the south in 1723 as Subedar.

The father of Khafi Khan served under Murad, the brother of Aurangzeb. Khafi Khan’s father was present during the battle of Aurangzeb and Murad with Dara Shikoh (1657-58). After the death of Murad Khafi Khan’s father joined the services of Aurangzeb. In 1671 when Akbar, the younger son of Aurangzeb rebelled against his father, Khafi Khan was appointed to guard the Southern ghats.

Importance:
1) Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor, had put an ban on recording the events and happenings of his reign. Due to this histories of the reign of Aurangzeb are extremely rare. However, Khafi Khan had secretly kept notes and used them to write the history of Aurangzeb’s reign after he died. We get information about Aurangzeb’s reign in Khafi Khan’s book.

2) We come to know the effect of the events and activities of the Marathas on Aurangzeb only through the history of Khafi Khan. For example, Khafi Khan tells us that Aurangzeb was sure that he would conquer all the forts of the Marathas in a very short time after the death of Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj. We come to know that Aurangzeb was frustrated by the exploits of Santaji Ghorphade. He tells us that the Mughals began to congratulate each other after the death of Rajaram Maharaj. Thus we come to know about the reactions of the Mughals to events and happenings in the Maratha only through the book written by Khafi Khan.
3) Even though Khafi Khan belonged to the enemy camp he has expressed admiration for the bravery of the Marathas at many places in his book. He has written words of admiration for ShivajiMaharaj. He gives us the important information that ShivajiMaharaj had given strict orders to ‘his supporters not to harm Masjids, the Kuran or Women’. He has openly written about the terror SantajiGhorpade had struck into the hearts of Mughal officers by his brave exploits. These words of admiration from an author who belonged to the enemy camp are very important for writing the history of Marathas.

4) Though he belonged to the Mughal camp Khafi Khan did not hide the bad state of the Mughals. He has described the precarious condition of the Mughal army when Aurangzeb attacked the forts of Satara, Parali, Panhalgad, Vishalgad and Sinhagad.

Limitation:

Even though Khafi Khan had tried to remain as objective as possible while writing history, we should keep in mind that he was writing from the official viewpoint of the Mughal empire. He was writing the history of the Mughal empire. For him ShivajiMaharaj and his officers were rebels against the Mughal empire. We find prejudice in Khafi Khan’s writing because he belonged to the enemy camp. On many occasions while writing about the Marathas Khafi Khan loses his balance and gives a very low status to them. He uses obscene words such as Kafir, Narkwasi, Nalayak, Heen, Dustha etc. to describe the Marathas.

Tarikh-i- Dilkusha of BhimsenSaxena

The book entitled Tarikh-i- Dilkusha is in Persian language. This book is also know as ‘Nuska-i- Dilkusha’. BhimsenSaxena, the author of the book, was from the Uttar Pradesh region. He was of Kayastha caste. His forefathers had come to the south in search of employment. In 1649, RaghunandanSaxena, the father of BhimsenSaxena was a low ranking officer in Burhanpur. BhimsenSaxena was born at Burhanpur in 1649. Therefore, he has also been called ‘BhimsenBurhanpuri’.

After Aurangzeb became the Mughal emperor, Bhimsen’s father joined as Mushrif (accountant) in 1657 in the artillery division in Aurangabad. Bhimsen’s father had a religious bent of mind. Bhimsen visited the pilgrimage sites of Nasik, Tribakeshwar, Pravarasangam along with his father when he was ten years old. When he grew up Bhimsen worked for a number of Mughal Sardars. He worked
as a Mushrif (accountant) of the artillery division from 1667 to 1670. Afterwards he came into contact with Jaswant Singh, the King of Jodhpur and started going on military campaigns with him. Later he joined the services of a Mughal sardar named Dawood Khan. Bhimsen was once captured by the Marathas when he was on military expedition with Dawood Khan. However, Nur Khan, a Muslim officer of Shivaji Maharaj recognised him and took him to an Mughal camp. Afterwards Bhimsen worked for Mughal Subedars like Bahadur Khan, Diler Khan, Prince Muazzam. At last he settled into service of Dalpatrao Bundela, the King of Datia. Since he was in service of Dalpatrao Bundela he was present along with him on the Deccan military expedition undertaken by the Mughals. In 1698 the Mughal army had besieged the Panhala fort. Bhimsen was a part of the Mughal army on the occasion. Bhimsen began writing his book in his tent during the Panhala siege.

In his Tarikh-i-Dilkusha, Bhimsen has written his memoirs about the military expeditions of Aurangzeb in the Deccan. Therefore, in a sense the Tarikh-i-Dilkusha is an autobiography of an individual who had a lot of knowledge about contemporary history. The book begins with the military expedition of Aurangzeb on the Qutbshahi of Golkonda in 1656 and ends with the death of Kam Baksh, the son of Aurangzeb in 1709. Bhimsen writes in a simple and engaging manner. He seldom uses flowery language in his book.

Importance:

1) Bhimsen had seen many important events which happened in the Deccan. He had even participated in some of them. Therefore his book acquires a status of an ‘eye witness’ account. Since Bhimsen had served a number of Mughal sardars he was a witness to many important events. For example, he was present in the Mughal camp when the Mughal besieged the fort of Ramsej. He was a helper of a Mughal officer when the Mughals won the Raigad fort in 1689. He was present in the Mughal camp when Sambhaji Maharaj joined the Mughal camp on 13th December 1678.

2) The Tarikh-i-Dilkusha is important for understanding the military activities of the Marathas, especially those of Shivaji Maharaj. Bhimsen has praised the military organisation of Shivaji Maharaj. He has praised the military abilities of Shivaji Maharaj. He also describes Maharani Tarabai as a capable and efficient administrator.
3) The observations of Bhimsen are extensive and accurate. Bhimsen had access to accurate and secret information due to his friendly relations with high ranking Mughal officials.

4) Bhimsen did not write under the patronage of the Mughal emperor and therefore he does not hide things which would denigrate the Mughal emperor. Moreover, since he was a Hindu by religion he would view the Mughal-Maratha conflict in an objective manner. Bhimsen has written about a number of important individuals in his autobiography. He has pointed out their merits and demerits.

Limitation:

1) Even though Bhimsen was Hindu by religion, he was a loyal to the Mughals. It was thus natural for some kind of prejudice to creep into his writing. From his writing we can see that Bhimsen held Aurangzeb in awe and respect. Bhimsen does not even mention an important event like the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj.

2) Bhimsen gives very few dates in his book. Moreover, since Bhimsen mostly relied on his memory for writing his book he has ascribed wrong sequence to the events.

Questions for Self-Study- 2

Answer the questions by choosing the correct alternative

1) _________ was the language of administration of the Mughal empire.
   a) Sanskrit   b) Arabic   c) Persian   d) Marathi

2) _______ has edited the ‘Tarabai Papers’
   a) Dr.AppasahebPawar b) Dr.Balkrishna c) G.S. Sardesai d) Dr.JaysingraoPawar

3) The book of _________ has been translated into English in the 7th Volume of the ‘History of India as told by its own Historians’
   a)BhimsenSaxena b) Khafi Khan c) Paramananda d) Sabhasad

4)_________ translated the Persian books of Khafi Khan and BhimsenSaxena into Marathi language.
   a) G.S. Sardesai   b) Dr.AppasahebPawar   c) SetumadhavraoPagadi   d) Dr. A.R. Kulkarni
1.2.3. Foreign Sources: English and Portuguese Sources

English Sources

The headquarters of the East India Company was in London. It was known as ‘India Office”. The English factories in India were therefore located at a great distance from the headquarters of the East India Company. However, the company maintained strict supervision over its Indian factories from London. It was mandatory for officials of the factories to send a daily report of activities in India to London. An administrative Council was formed to oversee the day to day administration of the factory. The members of the council discussed the daily affairs in their meetings. Later records of this discussion were sent to the headquarters to the Company at London. Besides this letters of important officials and important reports and documents were sent to the company headquarters.

The archives of the East India Company has preserved the diaries of its officials in India, letters, proceedings of the administrative council of the English
factories. The documents from the establishment of the factory to about 1708 are categorized as ‘Factory Records’. Documents created after 1708 come under the category of ‘Presidency Records”. The Factory Records give us information about the activities of the Marathas during the period from 1600 to 1707. Sir William Foster has compiled some selected important documents from the Factory Records in his book series known as ‘English Factories in India (1661-1664). V.G. Kale and P.G. Paranjpe have compiled documents from the Factory Records related to ShivajiMaharaj in their ‘English Records on Shivaji’.

The ‘Factory Records’ contain documents of the East India Company related to the daily affairs of their factories in the east. A number of agents worked in the English factories in India. Their main work was the extension of the trade of the East India Company in India. They frequently came into contact with the Marathas. Therefore, we find a numerous references to the Marathas in their correspondence. Records of every factory has been kept separately.

The factory records contain important information related to ShivajiMaharaj and the history of the Maratha. For example, Reverend John L’Escaliot has described the attack on Surat by ShivajiMaharaj in 1664. John L’Escaliot was the Christian chaplain of the Surat factory. His account is important because he was present when ShivajiMaharaj attacked Surat. He was an eye-witness of the attack. He wrote the account of the attack only a few days after it happened. John L’Escaliot has described ShivajiMaharaj as follows: “of mean stature, erect and of excellent proportion; active in exercise and whenever he speaks, seems to smile; a quick piercing eye and whiter than any of his people”. Another example which shows us the importance of the Factory Records for writing the history of the Marathas is the diary of Henry Oxenden which was written in 1674. The English had sent three officials from Surat to negotiate a trade agreement with ShivajiMaharaj. The officials, Henry Oxenden, George Robinson and Henry Michelle reached Raigad in May 1674. They were present at the coronation ceremony of ShivajiMaharaj. Henry Oxenden has written the account of the coronation of ShivajiMaharaj in his diary. This account of Shivaji Maharaja’s coronation, his durbar and his AsthapradhanMandal written by an observant and clever English officer is extremely important for writing the history of ChhatrapatiShivajiMaharaj.

Importance:
1) Sources in the English language are very important for writing the history of the Marathas. The reports, diaries and correspondence maintained in the Factory Records contain information about events related to the Marathas. Most of this information is written by officials who were present when the event occurred. For example, an accurate account of the attack of the Marathas on factories at Rajapur, Hubli, Surat and Dharangoan is available in the factory records.

2) The reports and correspondence written by the English were part of their day to day duties. Most of the time the English wrote information about the Marathas with the intention of informing one another or the headquarters in London about the circumstances prevailing in India. This increases the reliability of these sources.

Limitations:

1) The main objectives of the English officials was to extend their trade in India. Most of the documents in the Factory Records are related to trade and therefore we have confirm the dates and chronology of the events described in the documents.

2) In some correspondence the English officials have adopted a prejudiced view of the Marathas. They describe the Marathas as ‘Robbers’ ‘Ganim’ and ‘Cruel’. This clearly shows the racial viewpoint of the English and the derogatory attitude they adopted towards the Marathas.

Portuguese Sources:

The Portuguese discovered the sea-route to India. In 1498, Vasco-da-Gama landed with his ships at Calicut harbour. Soon the Portuguese established their political power in India. In 1510 they established their rule in Goa. Later, they established their factories at Goa, Sasti, Bardes etc. The Portuguese held supreme control over the sea-trade of India. Some Portuguese people were engaged in piracy in the Indian seas while some sought employment in the armies of the native powers. Due to these various activities, the Portuguese came in regular contact with the Marathas.

The Portuguese had established their rule at two places on the Western coast of India. First was in Goa while the second was in North Konkan at Chaul, Vasai, Daman etc. Many Portuguese individuals were employed in the army of Shivaji Maharaj. Portuguese were famous for their talent in handling heavy artillery. According to some scholars the ‘Darukhana’ of the 18 Kharkhanas
maintained by Shivaji Maharaj was modelled on the Portuguese artillery department known as ‘Casa-da-Palbora’. Shivaji Maharaja had established victory over the territory near Bombay and Chaul in 1657. He had established a navy in 1659. In 1667 he had attached the Portuguese territory of Bardes. He had demanded chouth from the Portuguese territory of Daman in 1677. SambhajiMaharaj had laid siege to Chaul in 1683 and defeated the Portuguese in the Battle of Phonda. The Portuguese came in regular political contact with the Marathas during the reigns of RajaramMaharaj and Maharani Tarabai. Thus it is natural that the documents in Portuguese language will be useful for writing the history of the Marathas.

Grant Duff has given many references to Portuguese documents in his “History of the Marathas’. PandurangPissurlencar compiled important Portuguese documents useful for writing the history of Marathas in his ‘Maratha-Portuguese Relations’. In 1675 a Portuguese individual named Cosma-da-Guarda’ wrote the first biography of ShivajiMaharaj in Portuguese language. An English translation of this biography has been published by S.N. Sen in his ‘Foreign Biographies of Shivaji’.

The office of the East India Company in London had sent a scholar named Fredrick Charles Danvers to study the documents related to India which were available at the Portuguese archives at Lisbon and Evora. Danvers reviewed the documents in Portuguese language preserved in these archives. The report submitted by Danvers proved that a large number of documents in Portuguese gave information about the activities of the Marathas.

The main Portuguese archive in Lisbon is called ‘Torre do Tombo’. Portuguese documents are available in large numbers in the archives of Goa, Lisbon, Evora and Ajuda. Portuguese documents have been classified in the following manner:

1) Livros das Monocoes de reino (Monsoon Collections): This collection contains documents which reached Goa from Portugal in the Monsoon season. This collection is in the National Archives in Lisbon and contains information related to ShivajiMaharaj.

2) Livros das Reis Vizinhos (Neighbouring Kings): This collection contains documents sent by the Portuguese to the neighbouring Kings. This collection is very valuable for writing the history of ShivajiMaharaj.
3) Livros das pazes e tratados de India (The Book of Peace treaties, agreements etc.) contains information about the treaties and agreements concluded by the Portuguese with the different rulers between 1618 to 1750.

4) Assentos do Conselho do Estado (Proceedings of the State Council at Goa): It records the decision of the State Council at Goa and is highly useful for historical studies.

5) Documentos remtidos da India: This collection contains miscellaneous documents related to India and is in the National Archives of Portugal in Lisbon. It is very valuable from the point of view of Maratha history.

Besides these collections Pandurang Pissurlencar had translated some Portuguese books in English, namely, Portuguese e Marathas - Part 1 Shivaji Maharaj, Part-2 Sambhaji Maharaj, Part-3 Rajaram Maharaj. Dr. Bragas Pereirahas compiled the Oriental Portuguese Archive Vol. 1-3. This includes the translation of about 500 documents which are useful for writing the history of the Marathas.

Importance:

1) Portuguese sources are important for writing the history of Shivaji Maharaj. They are especially important for the study of the naval and military activities of Shivaji Maharaj. They also throw light on the foreign policy followed by Shivaji Maharaj.

2) Portuguese sources throw light on the following subjects related to the Marathas:
   a) The treaties signed by Shivaji Maharaj with the Portuguese
   b) Origin of the system of ‘Chouth’
   c) Activities of the Maratha Navy especially during the reigns of Shivaji Maharaj and Sambhaji Maharaj
   d) Control of the Marathas and Portuguese over the Indian seas.

3) Chhatrapati Sambhaji had attacked the Portuguese in June 1683. This expedition has been described by historians as the greatest exploit of Sambhaji Maharaj. We get detailed information about this attack in the Portuguese sources. The only detailed information about this attack is available in
the anonymous accounts of the Christian Missionaries at Goa. The original documents of this attack are preserved in the Archives at Goa, Lisbon and Ajuda.

Limitations:

1) Most of the Portuguese were racially prejudiced against the Marathas. They therefore give derogatory position to the Marathas in their documents. Since the Portuguese thought the Marathas to be of a low status they did not feel the need to describe their society, culture and religion. There are very few Portuguese documents which give information about the society, culture and religion of the Marathas.

2) The Portuguese sources mostly focus on the military activities and foreign policy of the Marathas. They do not throw light on the social, economic, cultural and religious life of the Marathas.

Questions for Self Study- 3

A) Fill in the blanks with the appropriate alternative

1) The headquarters of the East India Company were in ___
   a) London  b) Bombay  c) Madras  d) Surat

2) ________ compiled select English sources in his book entitled ‘English Factories in India (1661-1664)’
   a) William Foster b) Elliot and Dowson c) Scott d) Grant Duff

3) ________ has written an account of the attack of ShivajiMaharaj on Surat in 1664.
   a) John L’Escaliot b) John Fryer c) George Robinson d) Henry Oxenden

4) ShivajiMaharaj has been described by ________
   a) John L’Escaliot b) John Fryer c) George Robinson d) Henry Oxenden

5) ________ wrote the account of the coronation of ShivajiMaharaj in his diary.
   a) John L’Escaliot b) John Fryer  c) George Robinson d) Henry Oxenden

6) ShivajiMaharaj attacked the Portuguese territory of Bardes in ________
   a) 1661 b) 1637 c) 1664 d) 1674
7) The main archives in _______ is known as Torre-do- Tombo’.  
a) Lisbon   b) Ajuda   c) Goa   d) Evora  

8) _______ has compiled Portuguese documents useful for writing the history of 
the Maratha in his book ‘Maratha-Portuguese Relations’  
a) Dr.BragasPariera   b) Prof.PandurangPissurlencar   c) S. M. Desai   d) Dr.AppasahebPawar  

9) ___________ documents are available in large quantities in the archives of 
Goa, Lisbon, Evora and Ajuda  
a) English   b) French   c) Portuguese   d) Dutch  

10) Cosmo-da-Guarda has written the biography of _______ in Portuguese 
language  
a) ShivajiMaharaj   b) SambhajiMaharaj   c) RajaramMaharaj   d) Maharani Tarabai  

1.3 Glossary: 

1) Archive: is an accumulation of historical records, or the physical place they are 
located. Archives contain primary source documents that have accumulated over 
the course of an individual or organization's lifetime, and are kept to show the function 
of that person or organization. Professional archivists and historians generally understand archives to be records that have been naturally and necessarily generated as a product of regular legal, commercial, administrative or social activities. 

2) Chauth: (from Sanskrit meaning one-fourth) was regular a tax or tribute 
imposed, from early 18th century, by the Maratha Empire in India. It was an 
annual tax nominally levied at 25% on revenue or produce, hence the name. It was levied on the lands which was under nominal Mughal rule. 

3) Interpretation: the action of explaining the meaning of something. 

1.4. Answers of Questions for Self-Study 

Questions for Self-Study-1  
A) Choose the Correct alternative  
1) b   2) d   3) a   4) a   5) a   6) d   7) b   8) a   9) b   10) b
Questions for Self Study-2
A) Choose the Correct Alternative
1) c 2) a 3) b 4) c 5) a 6) c 7) c 8) a 9) c 10) a

Questions for Self Study -3
A) Choose the Correct Alternative
1) a 2) a 3) a 4) a 5) d 6) b 7) a 8) b 9) c 10)a

1.5. Summary

The historian writes history by using historical sources. Complete information about any past event is not available in a single historical source. The historian has to collect this information from a number of sources. The historian also interprets the past by using the information and evidence he has collected. The sources useful for writing history have importance as well as limitations. Before using the sources the historians checks the reliability and credibility of the sources.

We have discussed the important historical sources available for writing the history of the rise of Maratha power. We have seen their importance and limitations. *Shivbharat*, the epic poem written by KavindraParmananda and the *SabhasadBakhar* written by KrihnajiAnantSabhasad are important sources for the understanding the life and times of ShivajiMaharaj. These sources throw light on the events during the early stage of the establishment of Maratha power.

It is important to understand the attitude and reaction of the Mughal emperor and his officers to understand the history of the Mughal-Maratha struggle. The Persian books *Muntakhab-ul-lubab* of Khafi Khan and the *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha* of BhimsenSaxena give us information about the attitude and reaction of the officers from the enemy camp. Though these books are prejudiced against the Marathas, the historians can use analytical thinking to collect important information from these books.

The English and Portuguese had come to India with the intention of trading. The Portuguese established their political power in Goa in 1510. They came into contact with the Marathas for a number of reasons. We, therefore, come across a number of references to the Marathas in the correspondence sent by the English and Portuguese Officers to London or Lisbon. If the historians keeps in mind the
limitations of the sources in English or Portuguese language, he can collect invaluable information and evidence from these sources.

1.6. Questions for Practice

1) Explain the importance and limitations of Shivbharat as a source of Maratha history.

2) Write the limitations of SabhasadBakhar as a historical source

3) Write the importance and limitations of Khafi Khan’s ‘Munthakhab-ul-lubab’ for writing the history of the Marathas.

4) Write the importance of BhimsenSaxena as a source for writing the history of the Marathas.

5) Explain the importance of English sources for writing the history of the Marathas

6) Review the Portuguese sources available for writing the history of the Marathas.

7) Write the importance of Portuguese sources for writing Maratha History.

1.7 Reference Books

1) S. M. Divekar (ed.), KavindraParmanandkrutShivbharat (Marathi), Bharat ItihasSanshodhanMandal, Pune, 1927


3) English Records on Shivaji( 1659 – 1682), Shiva CharitraKaryalaya, Poona, 1931


14) Raghunath Vinayak Hervadkar, *Marathi Bakhar* (Marathi), Pune, 1975


M. N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981

M. N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981
Sem. I

Unit-3

Coronation of Shivaji Maharaj and Karnataka Campaign

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3.0 Objectives

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3.2.3 Relations of Shivaji Maharaj with the English and Portuguese

3.3 Glossary

3.4 Answers to self-study questions

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3.6 Books for additional reading

3.0 Objectives

- To understand the reasons behind the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj.
- To know the significance of creation of an independent and sovereign state of Marathas which was created due to the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj.
- After his coronation Shivaji Maharaj immediately undertook the Karnataka campaign with great success. You will learn about the Karnataka campaign of Shivaji Maharaj in this unit.
- To understand the relations of Shivaji Maharaj with the English and the Portuguese

3.1 Introduction

The coronation of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj is regarded a momentous event in the history of the Marathas. This event is so significant that it deserves to be
written in golden letters in the history of medieval India. The first biographer of Shivaji Maharaj, Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad writes when he describes the event: “... a Maratha King becoming Chhatrapati is not an ordinary incident...” Indeed the event brought about a major transformation in the social life in Maharashtra.

Maharashtra had remained under domination of outside powers for three and half centuries after Mubarak Khilji, the ruler of Delhi, had finally destroyed the kingdom of Yadavas of Deogiri in 1391. It was a period when external Muslim powers established their rule in Maratha country and humiliated the Marathas. During this period the Marathi people had developed a strong inferiority complex that no native person but only the Mughals could sit on a throne to rule. Shivaji Maharaj broke this complex and the servile mindset of the Marathi people by anointing himself as their Chhatrapati. He gave a constitutional status to the self respect to the people of Maratha Swarajya. This coronation of Shivaji Maharaj took place at Raigad, his new capital, on 6th June, 1674. It is essential to look at the objectives and the reasons as to why Shivaji Maharaj felt the need for coronating himself.

3.2 Subject

3.2.1 Coronation of Shivaji Maharaj

3.2.1.1 The need for coronation

1) Need for an independent and genuine kingdom

Since the destruction of the Yadava kingdom of Deogiri the Marathi people did not have a king of their own. Though the Maratha Sardars serving the kingdoms of Nizam Shahi, Adil Shahi and Mughal kingdoms were honored with titles of ‘Raja’ for their bravery, they did not have recognition as kings. The actual rulers were their Muslim masters. The feudal landlords or jagirdars of places like Javali, Palwan, Shrungarpur, Mudhol etc were also addressed to as ‘Raja’ or king. Even the grandfather and father of Shivaji Maharaj proudly used the honorific of ‘Raja’. Yet they were in service of the Muslim rulers and did not have the status of independent kings. Shivaji Maharaj was not interested in such notional kingship. He wanted to be a genuine, independent and sovereign king. It is mainly for this reason that he wanted to coronate himself as king.

2) To end the image of a rebel feudal landlord
Shahaji Maharaj, the father of Shivaji Maharaj, was in service of Adil Shah. Therefore, for the Adil Shaha Shivaji Maharaj was no more than a rebel son of a Jagirdar. Along with Adil Shah, the outlook of Qutub Shah, Mughals and foreign powers like Portuguese and English towards Shivaji Maharaj was the same. Moreover, the Maratha chieftains in Maharashtra like Shirke, More, Ghorpade, Nimbalkar also regarded Shivaji Maharaj as a servant of Adil Shah like them. Therefore, Maharaj wanted to prove to them that though he was the son of a Jagirdar, he has crossed the stage of mere rebellion against the established Muslim powers and has expanded the scope of his objectives and work. His work was no more just a rebellion but he had created an independent Maratha state and was an independent ruler.

3. Warning to the Muslim rulers.

There was one more objective of Shivaji Maharaj in crowning himself as an independent king and that was to sound a warning to the despotic Muslim rulers. He wanted to give them the message that his people had a crowned king and that their tyrannical way of ruling will no more be tolerated. And despite the warning if they continued their autocratic rule, then the king would be forced to protect his subjects.

4. Solving legal obstacles

In the process of expanding his kingdom Shivaji Maharaj had acquired many territories and had captured many forts. He had raised a navy and had established an independent administration system. He had amassed enormous wealth and had increased the revenue collection of his kingdom. However, he still remained a chieftain or a Jagirdar. He was still under the rule of the Adilshah. He did not have the required legal approval for an independent sovereign king. He could not impose any administrative sanctions on his subjects nor could he not give donations or confer rewards. His administrative procedures had no legal validity. He could neither penalize anyone nor could he collect new taxes. He also could not give judgments as according to the traditions of the prevalent caste system only the Brahmins had the legal sanction to give judgment or penalize anyone. All these technical difficulties created problems for Shivaji Maharaj to function as an independent king. These legal obstacles were also an important factor in the decision taken by Shivaji Maharaj to coronate himself.

5. Extermination of Kshatriyas
The religious authorities of the time believed that the people belonging to the Kshatriya varna had been exterminated by the Parshuram twenty one times. Hence according to them there were no Kshatriyas left on earth. This belief was prime reason given by the Brahmins as to why no Hindu could ever become a king.

But this belief of the religious heads was self-destructive. Only those who abided by this conviction were accepted by the Muslim rulers as their chieftains’ or rajas as they had termed them because they did not consider them to be Kshatriya. These so called rajas were also not willing to consider anyone else to be Kshatriya. They did not approve of the decision of Shivaji Maharaj to declare himself a King because as per their conviction there were no Kshatriyas left to become king. Shivaji Maharaj wanted to erase this idiotic idea and wanted to confirm that Kshatriyas still existed, that he was a Kshatriya and that he had all the acumen to become a king. This also was one more reason for the idea behind the coronation.

6. **Coronation -a social and cultural conditioning**

As the ritual of coronation gave the power to the king to rule, similarly it was also a religious custom of those times. By going through the consecration ritual the authority of Shivaji Maharaj was going to get a socio-religious acceptance.

7. **To make an impact on the minds of the subjects**

Shivaji Maharaj had risen from being a son of a chieftain to being an independent king due to his extraordinary capabilities and acumen. He had liberated his subjects form the exploitative clutches of the Muslim rulers. Now was the time was ripe when he could come before his subjects as a valiant king. He had to impress upon them and also other powers that he was invincible. To do so he felt the need of a momentous ceremony. By doing this ceremony the message of his strength and power would reach all corners of the kingdom. This was one of his intentions behind the coronation ceremony.

8. **The idea of an independent and a sovereign kingdom.**

There were very few independent and sovereign kingdoms in India. All the notable Hindu Sardars, chiefs served under the Adilshah, Qutubshah or the Mughals. The Adilshah and the Qutubshah had also accepted the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor. The Rajputs in the north had found shelter in the darbars of the Mughals. Under these circumstances Shivaji Maharaj ventured to establish an independent and
sovereign kingdom and confirmed it by undertaking the ceremony of coronation. By doing this Shivaji Maharaj showed it to the world that a new independent and sovereign Maratha power had emerged in the Deccan.

3.2.1.2 The Coronation Ceremony

1. The issue of Shivaji Maharaj being a Kshatriya

As we have seen earlier, the concept of the earth being exterminated of Kshatriyas was well accepted in the Hindu society. A religious scholar named Nrusimha Shesh, who was a contemporary of Akbar, had propounded this theory in his book entitled ‘Shudrachar Shiromani’. The Hindu society continued to believe in the myth propounded in this book. So, when the subject of the Shivaji Maharaja’s coronation came up, the then religious scholars raised two objections. First, whether there are any Kshatriyas in this world? And second, if there are, is Shivaji Maharaj a Kshatriya? Really speaking, Shivaji Maharaj could have put this matter of social and religious doubts to rest by use of force. However, he wanted to strike at the roots of the myth that the earth had being exterminated of Kshatriyas. He used to regard himself a descendent of the Sisodiyas, a Rajput dynasty. So he sent a delegation of scholars like Balaji Avji, Keshavbhat Purohit, Bhalchandra Bhat to places like Udaipur, Amber and Kashi in the North with the purpose of finding a strong evidence of this fact. The delegation unearthed a family tree of the Sisodiya dynasty which proved that Shivaji Maharaj indeed belonged to that family. They also obtained the technical information about the ritual of coronation in the Sisodiya dynasty. Having gathered the evidence of Maharaj being a Kshatriya, the delegation went to Kashi.

2. Invitation to Gaga Bhatt

In Kashi the delegation sent by Shivaji Maharaj met the great scholar Gaga Bhatt. On behalf of Shivaji Maharaj, the delegation made an earnest request to Gaga Bhatt to accept the chief priesthood of the coronation ceremony. He accepted the request. Gaga Bhatt was originally from Paithan in Maharashtra. However, in the 16th century many learned Brahmins, tired of the atrocities of the Muslim rulers had left Paithan to settle down in Kashi and the Bhatt family was among them. Gaga Bhatt was regarded a great pundit of the Hindu religion and philosophy. He was in fact, known as the ‘Lord Brahma of the Kaliyug’. He had visited Maharashtra many a
times to deliver his judgments in complex religious matters. He had been introduced to Shivaji Maharaj on one such occasion.

Shivaji Maharaj invited Gaga Bhatt for his coronation and sent Govind Bhatt Khedkar to bring the pundit from North. After he arrived, Gaga Bhatt put all the doubts of those opposed to the coronation to rest using his extraordinary intellect and mastery of various subjects. The preparations for coronation ceremony got underway.

3. Preparations and prior rituals of the coronation

The preparations for the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj began at his new capital, Raigad. Various buildings like the Royal Palace, Consultation Hall, Religious Meeting Hall, Entertainment Hall, government offices, elephant stable, kitchen, storage rooms, mansions of the senior clerks, market places etc that were a prerequisite of the coronation ceremony were constructed. Hiroji Indulkar did the construction work of the Jagdishwar Temple and the royal court. Abaji Sonavdev constructed Maharaj’s private quarters. The Gangasagar tank, Hatti tank, Hanuman well, Bara taki, Kushavart tank on Raigad were renovated. In the heart of the main stronghold of the fort a place was identified for the throne of Shivaji Maharaj.

Sabhasad in his Bakhar explains the reasons behind Shivaji Maharaj choosing Raigad as his capital and says, “The fort is quite strong from all four sides. The cliffs on the four sides are straight as if chiseled and as high as one and a-half a length of a village. Grass doesn’t grow on these cliffs even in the rainy season. It’s all a single rock from top to bottom. Seeing this Maharaj was very happy and said this fort should be finalized for the capital of the throne.”

After the capital was ready Shivaji Maharaj performed many rites and rituals there. To begin with, he paid obeisance to the deities in his kingdom. He installed an idol of Goddess Tuljabhavani on Pratapgad and constructed a temple for it. Paying obeisance to the goddess he returned to Raigad. On 29th May 1674 Gaga Bhatt performed the thread ceremony of Shivaji Maharaj as per the tradition of the Kshatriyas. The ceremony was almost forgotten in the Bhosale family. After that, a ceremony of weighing Shivaji Maharaj with gold coins was done. According to the English representative Henry Oxinden who was present for the ceremony, 16,000 Hons were required to weigh Shivaji Maharaj. This money was then donated. After this, several Vedic rituals like wedding of Shivaji Maharaj with all his wives to the
chanting of mantras were performed. The rituals and donations continued every day, till the day of coronation ceremony.

4) The coronation ceremony

The day on which pride and identity of Marathi people would be restored, finally arrived. On the day Jyeshtha Shuddha Trayodashi (two days before full moon day as per Hindu calendar), Saturday, 6th June, 1674 the coronation ceremony of Shivaji Maharaj took place on Raigad. The ceremonies leading to coronation began on Friday, 5th June, in the evening, culminated into final ascent on throne in the morning of 6th June 1674. A vivid description of the ceremony is found in many a bakhar and writings of foreign documenters.

The ceremonies on Friday began with the traditional Hindu rituals of Ganesh Pujan, Swasti Pujan and Matruka Pujan. When Shivaji Maharaj came to the specially erected mandap or marquee along with wife Soyrabai, they performed the mandap pujan. Around the main altar in the mandap, four large pots were placed in the four directions. On the east was a pot made of gold, on the south one made of silver, on the west it was a copper pot and on the north, an earthen pot. Each of these pots was filled with ghee, milk and water. Apart from these four, there were several other pots filled with water from different holy rivers and seas. The rituals began with the symbolic installation of all the planets and igniting the holy fire on the main altar along with the chanting of Vedic mantras. This was followed by holy water bath of Shivaji Maharaj, again with the accompaniment of Vedic mantras, which in turn was followed by a bath of a mixture of ghee, curd, honey, sugar and milk (panchamruth). After the bath, Shivaji Maharaj wore rich, white robe and sat near the main altar for performing further rituals. He worshipped the fire god at the altar and then went to the consecration area. Consecration (abhishek) with holy water and then the enthronement were the two chief rituals. When Maharaj stepped into the consecration area, the chanting of appropriate Vedic mantras began.

Consecration

A golden seat was specially made for Shivaji Maharaj for the consecration ceremony. On this seat Maharaj sat down along with his favorite wife Soyrabai and son, Yuvraj (prince) Sambhajiraje. Shivaji Maharaj’s eight ministers stood around him in eight directions, holding a pot each. To the East was Moropant Pingale, the Prime Minister, with the pot containing ghee. To the Southeast stood Annajipant,
Secretary with the ornate royal umbrella; to the South it was General Hambirrao Mohite with a pot of milk; to Southwest was Tryambakpant Sumant; to the West Ramchandrapant Amatya; to the Northwest Dattajipant with a *morchel* and to the Northeast stood Nirajipant. Apart from the ministers the other officials of the court too stood there with pots of water from the holy rivers. Everyone was all ready and eager to consecrate their beloved leader, the soon to be Chhatrapati or Emperor of Maratha Kingdom, the Hindavi Swarajya. At the auspicious moment, the chief priest started chanting the Vedic mantras for the consecration ritual and at the exact moment Maharaj, his queen and his prince were consecrated. At once, all the music instruments like tutari, dhol, tasha, chaughada started playing in full blow. Then the ritual of circling five lamps around the face of Maharaj was performed.

After that, Shivaji Maharaj was given a ritualistic bath once again. This was followed by the ritual of Maharaj seeing his own face reflected in the bronze pot of ghee. Then he wore new clothes and put on diamond and gold jewellery. He put on the embroidered turban on his head. After that he worshipped his weapons, the sword and shield, bow and arrow etc and slung them on his body. With all his accessories in place, he touched the feet of mother Jijabai, followed by chief priest Gaga Bhatt, other scholars and all the elders, to seek their blessings. All the rituals complete, Shivaji Maharaj started walking towards the royal court, where an ornate throne was waiting for him.

**Enthronement**

The royal court, where Shivaji Maharaj was going to formally and ritually ascend his newly made throne was lavishly decorated. The throne itself was a rich creation with its eight pillars studded with numerous gems and other precious stones. The royal umbrella that would be held over his head whenever he would sit on the throne was studded with gems as well and its frills were made of strings of pearls. Sabhasad, the historian describes the throne in these words: “The throne is cast in 32 maunds of pure gold and gems and other precious stones from the royal treasury are studded into it.” Sir Jadunath adds, “32 maunds of gold translate into about 14 lakhs rupees with the cost of the gems over and above it. Perhaps, he had the Mayur Simhasan of the Delhi Court in his mind when Shivaji Maharaj got his own made.”

Henry Oxinden has described the scene of Shivaji Maharaj’s enthronement quite vividly. He says, “We saw several royal insignia and symbols of power atop the tips
of gold plated spears on either side of the throne. On the right side of the throne there were two gold fish heads with large teeth. On the left were several horse tails and at the tip of a valuable spear dangled a gold scale, signifying justice.”

The walls of the royal court were painted with auspicious symbols and images. From the roof, long strings of pearls cascaded and at the entrance there were two elephants decked up with gold ornaments and jewellery.

As the royal court was all set up and keenly waiting for the enthronement ceremony, Shivaji Maharaj entered it along with his council of eight ministers, other officials, a host of scholars and his mother. When he reached the throne, he bowed before it in obeisance and then, to the accompaniment of the Vedic mantras for the occasion, embarked on it. The ministers, officials and everyone else took their designated seats after him. As soon as Maharaj sat on the throne, once again there was a loud roar of the musical instruments. The cannons on Raigad were fired to mark the enthronement. Their sounds echoed all over the state as cannons on one after another all the forts under Shivaji Maharaj’s command boomed, announcing to the world that the king of Marathas has become ‘Chhatrapati’. That he has been officially enthroned now. All those who were present in the court at that time showered the Chhatrapati with golden flowers and auspicious flakes. Their laudatory hails to Shivaji Maharaj rent the air. Prime Minister Moropant offered ritualistic bow to Maharaj and showered 8,000 gold coins (hoari) on his head. The other ministers in the council then emulated him. The officials bowed in front of the enthroned Shivaji Maharaj one by one. The ritual of circling lamps around the face of Shivaji Maharaj was repeated with the lamps kept in golden plates. Finally, Gaga Bhatt placed the pearl-plumed and gem studded royal crown on the head of Shivaji Maharaj. Then he lifted the royal umbrella with pearl frills over the head of Maharaj and held it high and at the same time, he made the formal announcement that Shivaji Maharaj was now an enthroned and official king.

Blessings, gifts and charitable donations

Shivaji Maharaj was now an enthroned king. He once again bowed before and touched the feet of mother Jijabai, priest Gaga Bhatt and other scholars as well as elders in obeisance and sought their blessings. Thereafter, in order to pay his obeisance to all the gods and goddesses installed on the fort by visiting their temples, Shivaji Maharaj mounted the bejeweled elephant. General Hambirrao Mohite himself
became the mahout of the royal elephant for this occasion. Prime Minister Moropant Pingale held the *morchel* (a decorative hand-held piece made of peacock feathers). To the accompaniment of auspicious musical band Shivaji Maharaj left in a procession and visited all the temples on Raigad. Along the way, he was showered with flowers. Then he returned to the royal court.

At that time, the envoys of the English, Dutch and Portuguese rulers were present in the court. These representatives bowed before Shivaji Maharaj and offered him their gifts. Shivaji Maharaj spent enormous amount of money in charitable donations at this time. He gave away hefty sums to saints, sadhus, poor, orphans, artistes, scholars etc, people from all walks of life and all strata of the society in the form of alms or fees. He spent 24,000 hons (the then currency) on the donations. The ritual of donations that started on 7th June 1674 continued for the next 12 days. Chief priest Gaga Bhatt was paid 7,000 Hons as his fee. During all these days, food was donated freely to anyone who came to visit the fort. No one who visited Raigad in this period returned empty handed. According to Sabhasad, in all ‘one crore forty two lakh Hons’ were spent on the coronation ceremony.

Thus, the coronation ceremony of Shivaji Maharaj was a ‘never before or after’ kind of event. Shivaji Maharaj became a sovereign king. Unfortunately, just about 10-12 days after the ceremony, on 18th June 1674, Jijabai, mother of Shivaji Maharaj passed away. Rajmata Jijabai, who had nursed the dream of liberating her motherland from the slavery ever since she gave birth to Shivaji and had hoped to see her son become a sovereign ruler of the native population some day, passed away as soon as her dream became a reality. However, she could see her son ascend the throne and a sovereign state of the Marathas come into existence. Sir Jadunath Sirkar has compared Jijabai with Gautami, mother of Andhra king Satkarni.

### 3.2.1.3 Significance of the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj

1) **The natives got a king**

The native people of India had suffered a lot under the oppressive rule of the Muslim rulers for centuries. They had no one to go to. In this situation, Shivaji Maharaj crowned himself as a king and declared that he is an enthroned king. With the coronation he didn’t merely become the king of Marathas of Southern India or a king of Hindus; he became a king of all the Indians. In him, the people of entire India, all the natives of India got their own independent and sovereign king. After the
end of the Vijayanagar Empire, Shivaji Maharaj was the first to humble the oppressive rulers and prove the superiority of the sons of soil.

2) Shattering the myth of earth being cleansed of Kshatriyas (warriors)

Krishna Nrusimha Shesh, a scholar, had written a book by the name ‘Shudrachar Shiromani’ during the time of Akbar. In that book he had propounded a theory that Parashuram had purged earth of the people of the Kshatriya varna 21 times. Going by this theory there was no Kshatriya left on earth and there is no way the native people would have a king among them; this was the myth prevalent in the society at that time. Shivaji Maharaj wanted to remove this inferiority complex and shatter the myth. Therefore he took efforts to unearth all the evidence of his having Kshatriya ancestry and proved the fact at the time of his coronation. In doing so, he had to overcome the resistance of the religious authorities. His coronation proved that there are Kshatriyas on earth, after all, and that Maharaj himself was one of them. This shattered the myth of earth being exterminated of the Kshatriyas. The fact was reassuring not just for the Hindus but for the entire population of India.

3) Challenge to the Muslim powers

Through his coronation, Shivaji Maharaj posed a challenge to all the Muslim rulers of the country. The natives were depressed and demoralized after the destruction of the Vijayanagar Empire. Shivaji Maharaj’s thoughts of independence reignited the fire in the minds of the people. Maharaj’s coronation rekindled their hopes. The entire nation began looking up to Shivaji Maharaj as the strong power of the natives that had successfully challenged the Muslim rulers. The unbridled power of the Muslim kingdoms of the time was shaken because of this. In this context the words of historian Malhar Ramrao Chitnis are quite eloquent. He says, “On learning that Shivaji Maharaj has been enthroned, the ruler of Bijapur got frightened but pretending happiness he sent clothes, jewellery, elephants, horses etc to Shivaji Maharaj as gift. The ruler of Delhi was incensed and felt humiliated.”

4) Creation of an independent and sovereign state

With the coronation, Shivaji Maharaj created an independent and sovereign kingdom in the Deccan. In an era in which powerful rulers like Adil Shah and Nizam Shah had become subservient to the Mughals, the kingdom of Shivaji Maharaj was independent and sovereign. The coronation gave it a political and religious stature. Another thing that deserves consideration here is that Shahajiraje, father of Shivaji
Maharaj had reestablished the independent rule of the Nizam Shah but had refrained from ascending that throne himself. Shivaji Maharaj went a step further than his father. Not only did he establish his own separate kingdom, he even had the coronation ceremony performed for himself. This was a mark of his achievement.

5) Building a state with religious approval

Shivaji Maharaj had created his independent state long before the coronation ceremony. By then, he had set up an efficient administrative and military system. He had with him the cavalry, infantry, navy, treasury, forts and a government system, all of which are important elements of an independent state. However, the ritual of coronation gave this state a religious and cultural stature. The ceremony was the crowning glory of his government system. This event helped him revive the nationalistic culture through religious approval.

6) Assurance of good governance

Shivaji Maharaj was very keen that the state he founded should give good governance to the people. Only the head of a sovereign state could create such a benevolent government. Shivaji Maharaj assured the people at the time of his coronation that he would rule them as per the principles of justice and lawfulness. About this assurance, historian Prof. R. V. Oturkar writes, “In this ceremony Shivaji Maharaj vowed in witness of gods, holy fire and his teachers to rule by being lawful. Through this he promised the people not just political independence but good governance as well. This was the salient feature of this coronation ceremony. No one had forced him to do this; it was his own will and wish.”

7) Creation of a governed society

The coronation of Shivaji Maharaj did not merely create a religion based state. It also created a governed society. Because of it the authority of Shivaji Maharaj was established at all levels and in all classes of the society. Now he could officially and authoritatively punish even a Brahmin criminal as per law and as per the religious rights. He could also deliver justice in issues concerning religious matters. All the legal and moral obstacles in the way of his rule were thus removed because of the coronation. As the king, all the classes, castes and religions officially came in the purview of his status as a ruler. His authority over the people got a religious, moral and legal stamp. The society in his state thus became a governed society.
8) **The constitutional value of the coronation**

The constitutional value of his coronation allowed Shivaji Maharaj to create a Constitution for his state. The duties and responsibilities of the Eight Minister Council was the most important part of this Constitution. While some of the ministers were appointed before the coronation took place, their duties, rights and responsibilities were fixed afterwards. Shivaji Maharaj gave their positions Sanskrit names and thereby removed the grip of Persian language on Marathi. For himself he chose the title ‘Chhatrapati’ and not the traditional title ‘Vikramaditya’ drawn from the name of an ancient Hindu king. This implied that all the people subscribing to all religions and belonging to all castes are now under his care (Chhatra), that they would be treated justly and that they would be protected by him. His title thus had a constitutional value as well.

9) **Beginning of a new epoch**

The coronation of Shivaji Maharaj heralded a new epoch in the history of medieval India. In order to preserve the significance of the coronation, he even established an era starting with the day of his coronation and called the first year ‘Rajyabhishek Shak’. To establish an era implies beginning of a new age. Therefore, with the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj a new age began in the Indian society and politics. Likewise, Shivaji Maharaj also introduced a new, separate currency of his independent kingdom. He set two denominations Shivrai (made of bronze) and Hon (made of gold). He also enacted new laws in the civil, military, religious and legal fields. At that time the writing style carried a deep influence of Muslim writing. Shivaji Maharaj changed this and introduced a new Marathi style writing system. For that he assigned the job of writing a book called ‘Lekhan Prashasti’ to explain the new system, to a bright secretary under him by the name Balaji Avji Chitnis. At the same time to eradicate the strong influence of the Persian language on Marathi, he had an erudite scholar, Raghunath Pandit create the official language dictionary or Rajvyavahar Kosh. Through it, he introduced and brought into practice Sanskrit based terms in his administration instead of the Persian terms. He also refined the Marathi language used in the official correspondence and communication.

This shows how by getting himself coronated as Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj not only achieved political independence, but also started an entirely new epoch by creating independent, new systems at social, religious and cultural levels.
3.2.2 Karnataka campaign

The most successful campaign of Shivaji Maharaj in his career was the campaign he undertook in Karnataka. It also enhanced his reputation. This campaign he undertook in the year 1677 turned out to be very rewarding. The importance of his enthronement as Chhatrapati and his greatness was announced to the world by this campaign. The Karnataka campaign has a special place in the history of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj.

Chhatrapati Shivaji undertook the Karnataka campaign after his coronation. This campaign essentially expanded the Maratha Kingdom from the western seacoast to the three non-Marathi speaking regions of Telugu, Tamil and Kannada speaking people. In this campaign, Shivaji Maharaj made inroads right up to the coastal area in the Southeast, which was hundreds of miles away from Raigad, and achieved spectacular success. This is the reason why he is often compared with European conquerors like Alexander and Julius Caesar.

Objectives of the Karnataka campaign

1) Renewing the Glory of the Vijayanagar Empire

The Islamic invasions had annihilated the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. Severe defeat in the battle of Talikot and the resultant crumbling of this Hindu Empire was etched in the memory of the Hindus of south India. After the Empire was destroyed, many small feudal states like Jinji, Tanjavur, Bidnur, Mysore had cropped up in Karnataka. These states wasted their resources in fighting each other. Shivaji Maharaj intended to bring these smaller Hindu states together and use their combined strength to challenge the Islamic power in Karnataka. About this, historian Shejwalkar says, “Right since the coronation, Shivaji Maharaj was planning to instill a feeling in the southern Hindus that he has revived the Vijayanagar Empire which had become extinct. This would have helped him fight the Mughals coming from North... He asked Vyankoji to take over Vellore, the last capital of Shriranga (the last heir of the Vijayanagar dynasty) along with the royal throne of the erstwhile empire. However, Vyankoji did not do it. Therefore, Shivaji Maharaj decided to do the job himself and for that reason, he undertook the said Karnataka campaign.”

2) Share of the ancestral feudal land (Jagir)
A large part of the Jagir owned by Shahajiraje was in Karnataka. He had two Jagirs, one in the Pune region in Maharashtra and the other in the Bangalore region in Karnataka. Of them, Shivaji Maharaj had inherited only the small Jagir of Pune, which consisted of 3-4 provinces. Shivaji Maharaj had expanded it on his own strength. However, by the time of his death, Shahajiraje had created a vast Jagir for himself in the Bangalore region that included the areas like Kogar, Hoskote, Chikkaballapur, Doddabellapur, Sire, Chikkanaikanhali and Kanakgiri. As per the Hindu system of inheritance, half of this Jagir should have come to Shivaji Maharaj. However, even after many years after the death of Shahajiraje, Vyankoji disregarded the repeated requests of Shivaji Maharaj for his share. In the end, Maharaj realized that he would have to go to Karnataka himself to get his share.

3) Protection of the Maratha areas in Karnataka

In his lifetime Shahjiraje had attempted to bring all the Hindu rulers in Karnataka together and establish Maratha rule there. He had even set up his capital at Bangalore. However, later on Vyankoji shifted it to Tanjavur. This offered a great opportunity to the ruler of Mysore to expand his kingdom. In this way, gradually, Vyankoji kept losing areas from his grip and the Jagir of Shahjiraje began shrinking. Shivaji Maharaj felt it necessary to stem the rot. So he decided to launch a campaign in Karnataka and win back the parts of Shahajiraje’s Jagir in the North and Central Karnataka.

4) To replenish the treasury

The grand ceremony of coronation had virtually emptied the treasury of the state. Lakhs of Hons had been spent and Shivaji Maharaj did not want to recover the money by levying additional taxes on the common people. Also, geographically, he did not have a very large area under his control. The land in Maharashtra was not very fertile either. Obviously, Shivaji Maharaj’s attention was drawn by the rich and prosperous coastal Karnataka. Invaders have been collecting enormous loots from this region since ancient times. The seacoast of Madras was in fact known as the ‘Land of gold’. There were gold and diamond mines in that area. The residents of the area had hid staggering amount of wealth underground. All this wealth was waiting for some brave and adventurous king like Shivaji Maharaj. As such, plundering this land to replenish the state coffers was the objective behind his campaign in south.

5) To create a new state
The motive behind Shivaji Maharaj’s Karnataka campaign was not merely gathering wealth. He also wanted to create a new state outside Maharashtra in Karnataka. The Mughals were present on the Northern borders of Maharashtra. On the East and South, there was Adil Shah’s kingdom. Shivaji Maharaj had already taken as much area from these two powers as he could. In order to expand further, he would have had to conquer Bijapur and take over all the area under its rule. However, this wasn’t an easy task. For this reason, Shivaji Maharaj focused his attention on the Madras coast, which was only nominally under Adil Shah. This is the region where he decided to create his new state. Also, according to Riyasatkar Sardesai, it was an age-old Indian tradition that after coronation the king sets out on winning more territory all around his kingdom (digvijay). Therefore, Shivaji Maharaj undertook the southern campaign after coronation.

6) To put a check on Adil Shah

While defending and expanding his own state in Deccan, Shivaji Maharaj had to fight the Mughals on the north front and Adil Shah on the south. It was essential that at least one of the two enemies were weakened. Therefore, if he captured Adil Shah’s land in Karnataka and opened another front for him, it would weaken the latter. According to historian V.C. Bendre this was the motive behind the Karnataka campaign. He writes, “If the Bijapur power was to be permanently tamed, it was clear that creating another strong enemy for it in Karnataka and then attacking it from both sides, Marathas from Maharashtra side and the other power from the Karnataka side would checkmate Adil Shah and it wouldn’t be long before he gives up.” From this, one can say that Shivaji Maharaj’s Karnataka campaign was to check Adil Shah.

7) To provide for future

The Karnataka campaign is a proof of Shivaji Maharaj’s foresight, for he knew very well that the real enemy of his kingdom was the Mughal Emperor. The Emperor could decide to come down to South himself someday. If that happened and if the Mughal army were to be successful in ousting him from Maharashtra, this Maratha king had to have some safe haven outside Maharashtra where he could stay. From there he could look after his state. This was the reason why Shivaji Maharaj decided to win the land on the Madras coast that was 500 miles away from Maharashtra. How accurate he was in his thinking becomes evident in the situation that developed in Maharashtra after the death of Sambhaji Maharaj. His brother Rajaram Maharaj had
to actually leave Maharashtra and take refuge in the Jinni Fort in Karnataka. Besides, Shivaji Maharaj also wanted to create two separate states for his two sons and he intended to pass on the kingdom in Maharashtra to the younger son Rajaram while the elder one, Sambhajiraje would get the one in Karnataka. In this way Maharaj wanted to provide for both his sons, as Sabhasad says in his *bakhar*.

1) The political chaos in Karnataka

After the defeat of the Vijayanagar ruler, the empire disintegrated in Karnataka. The provincial heads of the erstwhile empire became independent and a number of small feudal states of Hindu Nayaks came into existence. Neither Adil Shah nor Qutub Shah could establish complete control over these nayaks. Commanders of these Muslim rulers like Randullah Khan, Mustafa Khan, Shahajiraje had acquired much of the territory of the nayaks but there was no single rule in that region. As a result many of the Hindu nayaks had retained their independent existence. However, all their energy was being spent on conflicts with each other. Around the same time, there was internal strife even in the court of Adil Shah with many of his commanders and officers crossing swords against each other. Qutub Shah was planning to take advantage of this situation and annex the territory belonging to Adil Shah in Karnataka to his own kingdom. Really speaking it was Madanna, the Hindu diwan of Qutub Shah, who was pursuing the idea of acquiring the territory of Adil Shah in Karnataka. Madanna and his brother Akanna, the General of Qutub Shah’s army, were quite shrewd and capable whereas Qutub Shah himself lacked these qualities.

2) The role of Raghunath Pandit

Even as the plans of taking over Adil Shah’s territory in Karnataka were being discussed in the court of Qutub Shah, Raghunath Pandit, the administrator of Vyankoji landed there. Raghunath Pandit was the son of Naro Trimal Hanmante, a servant of Shahajiraje. He went on to become the chief administrator of Vyankoji. However, he developed differences with his master so he quit Vyankoji’s court and under the guise of going to Kashi for a pilgrimage, went to Bijapur, to Adil Shah. When he saw the disorder and internal conflicts that prevailed there, he promptly left Bijapur and came to Qutub Shah. The ruler himself and his diwan Madanna welcomed Raghunath Pandit enthusiastically. Later, when Madanna revealed his plans to acquire the Karnataka part of Adil Shah’s kingdom to Raghunath Pandit, he too joined hands with him. However, Madanna informed Raghunath Pandit that
Qutub Shah wasn’t capable enough to undertake such a mission and feared that even if he did actually set out on it, the Mughal Emperor would not take it kindly. At the end of the discussion both, Madanna and Raghunath Pandit agreed that if anyone could do this job successfully, it would be the Hindu king from Maharashtra, Shivaji Maharaj. The plan also received acceptance from Qutub Shah. It was then decided that Shivaji Maharaj would launch a campaign against Adil Shah in Karnataka and Qutub Shah would provide him his support. After the campaign, all the land that Shivaji Maharaj would acquire, he would give it to Qutub Shah and retain all the wealth that he collects in the campaign. Raghunath Pandit then left from there for Maharashtra, to explain the plan to Shivaji Maharaj.

3) Usefulness of Raghunath Pandit

When Raghunath Pandit came to meet Shivaji Maharaj, the latter was on Panhala Fort. He was still recuperating from an illness. While he was at Panhala taking rest, he was thinking of the campaign to undertake after the coronation ceremony. That Raghunath Pandit should meet him precisely at such time, was opportune timing. Raghunath Pandit informed Maharaj about the overall political situation in Karnataka, the politics of Qutub Shah and the stature of Madanna in the court of Qutub Shah, all of which were favorable for undertaking the Karnataka campaign. He also assured Maharaj that he would gain enormous wealth and rich territories in this campaign. Shivaji Maharaj was in need of a tactful and knowledgeable person who was well versed with the politics in Karnataka, so he decided to make use of the experience and knowledge of Raghunath Pandit to the full.

The overall atmosphere in the country was favorable

While planning an ambitious campaign like this, Shivaji Maharaj took stock of his rival powers and the overall political situation and atmosphere in the country. The atmosphere seemed quite favorable to him. Although Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb was still in Delhi, a large part of his army was engaged on the Northwest front. The Mughal subedar of the South, Bahadurkhan had been at war with Shivaji Maharaj for the past two years and appeared to be fed up of this constant fighting and had undertaken a campaign against Adil Shah instead. At such time, he couldn’t afford to go against Shivaji Maharaj. Similarly, in the court of Adil Shah the Pathans and the Muslims from South were up in arms against each other. Bahadurkhan had sided
with the Southern Muslims in this internal conflict. In this situation even Adil Shah couldn’t go to war with Shivaji Maharaj. Therefore, if Shivaji Maharaj acquired its territory in Karnataka, the kingdom of Adil Shah could not have resisted him in an effective manner. Shivaji Maharaj planned his campaign when he judged that all these aspects were favorable for the adventure. Even before that he had started making political moves in relation to the Mughals. Now he also sent one of his shrewdest ministers, Niraji Ravji to Bahadurkhan and offered a huge amount of bribe to the Khan. Thus Shivaji Maharaj bought his loyalty. In this way, Shivaji Maharaj ensured that his North borders were safe. After this brilliantly successful move, Shivaji Maharaj sent Prahlad Niraji to Qutub Shah for negotiations. The envoy did his job well and informed Shivaji Maharaj that Qutub Shah was in favor of Maharaj’s campaign.

Meeting between Shivaji Maharaj and Qutub Shah

Qutub Shah invited Shivaji Maharaj to his court before the latter left for Karnataka. Shivaji Maharaj accepted the invitation and decided to visit Golkonda on his way to Karnataka. Before leaving on the campaign Shivaji Maharaj entrusted the entire administration of the state to his trusted ministers Moropant Pingale and Annaji Datto. At the beginning of January 1677, Shivaji Maharaj left for Golkonda to meet Qutub Shah, with an army of 25,000 men. When Maratha General Hambirrao Mohite came and joined him on the way after capturing the Kopal Fort, the strength of the Maratha army increased to 50,000. Despite the huge number, the discipline in Maharaj’s army was such that the people in Qutub Shah’s kingdom weren’t troubled at all by the army. The discipline surprised even the Qutub Shah.

When Shivaji Maharaj and his army reached the vicinity of Qutub Shah’s capital Bhaganagar (Hyderabad), Shah prepared to come out of the city himself to welcome his guest. However, Shivaji Maharaj sent a message to him saying, “You are my elder brother and I am younger. Please do not come forward to welcome me.” Shivaji Maharaja’s humility overwhelmed the Qutub Shah. Then his diwan, Madanna came to receive Shivaji Maharaj and Maharaj entered the capital with great respect.

In this regard Sabhasad says, “Patshah (King) had the entire town decorated. There was sprinkling of saffron water all over the town on the roads, welcome banners, flags and placards were raised everywhere. The citizens of the town
gathered in hordes to see Shivaji Maharaj. The women came out to give a traditional welcome to him and showered gold and silver flowers on him.”

When they met, Qutub Shah embraced Shivaji Maharaj. They both sat on the same seat. Shivaji Maharaj presented ornaments studded with gems and fine quality clothes to Qutub Shah and honored him.

Describing the meeting in more detail, Sabhasad writes, “The wives of the Patshah saw Maharaj from the small windows and were very impressed.” Qutub Shah himself heard the stories of amazing feats of Shivaji Maharaj like Afzal Khan’s killing, surprise attack on Shahiste Khan, plundering Surat, Maharaj’s visit to Agra etc from him. At this time, Shivaji Maharaj was accompanied by eminent diplomats and army generals like Raghunath Pandit and his brother Janardan Pandit, Hambirrao Mohite, Yesaji Kank, Suryaji Malusare, Sonaji Naik, Manaji More and Prahlad Niraji. Qutub Shah honored them all with gifts of ornaments and clothes.

After this meeting, Shivaji Maharaj and Qutub Shah discussed the agreement regarding the Karnataka campaign. The accepted terms of this agreement were -

1. Shah would pay Shivaji Maharaj 3000 Hons per day towards his expenses and give an army of 5,000 men along with his artillery to help him.
2. In return Shivaji Maharaj would give the territory he would acquire to Shah, except the lands of Shahajiraje.
3. Both the rulers would help each other when fighting against the Mughals.
4. Shah would pay Rupees 1 lakh per year as protection money and accept a representative of Shivaji Maharaj in his court.

Capture of the Kopal Fort

When Shivaji Maharaj was on his way to meet Qutub Shah before setting off on the Karnataka campaign, a part of his army had gone to capture the fort of Kopal in Karnataka. This fort held the key to the region between rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra. To have the fort in one’s control was essential for safety in Karnataka. Therefore, Maharaj sent Hambirrao Mohite and Dhanaji Jadhav to capture this fort. The caretakers of this fort were two Pathan brothers by the name Hussein Khan Miyana and Abdul Rahim Khan. The Maratha army captured the Kopal Fort in January 1677 by killing Abdul Rahim Khan and taking Hussein Khan as prisoner.
We have already seen that this army then went and joined Shivaji Maharaj on way to Golkonda.

Capture of the Jinji Fort

Shivaji Maharaj paid obeisance to Shri Shailya Mallikarjun and Tirupati, the two well known South Indian holy places and reached Poddapolum on the Madras coast. From there, he corresponded with the English in Madras. The Englishmen gifted some things and medicines to cure poisoning. From Poddapolum itself, Shivaji Maharaj dispatched a cavalry of 5,000 soldiers to capture the fort of Jinji. The fort was managed by Adil Shah’s commander Nasir Mohammad Khan. On approaching the fort, the leaders of the Maratha army asked Nasir Mohammad to surrender and hand over the fort to them. At that time, Nasir Mohammad was not too happy with Adil Shah, he immediately agreed. The Marathas then gave him some cash and a jagir of Rupees Fifty Thousand. On 13\textsuperscript{th} May 1677, the Marathas took over this extremely important fort.

As soon as Shivaji Maharaj learned of successful capture of Jinji Fort, he came over to Jinji. He then immediately arrangement for the efficient administration of the fort. He also initiated the construction work of some of the protective walls of the fort. He constructed a few new buildings on it and thereby fortified it. The fort of Jingi was made of three forts and all the three forts were joined together by means of a strong protective wall. The geo-political importance of this fort was such that whoever controlled this fort controlled the coastal region of Madras. Therefore, once this fort was under their control the Marathas took control of the Madras coast in no time. Shivaji Maharaj appointed Rayaji Nalge the caretaker of Jinji Fort and Vitthal Pildev Atre the Subhedar of the Jinji region. In this way Maratha rule began at Jinji in Karnataka.

Capture of the Vellore Fort

Like Jinji Fort, the Vellore Fort was another important fort in the Karnataka-Madras region. Shivaji Maharaj himself led his army in capturing this fort. The fort was looked after by Adil Shah’s commander Abdul Khan. Soon Shivaji Maharaj realized that it wasn’t going to be easy to capture this fort. Also, he didn’t have enough supplies with him to launch an open attack on it. So he decided that he would lay siege on the fort. Accordingly, he gave a 2000 men strong cavalry and a 5000 strong army to a commander named Narhar Rudra and asked him to lay siege.
Shivaji Maharaj himself then went to fight another commander of Adil Shah, Sher Khan. The caretaker of Vellore Fort sustained the siege for 14 months but in the end, his soldiers started dying due to starvation and disease. Finally, he was forced to surrender to the Marathas when a mere 300 soldiers survived from 2,300 soldiers which were with him in the beginning. Shivaji Maharaj rewarded him with a small Jagir and 30,000 Hons.

**Defeat of Sher Khan Lodhi**

Sher Khan Lodhi ruled the territory south of Jinji. The French in Pondicherry used to help him. It was because of Sher Khan’s support that the French were able to set up their Residency in Pondicherry. Sher Khan had a cavalry of 3,000 men and an army of 4,000 with him. On the contrary, Shivaji Maharaj had a cavalry of 12,000 and an army of several thousands. Yet Sher Khan was hoping to resist and defeat Shivaji Maharaj. However, the arrival of Shivaji Maharaj had demoralized his army men. Sher Khan was instigated by his advisors to go to battle with Shivaji Maharaj. As a result, a battle took place between Sher Khan and Shivaji Maharaj near Tiruwadi. In this battle Sher Khan’s army was badly defeated and Sher Khan himself fled. Hundreds of horses and a lot of equipment of Sher Khan fell into the hands of the Marathas. In the end, Sher Khan surrendered and handed over all the territory controlled by him along with the major posts to Shivaji Maharaj. He also agreed to pay a fine of 20,000 Hons. Thus, Sher Khan Lodhi’s land became a part of Shivaji Maharaj’s kingdom.

**Breach of Shivaji Maharaj - Qutub Shah Agreement**

We have seen that there was an agreement between Shivaji Maharaj and Qutub Shah before Shivaji Maharaj undertook the Karnataka campaign. According to the agreement, Shivaji Maharaj was supposed to hand over all the lands and forts he won to Qutub Shah. Therefore, when the Marathas captured Jinji Fort, Qutub Shah’s officers requested Shivaji Maharaj to hand it over to them. However, Shivaji Maharaj thought it too dangerous to hand over such an important fort to Qutub Shah. He refused. By doing this, Maharaj breached the agreement. Qutub Shah then responded by stopping the assistance of 3,000 Hons per day. Shivaji Maharaj recovered the expenses of his army by collecting lakhs of Hans from the wealthy people on the Madras coast and by taking protection money of 25 lakh Hans from the Nayak of Mahure on the south of river Cauveri.
Shivaji Maharaj and Vyankoji Raje

While he was capturing one region after another in Karnataka, Shivaji Maharaj was in correspondence with his brother, Vyankoji Raje. Shivaji Maharaj had asked Vyankoji Raje to settle the dispute regarding their ancestral Jagir amicably. He also invited his brother for discussion about it. After securing a guarantee of his safety, Vyankoji Raje came to meet Shivaji Maharaj with his cavalry of 2,000 men. Maharaj welcomed Vyankoji Raje and took him to his camp. Shivaji Maharaj raised the topic of division of the Jagir and demanded half of all the land and treasury owned by Shahajiraje at the time of his death. In response, Vyankoji Raje demanded half of the Shivaji Maharaj’s kingdom in Maharashtra. Shivaji Maharaj explained to him that barring the Jagir of 40,000 Hons near Pune, he had won the rest of the kingdom on his own, so Vyankoji Raje cannot demand a share in that. However, Vyankoji Raje didn’t seem to be interested in settling the dispute amicably. Then Shivaji Maharaj kept a watch of Vyankoji Raje’s movements. This made Vyankoji Raje feel uneasy in Shivaji Maharaj’s camp. Fearing that Maharaj wanted to hold him captive, he slipped out of the camp and ran away. When Shivaji Maharaj learned about it, he was deeply hurt. He expressed his pain at the narrow minded thinking of his younger brother. This was because by then although he had captured almost the entire region north of Kolerun River in Karnataka, he had no intention of capturing the territory belonging to Vyankoji Raje on the south of the river.

Vyankoji Raje - Marathas conflict

After escaping from Shivaji Maharaj’s camp, Vyankoji Raje tried to take help of the Nayaks of Madura and Mysore and set up a union of states against Shivaji Maharaj. However, he wasn’t successful in doing it. At that time Shivaji Maharaj was on his way back to Maharashtra. In the meanwhile, the Maratha army stationed in the Madras-Karnataka region crossed the Kolerun and invaded Vyankoji Raje’s territory. Vyankoji Raje prepared for defense. While the Maratha army was 12,000 strong, Vyankoji Raje owned an army of 14,000. The Marathas were led by Santaji Bhosale whereas Vyankoji Raje himself commanded his army. On 16th November 1677 the two armies clashed. After a fierce battle that went on for one full day, the Marathas lost and ran away. However, Vyankoji Raje chose not to chase them to capture them. That night, tired with the day-long battle when Vyankoji Raje was resting, the Marathas suddenly attacked his army and defeated him completely. Hundreds of his men were killed. Three of his commanders, 1000 horses, tents and
supplies were seized by the Maratha army. Vyankoji Raje himself managed to escape from there somehow and by crossing the Kolerun River returned to his territory.

Writing about this incident Sabhasad says, “When Shivaji Maharaj learned about it, he sent a message to Raghunath Pandit and Hambirrao Mohite in Karnataka that, ‘Vyankoji Raje is my younger brother. He thought small. However, he is my brother after all. Protect him and do not take over his territory.’ On receiving this order from Shivaji Maharaj, the Maratha commanders made peace with Vyankoji Raje. As per the treaty signed at this time it was decided that Shivaji Maharaj would give away the territory to the south of Kolerun as well as some forts on the north to Vyankoji Raje. In return, Vyankoji Raje would pay protection money of 6 lakh Hons to Shivaji Maharaj. The Jinji territory and the part of Shahajiraje’s Jagir in Mysore territory that was captured by Shivaji Maharaj would remain with Shivaji Maharaj.

**Shivaji Maharaj on his way back**

Since Shivaji Maharaj had no intention to capture the territory controlled by Vyankoji Raje to the south of Kolerun River, he embarked on his return journey. On his way back, when he was camping at Tandumarti, a representative of the Dutch Residency at Thevanapattanam came to meet him. He presented many valuable things to Shivaji Maharaj. Further along the way, when camping at Vanikamwadi, Shivaji Maharaj asked the English to give him the assistance of their civil engineers and technicians. However, English refused saying that they were traders and did not want to get involved in the politics of the natives. Thereafter, Shivaji Maharaj captured South Arkat and North Arkat territories on the Madras coast and established Maratha rule in the captured territory. Around the same time, the news of Shivaji Maharaj’s Karnataka campaign and Qutub Shah’s assistance in it reached Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. Angered by Qutub Shah’s help to a rebel like Shivaji Maharaj, Aurangzeb started a campaign against the Qutun Shah. Knowing that the Mughal army in Maharashtra would not remain quiet any more, Shivaji Maharaj left Madras and came to Mysore territory. While passing through it he recaptured many posts in Shahajiraje’s Jagir like Kolar, Hoskote, Bangalore, Balapur, Sira etc. Then he entered the Dharwad territory and captured places like Laxmaneshwar, Bankapur etc and reached Belgaum. From Belgaum, in the beginning of April 1678, he returned to Panhala Fort.

**Importance of the Karnataka campaign**
The importance of Shivaji Maharaj’s Karnataka campaign is that he created an
large kingdom equal to the one in Maharashtra in Karnataka in just 2-9 months. 
Because of this the roots of Hindavi Swaraj spread right up to the southern part of in
the Cauvery River basin.

The campaign also brought to light his qualities like political acumen,
diplomacy, skill in warfare and spiritual outlook. Through this campaign Shivaji
Maharaj won and annexed to his kingdom a territory worth 20 lakh Hons in revenue
and about 100 small and large forts in it. He established Maratha rule on the fertile
coastal Madras and territories of Mysore. By doing this, in a way, he also revived
the memories of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Using the huge wealth obtained in this campaign Shivaji Maharaj raised large armies.
He also built several new forts in Karnataka and reinforced some old ones. Later on
he was able to fight the Mughals due to his strength. For the civil administration of
the new territories of the Swarajya in Karnataka, many Marathi families went there
and settled there permanently. This was the seed from which the concept of Greater
Maharashtra sprang forth. This Karnataka campaign was thus a glorious chapter in
the political career of Shivaji Maharaj.

3.2.3 Relations between Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, and the English and
Portuguese

Portuguese were the first european foreign power to set foot on Indian shores.
Obviously they were initially the leaders in trade with India. Along with trade, they
also began to get involved in the politics and religious activities in this country. As
early as 1510, the Portuguese had captured the Goa from Adil Shah and laid the
foundation of their rule in India. After that they also captured the territories of Sashti
and Bardesh from Adil Shah and Vasai from the Sultan of Gujarat. Soon after, they
started ruling over Diu-Daman as well as the coastal area from Chaul in Northern
Konkan till Diu. While expanding the territories under their control the Portuguese
had to fight with the other European powers as well as the natives and protect their
rule. In this process they also came into contact with Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj.

Portuguese fear of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj’s navy

Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj decided to build his own navy in order to protect
the western shores of Maharashtra and around 1658-59 started building his fleet of
ships in the Kalyan-Bhiwandi harbor. For building the first few ships he hired Portuguese artisans. When the Portuguese learned about it, they recalled their people. However, Shivaji Maharaj continued to build the ships. Some of the warships he got built in the harbors of Bhiwandi, Kalyan and Panvel. As his naval power went on increasing, the Portuguese became alarmed. They tried to prevent Shivaji Maharaj’s ships from coming out of the harbors. They wanted to nip the Maratha Navy in the bud. In this respect, in the year 1667, the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa wrote to the King of Portugal, “I dread the navy of Shivaji because since we didn’t take action against him in the initial stages, he has built forts on the seashores and today, he has many boats.”

**Naval battle with the Portuguese**

In the year 1665, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj undertook a naval campaign and plundered the town of Basnur on the Karwar coast. While returning from the campaign, his navy clashed with the Portuguese navy. This conflict had arisen because the Marathas had intercepted the Portuguese ships carrying food supplies on their way to Goa. Denise, the son of Viceroy of Goa was the commander of the Portuguese fleet at that time. The armadas of both clashed in the sea near Murgaon and the Portuguese captured 13 boats of the Marathas. Later on, after correspondence between Shivaji Maharaj and the Portuguese, the boats were returned to Shivaji Maharaj.

**Portuguese - Siddi join hands against Shivaji Maharaj**

In 1659, the Siddi invaded the territories of Shivaji Maharaj. In this, the Portuguese helped him by sending him the supplies. The Portuguese Viceroy had decided to help the Siddi secretly against Shivaji Maharaj. This is how the Portuguese - Siddi joined hands against Shivaji Maharaj. Further on, in 1667, Siddi openly accepted being under the aegis of Portuguese. In 1670, the Portuguese entered into a treaty with Shivaji Maharaj as well. However, soon they found it increasingly difficult to continue to be friendly with the powers like Shivaji Maharaj and Siddi who were in conflict with each other. So when Shivaji Maharaj laid a siege to the Janjira Fort controlled by Siddi in 1671, the Portuguese sensed the threat to their territory in Chaul. To prevent Janjira from falling in the hands of Shivaji Maharaj, they supplied ammunition to Siddi. In this way, in spite of having a friendship treaty with the Marathas, the Portuguese helped their enemy Siddi in secret. Moreover,
when Shivaji Maharaj undertook to fortify the small island of Khanderi, like the English, even the Portuguese felt threatened and they helped the English by supplying them food and other equipment in their effort to deter Shivaji Maharaj from his fortification work. If the Marathas had fortified Khanderi it would have spelt danger for their Vasai territory.

**Portuguese instigate the Desais**

After Shivaji Maharaj conquered South Konkan, the Desais in that region, instead of cooperating with Shivaji Maharaj chose to seek refuge in Goa. From there, they began creating frequent disturbances in Shivaji Maharaja’s territory. In 1664, when Shivaji Maharaj engaged with Khawas Khan, a commander of Adil Shah and defeated him, Desais like Lakham Sawant of Kudal, Keshav Naik of Pedne, Keshav Prabhu, Khalu Shenvi of Dicholi fought on the Khan’s side. When they were defeated they joined the Portuguese. Shivaji Maharaj attacked Goa after he realised that the Portuguese were instigating the Desais to create disturbances in Maratha territory.

**Shivaji Maharaj’s attack on the Portuguese**

The Portuguese missionaries were carrying out large scale forced conversions in the Bardesh region near Goa. In one year they had converted four thousand Hindus into Christians in Bardesh. At the same time, the Portuguese Viceroy had issued a decree and ordered all the Hindus to leave the territory within two months. Shivaji Maharaj wanted to stop these religious atrocities. Also, Narba Sawant, a Desai under the tutelage of the Portuguese had entered Maratha territory in Vengurle and created disturbances there. Therefore, Shivaji Maharaj launched an attack on the Bardesh region with an army of 6,000 men in order to punish the Sawant and the Portuguese. The Maratha army plundered the villages in Bardesh for three days. They killed three missionaries and a few Christians engaged in atrocities. Undeterred by the Viceroy of Goa and his naval fleet, the Marathas took 1,300 prisoners with them. Narba Sawant himself survived because of Portuguese protection.

**Portuguese - Shivaji Maharaj Treaty**

The Portuguese signed two treaties with Shivaji Maharaj in 1667 and 1670. Shivaji Maharaj had already taught a lesson to the Portuguese for their misdeeds by invading Bardesh. He needlessly did not want to continue his enmity with the Portuguese. On 15th December 1667, the two parties signed a peace treaty. As per the
treaty it was agreed that the prisoners of war and cattle that Shivaji Maharaj had confiscated when he had invaded Bardesh would be returned to the Portuguese without any ransom. Also, the goods and cattle that would be sent from Balghat to Goa and would pass through Bardesh and Sashti Mahal areas would not be stopped and no taxes would be levied on them. The same would apply to the goods going from Goa to Balghat. There would be a good friendship between the two parties on sea and on land. And in case, Shivaji Maharaj wanted to make any important deal with the Portuguese Viceroy, he could do it through a trusted person.

After this treaty, in 1668, Shivaji Maharaj had once planned to conquer Goa. However, since he did not find the circumstances favorable at the time, he continued his friendship with the Portuguese. In the year 1670 there was another friendship treaty between Shivaji Maharaj and the Portuguese. The clauses of this treaty were as follows -

1) The Marathas and the Portuguese would return the ships of each other which had been captured.
2) The Portuguese would grant same concessions to Maratha ships on the sea as those given to the Mughal ships. The Maratha ships would not need to obtain Portuguese permit
3) Maratha officials would not obstruct trade between Goa and the Ghat regions
4) The Marathas would not build forts near the Portuguese borders
5) The Viceroy of Goa would mediate between Marathas and the Siddi to broker peace between the two

The Demand of Chouthai from the Portuguese

The Portuguese used to pay Chouthai or a quarter share of income to the Koli king of Ramnagar for not plundering the Daman region. This was a kind of a ransom. Later on, in 1676, when Shivaji Maharaj conquered the Ramnagar kingdom, he asked the Portuguese to continue to pay that amount to him. However, they were not prepared to do that. Shivaji Maharaj sent two envoys to Goa for the settlement of Chouthai account but the Portuguese refused to acquiesce. Shivaji Maharaj realized Realizing that Portugues would not toe the line without use of force. He contemplated an invasion of Goa. However, he died before he could initiate any action.
While reviewing the Shivaji Maharaj - Portuguese relations, the opinion of historian Dr. Pisurlekar is important. In his famous book ‘Portuguese - Maratha Relations’ Dr. Pisurlekar writes, “Towards the end, Shivaji had an eye on the Portuguese. After capturing Fonda, taking Goa wasn’t much difficult for him.... it wasn’t wise to take and fight Mughals and the Portuguese at the same time. Because of this Shivaji avoided war with the Portuguese. The Dutch in Vengurla have written that he used to hate the Portuguese.”

Likewise, the then Portuguese Governor says, “Because of Shivaji’s death this state has become free from worry. He was more intimidating in peace time than in war time.” From this we can see the terror Shivaji Maharaj had created in the minds of the Portuguese.

Relations between Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and the English

Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had to fight with powers like Adil Shah and the Mughals. He also came into contact with several foreign powers as well. At times Shivaji Maharaj made peace with and took help from the foreign powers like the English, French, Portuguese and Siddis and at other times, he cut their wings and kept them on leash. Among them his relations with the English and the Portuguese showed his political acumen, foresight and diplomacy. Therefore, the relation between Shivaji Maharaj and the English and Shivaji Maharaj and the Portuguese have special importance.

Initial confrontation between Shivaji Maharaj and the English

The first confrontation between Shivaji Maharaj and the English took place in 1660. The chief of the English Residency in Rajapur, Revington interfered in a loan dispute between Rustum Zaman, commander of Adil Shah in Rajapur and Timaji, a broker from the same place and captured the ships owned by Abdul Kareem, an officer of Rustum Zaman. At that time, Rajapur was under Maratha rule. Therefore, the Marathas ordered the English Resident to hand over these ships along with the cargo to them. However, since Revington declined, the Marathas captured and imprisoned Balaji, an agent of the English, and Gifford, one of their officers. Revington wrote a letter to Shivaji Maharaj requesting him to release the two men. In this letter he promised that he would help Shivaji Maharaj in capturing Dandarajpuri town which was in the possession of the Siddi. Taking a long term political view Shivaji Maharaj ordered the release of the two prisoners. Thus, the first
confrontation between Shivaji Maharaj and the English took place because of the excess committed by the latter.

Immediately the next year, in 1661, there was another face off. When Shivaji Maharaj was stuck on the Panhala Fort because of the siege laid by Siddi Johar, the English resident of Rajapur supplied arms and ammunition to Siddi Johar. Not just that, they also joined the forces of Adil Shah and under their own flag and bombarded Panhala with cannon balls. Shivaji Maharaj in order to punish the English plundered the English residency in Rajapur and captured four English officers in 1661. Shivaji Maharaj kept the officers in the prison at Vasota, then Songad and finally, at Raigad since the English refused to pay ransom for their release. Later he freed them; however he didn’t pay the English any compensation for the plunder of the Rajapur residency. Since the English were well aware of their military limitations, they did not take any action against Shivaji Maharaj.

**Plunder of Surat and the English**

Shivaji Maharaj invaded Surat twice. The first occasion was in 1664, when he looted this wealthy town. However, at that time he had decided not to bother the European settlements, so he did not touch the English Residency in Surat. Yet, when the Marathas ransacked the mansion of a wealthy trader, Haji Sayyad Baig and tried to set it on fire, the English came out of their residency and captured the mansion of Haji Baig. Therefore, the Marathas - English confrontation became inevitable. Nonetheless, Shivaji Maharaj did not want to waste time in this pointless conflict, so he ignored this misadventure by the English. Later, in 1670, Shivaji Maharaj invaded Surat again and that time too, the Maratha army and the English residents crossed swords. But once again, the Marathas backed off to avoid protracted conflict with the English.

**Shivaji Maharaj asks for ammunition from the English**

On both the occasions in Surat, Shivaji Maharaj had avoided conflict with the English because he wanted cannons and ammunition from them. He needed them to conquer Janjira from the Siddi. In 1671, he sent his envoy to the English in Bombay. However, they refused. Shivaji Maharaj requested cannons from the English a number of times time. In 1674, he again sent his envoy to Bombay and asked for 40 to 50 canons. However, the English refused because they feared that helping Shivaji Maharaj would anger Aurangzeb.
Negotiations for compensation

In 1662, the army of Shivaji Maharaj had looted the Rajapur Residency of the English. They were demanding compensation for the same from Maharaj. They sent their envoy Stephen Ultik to Shivaji Maharaj. The envoy negotiated with Maharaj and made a peace agreement. After that the Marathas ransacked even the Hubli Residency of the English. Shivaji Maharaj had not yet paid the compensation for the Rajapur Residency so the English in Bombay sent envoy Thomas Nicholas to meet him. Nicholas too failed in his mission. Maharaj told him that he would send his envoy to Bombay and sent him back. Close on the heels of Nicholas, an envoy from Shivaji Maharaj went to Mumbai. There, after much negotiation he agreed to pay a compensation of nine thousand Hons and it was decided that there should be a peace agreement between the two parties. However, in the meanwhile preparations for the coronation ceremony had begun on Raigad. The English decided to use this occasion to send Henry Oxinden as their envoy to Raigad. Even then the issue of compensation for the Rajapur incident was not completely settled. Shivaji Maharaj did not show much inclination in settling the issue. Just as the English kept refusing the supply of canons and ammunition, Shivaji Maharaj reciprocated in a similar manner with regard to payment of the compensation.

Peace treaty between Shivaji Maharaj and the English

English envoy Henry Oxinden reached Raigad on 22nd May 1674. After the coronation ceremony he signed a treaty with Shivaji Maharaj on 12th June 1674. Some of the clauses in the treaty were as follows:

1) The enmity between both sides should end and neither side would engage in practices like ransacking, ambush etc in any territory.

2) The English should have a complete freedom of movement, residence and trade within the kingdom of Shivaji Maharaj. In turn the English should pay regular octroi tax to Shivaji Maharaj and obey his government.

3) At the time of his campaigns, Shivaji Maharaja’s men should not sack the English residencies whether they were in the Mughal or any other territories. In case such a thing happens, Shivaji Maharaj should compensate the English.

4) Both parties, if they intercept the goods of each other on high sea, should return the same to each other on production of proof of ownership.
5) The English should pay 2% Octroi on all imports and exports
6) The English should have a complete freedom of sale and purchase
7) In case the English engage in battles against the Dutch, French, Portuguese etc, Shivaji Maharaj should not help the enemy party.
8) Concessions similar to those given by Shivaji Maharaj to the English citizens in Bombay should be given to the Swarajya citizens by the English

Naval conflict between Shivaji Maharaj and the English

Towards the end of his life, there was a naval conflict between Shivaji Maharaj and the English. Shivaji Maharaj undertook to build a fort on the small island of Khanderi to the north of Janjira to keep a check on the Siddis. The English objected to this. The English felt that it would be a threat to Bombay if the Marathas build a fort on Khanderi. Therefore, in order to prevent the small island from falling in the hands of the Marathas, the English attacked Khanderi on 18th September 1679. However, the Marathas repelled them successfully. The English returned and using their navy laid a siege on the small island of Khanderi. Shivaji Maharaj sent Daulat Khan with his fleet to break the siege. At this time, Siddi’s navy came in to help the English. However, the combined force of the English and Siddi could not effectively counter the Maratha navy. In this battle the English kept losing their manpower every day. Their expenses also started mounting. So they decided to sign a treaty with Shivaji Maharaj. Accordingly, in 1680, a treaty was signed between the two sides. As per the treaty it was decided that Khanderi would remain with Marathas, the English would recall their navy and would not help Siddi in any way in his efforts to take Khanderi. Thus, in the end Shivaji Maharaj emerged victorious in the battle with the English.

It appears that Shivaji Maharaj did want an open enmity with the English. He wanted to make use of the modern weaponry, ammunition and technology of the English. However, at the same time, he did not fail in giving a fitting reply to the English every time they opposed him. In other words, Shivaji Maharaj handled the English with tact.

3.3 Specialized terms and their meanings

1) Revival - To establish again
2) **Digvijay** - Victory in all directions
3) **Native** - Of this country
4) **Sovereign** - Having highest power

### 3.4 Self Study questions Fill in the blanks

1) Shivaji Maharaj launched the Karnataka campaign in the year ..... 
2) Hindu kings in Karnataka were known as ..... 
3) Vyankoji Raje moved his capital from Bangalore to ..... 
4) Karnataka was under the rule of..... Shah 
5) Name of Qutub Shah’s diwan was ..... 
6) Coronation of Shivaji Maharaj took place on date ..... 
7) ..... said that “... a Maratha King becoming Chhatrapati is not an ordinary incident...” 
8) ..... propounded a theory that there is no Kshatriya left on the earth 
9) The family of Gaga Bhatt was originally from the _____ village in Maharashtra 
10) The English representative _______was present for the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj

### 3.5 Exercises

A) **Answer in one sentence.**

1) What was the name of Vyankoji Raje’s administrator? 
2) With whom Shivaji Maharaj sign an agreement during the Karnataka campaign? 
3) Which was the first fort that Shivaji Maharaj captured in Karnataka? 
4) Whom did Shivaji Maharaj appoint as the caretaker of the Jinji Fort? 
5) On which fort did the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj take place? 
6) Who is the author of the Sabhasad Bakhar?
7) Which book propounded for the first time the theory that the earth had being purged of the Kshatriyas?

8) Who was the Prime Minister at the time of the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj?

9) How many maunds did the throne in the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj weigh?

B) Descriptive questions

1) Explain the objectives behind Shivaji Maharaj’s Karnataka campaign.

2) Describe in detail the movements of Shivaji Maharaj and events during the Karnataka campaign.

3) Evaluate the achievements of Shivaji Maharaj by explaining the importance of the Karnataka campaign.

4) Write a detailed note on the conflict between Shivaji Maharaj and Vyankoji Raje.

5) What were the relations of Shivaji Maharaj with the English and the Portuguese? Discuss.

3.5 Exercises

1) Enumerate the reasons behind the coronation ceremony of Shivaji Maharaj and describe how it was celebrated.

2) Describe in detail the coronation ceremony of Shivaji Maharaj.

3) Elaborate on the significance of the coronation of Shivaji Maharaj.

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1.0 Objectives

After the studying this unit you will…
1. understand the reign of Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj.
2. gain information about struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals during his reign
3. get knowledge of Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s relations with the foreign powers.
4. understand the struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals during the reign of Chhatrapati Rajaram.
5. get information about the struggle of Jinji.
6. be able to know about the activities and contribution of Maratha generals like Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav.
7. get knowledge about the Maratha war of independence during the reign of Maharani Tarabai

1.1 Introduction

The period between the years 1681 and 1707 is known as the period of the Maratha war for independence. It was Chhatrapati Shivaji who for the first time had the courage to revolt against the oppressive and unjust regime of the
Adil Shahi and Mughals. He laid the foundation of Swarajya. He founded a welfare state and promoted good of the common people. After his untimely death in the year ___ the whole responsibility of ‘Swarajya’ fell on Chhatrapati Sambhaji who sacrificed his life for protecting the Maratha ‘Swarajya’. His sacrifice did not go in vain, it inspired the common people to fight against Mughal emperor Aurangzeb who wanted to destroy the Swarajya. However, Aurangzeb could not achieve his objective even though he made great efforts. He died in 1707 without achieving any notable success. The Maratha ‘Swarajya’ was preserved due to the valiant and fearless struggle given by Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Chhatrapati Rajaram and Maharani Tarabai against the Mughals.

Chhatrapati Sambhaji was tortured and killed mercilessly by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in 1689. This incident enraged the Marathas. Their wrath strengthened their resolve the resist the Mughal efforts to establish control over them.

In this unit we will learn about the efforts and contribution of Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Chhatrapati Rajaram and Maharani Tarabai in protecting the Maratha ‘Swarajya’ by resisting the Mughal army

1.2 Subject

4.2.1 a) Chhatrapati Sambhaji (1681-89)

- Childhood and Education:

  Sambhaji Maharaj was the eldest son of Chhatrapati Shivaji and his wife Saibai. He was born on 14 May, 1657 at Purandar fort. His mother Saibai died within a short period of two years after his birth. After the death of his mother Saibai on 5th September, 1659, Chhatrapati Sambhaji came under the direct care of Rajamata Jijabai. Chhatrapati Sambhaji grew under the fond care of Rajmata Jibabai who imparted all the wisdom and idealism to her grandson. As Sambhaji Maharaj grew up Chhatrapati Shivaji arranged for giving instructions to him in the Sanskrit language and literature. Keshav Bhat and Umaji Pandit were given the task of imparting education to the young Sambhaji Maharaj. Chhatrapati Shivaji himself imparted the principles of politics and warfare to Sambhaji Maharaj. Chhatrapati Shivaji took Sambhaji Maharaj with him to Agra in 1666 for the historical Agra visit. Many references about Sambhaji Maharaja’s representation in Mughal darbar along with Niraji Raoji and Prataprao Gujar are found in contemporary documents. From 1671 Sambhaji Maharaj started looking after the political affairs of the Maratha kingdom. He was given the political position of ‘Yuvraj’ (prince) at
the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji’s coronation. He enthusiastically took part in
the discussions with foreign trade delegations a reference to which is found in
the letters of British merchants based at the trading port of Surat.

Marriage:
The first marriage of Sambhaji Maharaj took place in 1661 with Yesubai
Shirke of Shirke Deshmukh family. He also married Durgabai, but little
information is available about his second marriage. He had two children from
his marriage with Yesubai -Bhavanibai, a daughter and Shivaji, a son. This
Shivaji was none other than the later Chhatrapati Shahu.

Political Scenario and family discord:
Chhatrapati Shivaji became aware of the discord in his family on the eve of
his departure for the Karnatak expedition in 1677. Chhatrapati Shivaji kept
Sambhaji Maharaj behind at Shrirangpur and left for the expedition. Sambhaji
Maharaj wrote the sanskrit book ‘BudhBhushan’ during his stay at
Shrirangpur. The attitude of Soyarabai, who was the step mother of Sambhaji
Maharaj seems to have left a very bitter impression upon his mind. He always
felt that he was being ignored by his father and that Soyarabai was constantly
poisoning Chhatrapati Shivaji’s mind against him. During the absence of
Chhatrapati Shivaji, out of a sense of bitterness and frustration at the bitter
treatment he had received from his step mother, he entered into
A correspondence with Dilerkhan, a Mughal general. He suddenly deserted to
the Mughals in 1678. His action disturbed everybody. Dilerkhan along with
Sambhaji Maharaj invaded Bhupalgad, Mangalwedha, Jalgiri. Tikote and
Honwad.

Sambhaji Maharaj soon became disgusted with the attitude of the Mughals
with regards to the Hindu people. He left the Mughal camp and returned home
in 1679. He made his way to Panhala where he met Shiva. Historian Kamal
Gokhale writes in her book on Chhatrapati Sambhaji: ‘the relations were
changing positively, but unfortunately Chhatrapati Shivaji died on April 3,
1680 which worsened the whole atmosphere’.

Internal Conflict:
After the sudden death of Chhatrapati Shivaji the family discord took a turn
for the worse. The references of the discord between Chhatrapati Sambhaji
and Soyarabai are found in contemporary documents. Soyarabai was an
ambitious woman, who wanted to coronate her son Chhatrapati Rajaram as the
successor of Chhatrapati Shivaji. At time of Chhatrapati Shivaji’s death,
Chhatrapati Sambhaji was camped on Panhalgad. However, Soyarabai and
Chhatrapati Shivaji’s ministers did not give the news of Chhatrapati Shivaji’s
death to Chhatrapati Sambhaji. Moropant Pingle, the Prime minister, and Annaji Datto assisted Soyarabai to throne Chhatrapati Rajaram. This widened the rift between Chhatrapati Sambhaji and Soyarabai. Chhatrapati Sambhaji was put under house arrest. He was kept under watch. Soyarabai and Annaji Datto were successful in placing Chhatrapati Rajaram on the Maratha throne on April 21, 1680.

- **Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s Accession:**
  Though the family discord had worsened the common people and the Maratha soldiers were on the side of Sambhaji Maharaj. Sambhaji Maharaj was able to identity and prevent the spies of Annaji Datto and Moropant Pingle from giving away information. The opposing party even tried to arrest Sambhaji Maharaj with the help of Hambirrao Mohite, the Sarsenapati, but he remained loyal to Sambhaji Maharaj. Though Sarsenapati Hambirrao Mohite was the brother of Soyarabai, he remained staunchly loyal. Chhatrapati Sambhaji arrested the ministers, Annaji Datta and Moropant Pingle and seized Raigad on 18th June, 1680. Later, Sambhaji Maharaj pardoned everyone who had conspired against him. He coronated himself on Magh Suddha 7 Shake 1602 (January, 1681) as the Chhatrapati. From his accession till his death (1681-1689) his reign was very eventful.

- **Conflicts with the Mughals:**
  The war with the Mughals had not ended with the death of Chhatrapati Shivaji, in fact it had intensified a lot. Chhatrapati Sambhaji sent his armed forces in the Mughal territory as the Mughals were busy in fighting with Rajputs.

- **Sack of Burhanpur:**
  Within a few weeks after the beginning of the monsoon rains, the Maratha troops struck a deadly blow against the Mughals. One unit of the Maratha army attacked Khandesh and another attacked Burhanpur. The army which attacked Burhanpur was led by Hambirrao Mohite, the Sarsenapati. Burhanpur was the rich and populous capital of the Mughal province of Khandesh. Hambirrao Mohite and his army sacked Burhanpur for three days and the loot was kept under tight security in the Salher fort.

- **Movements in Aurangabad and surrounding area:**
  The sack of Burhanpur came as a severe shock to the Mughals. It was in fact not only a loss of property but also honor for Aurangzeb. Meanwhile, the Marathas attacked Aurangabad also. In his book historian Bhimsen Saxena says, ‘the Marathas terrified the Mughal provinces by attacking Ahmednagar, Nasik, Golconda, Warhad, Khandesh and even Aurangabad’.
• Arrival of Mughal Prince Akbar in the South:

Aurangzeb sent his army to seize the Rajputana province after the death of Rajput king Jaswant Singh (Jodhpur) in 1679. But the Rajputs faced the Mughal attack with courage and the conflict was prolonged for a number of years. Prince Akbar advised Aurangzeb not to fight the Rajputs and adopt a policy of tolerance towards them. However, Aurangzeb did not heed his advice and continued the war with the Rajputs. This resulted in the revolt of Prince Akbar against Aurangzeb. Prince Akbar rallied for the support of the Rajputs against his father. In 1681, Akbar fled to the south along with Rajput commander Durgadas Rathore, to seek the support of Chhatrapati Sambhaji. Later, the Mughal Prince stayed at Pali, Lanja, Sakharpa, Vishalgad and Malkapur. He supported Chhatrapati Sambhaji during his expedition of South Konkan. Aurangzeb was very furious when his own son joined hands with the Marathas, so he left his capital for Deccan with all his forces.

Chhatrapati Sambhaji wrote many letters to Rajputs and requested them to help Prince Akbar against Aurangzeb, but they did not respond. On September 8th 1681, the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb left for Deccan. His rebel son Akbar had sought refuge with Chhatrapati Sambhaji against him. As Aurangzeb had arrived in the Deccan with a formidable force, Chhatrapati Sambhaji could not pay much attention to Akbar’s request for help. In the opinion of historian V.C. Bendre, ‘Chhatrapati Sambhaji sent general Dhanaji Jadhav and Durgadas Rathore to the north to stop Aurangzeb. After 1683, Prince Akbar tried to ally with Portuguese, but he was frustrated because he could not move towards north. So he left India through route and reached at Muscat and lived there till his death in1704.’

• Arrival of Aurangzeb in the Deccan:

Aurangzeb faced the most serious challenge in his life as his own son had rebelled against him and had joined forces with the Marathas. In order to destroy the whole Maratha Swarajya, Aurangzeb marched towards Deccan, and stayed there till his death in 1707. The struggle which took place between the Marathas and the Mughals during this period is well known as the Maratha war of independence.

• The struggle for Konkan:

The Mughals attacked the Maratha territories as they marched in Deccan. Muazzam, Bahadur Khan, Chinkilij Khan, Hasan Khan invaded the Maratha territories in all possible directions. In addition to it the Siddi of Janjira attacked the Maratha territory in Konkan. Chhatrapati Sambhaji tried to capture Konkan, but he failed. Hasan Ali Khan seized north Konkan by
capturing Kalyan and Bhivandi. Bahadur Shah plundered Shivpur. In 1682 Chhatrapati Sambhaji left for Raigad by giving the charge of the expedition against the Siddito Dadaji Raghunath.

• Ramsej Fort Conflict:
This fort is near Nasik. In order to capture this fort Aurangzeb sent his top generals like Shahabuddin, Baahadur Khan and Kasim Khan. But they could not succeed. Rupaji Bhosale and Manaji More who led the Maratha forces on the fort led fought fiercely and defeated the Mughal troops (1682).

• Kalyan-Bhivandi Conflict:
Hasan Ali Khan had conquered the provinces of Kalyan and Bhivandi, but he could not retain it. Therefore, Aurangzeb appointed Ranmast Khan and later Ruhulla Khan to capture Kalyan and Bhivandi. However, they too were unsuccessful. At last in 1683 the Mughal troops retreated from the territory. Rupaji Bhosale and Moro Nileshwar showed an extraordinary courage and retained Maratha control over Kalyan-Bhivandi

• The conflict between 1681-84:
During this period a number of severe clashes happened between the Marathas and the Mughals at places like Tembhurni, Naldurga, Dharur, Udgir, Sarangpur, Songaon, Ahmadnagar, Jalna, Pedgaon and Patoda. Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Hambirrao Mohite, Dhanaji Jadhav and Timaji Pawar showed an extraordinary vigour and vitality in fighting the Mughals. They collected ‘Chouthai’ i.e. ¼ of the revenue and Mankoji Ballal collected a large amount of loot. In these clashes, sometimes the Marathas won, while at other times the Mughals won.

In 1685 skirmishes took place between the Marathas and the Mughals at Chakan, Lohgad, Bijapur, Kolhapur, Satara and Miraj. Mamud Khan and Shahabuddin Khan made some movements in Supe, Baramati, Indapur territory. Here also the Marathas fought fiercely against the Mughals. Chhatrapati Sambhaji could not pay attention to the military action as the skirmishes took place at number of places at a time.

• Prince Muazzam’s invasion of South Konkan (1683-84):
Aurangzeb realised that the Mughals had failed to get much success in Deccan even though they were fighting at a number of fronts. He himself moved from Aurangabad to Ahmadnagar in order to get a decisive victory. He took the charge of troops and prepared to lay siege to the Maratha Swarajya from all directions;

As per the plan of Aurangzeb, Azam Khan and Bedar Bakht were to attack from Nasik region, Sarbuland Khan- through Bahadurgad, Ruhullah Khan by
the Nira river, Baramand Khan from Ashti region, Mamhud Khan via Baramati and Indapur, Shahbuddin Khan from Pune side. Also, Prince Muazzam was to invade Maratha territory from the direction of Belgaum. In order to implement the plan Muazzam arrived in South Konkan with huge military force. But the Marathas took to guerrilla tactics and looted the provisions. Many skirmishes took place at Malvan, Vengurla, Kudal, and Sawantwadi. It caused a great loss to the Mughals. Chhatrapati Sambhaji himself led the valiant Maratha soldiers. They cut down the food supplies of the Mughals. Khafi Khan describes the circumstances as follows: ‘Muazzm suffered a lot in south Konkan. Majority soldiers were either killed in guerrilla war or starvation and sudden spread of diseases. Nearly 1/3 of the troops lost their life. Elephants, horses, camels and mules also succumbed.’

Muazzam left the unsuccessful invasion of south Konkan and returned to Aurangabad in May, 1684. Thus the grand Mughal invasion ended in disaster.

• The End of AdilShahi of Bijapur:
  The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb had failed to achieve any success against the Marathas in Deccan from 1681-85. So he turned his attention towards Bijapur. Aurangzeb arrived at Solapur from Ahmadnagar. In April, 1685 the Mughals under leadership of Bahadur Shah and Ruhullah Khan besieged Bijapur fort. Chhatrapati Sambhaji tried to give support to people by assisting them against the Mughals. Aurangzeb himself arrived at Bijapur on June 14, 1685 and brought the Bijapur under his control on September 12, 1686. The Adilshah of Bijapur surrendered. One of the major powers of the Deccan thus came to an end.

• The End of Qutubshahi:
  The Mughals had invaded Golconda in 1685, when they had besieged Bijapur. After destruction of Adilshahi of Bijapur, Aurangzeb concentrated his attention on Golconda. The Qutubshah faced and challenged the Mughals with courage, but a dissident group of nobles joined the Mughal troops. Hence, Qutubshah’s resistance became weak. The Mughals defeated and imprisoned the Qutubshah. Thus, the Qutubshahi of Golconda ended unexpectedly on 21st September, 1687. In this way Aurangzeb destroyed the southern Muslim powers. Meanwhile, a fierce war between the Mughals and the Marathas was on at Satara, Wai and Karad. The general of the Marathas army Hambirrao Mohite fell in the battlefield while he was fighting with the Mughal Sardar Shahja Khan. This was a major blow to Chhatrapati Sambhaji and the Maratha Swarajya.
• Chhatrapati Sambhaji and his external relations:

1. Portuguese: Chhatrapati Sambhaji had a number of military encounters with Portuguese as the boundary of Maratha territories were unto Goa. The reasons of the conflicts were:
   i) The Portuguese favoured the Mughals more than the Marathas.
   ii) The complaints against the Mughal Subhedar Moroba Dadaji.
   iii) Infiltration of Portuguese in Dicholi province.
   iv) Portuguese sent many letters to Aurangzeb, about the siege of Konkan province and offered their help.
   v) The Portuguese tried unsuccessful to besiege the ‘Ponda Fort’.

Due to above reasons, Chhatrapati Sambhaji had the conflicts with Portuguese, though both the sides did not achieve any notable success. These conflicts took place at Anjdeev Island, Chaula- Fonda and Goa during the years 1683-84. In 1684, a treaty was signed between the Marathas and the Portugeuse in presence of Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Prince Akbar and Kavi Kalash. The treaty was about territory, ships, prisoners and Chouthai of Daman etc. From 1687-89 the relations of Portugeuse and the Marathas deteriorated. With the help of the Desai Sardars, the Portugeuse infiltrated Dicholi, Pedne, Ponda and Karwar regions. The Desai Sardars along with the Khem Sawant, Lakham Desai, Ram Dalvi and Dulba Naik created disturbances in Konkan with the assistance of the Mughals and Portugeuse. Thus Chhatrapati Sambhaji never had cordial relations with Portugeuse.

2. Relations with Siddis of Jangira:

The relations of Chhatrapati Sambhaji with Siddis were not friendly as they helped Portugeuse to conquer Konkan and assisted the rebel sardars of the Marathas. Moreover, Siddis had created disturbances, when Swarajya was being attacked by other powers. Also, the Siddis unnecessarily extorted revenue (chouthai) from some regions of the Swarajya. In addition, Aurangzeb during his Deccan expeditions had ordered Siddis to be hostile to Chhatrapati Sambhaji. The Marathas and Siddis had a number of conflicts during the years from 1680 to 1687. In August 1680, the Siddis invaded and plundered the Underi island and Chhatrapati Sambhaji fought against them till July, 1681.

In December 1681, Chhatrapati Sambhaji fiercely attacked Janjira with a large army. The Marathas conquered Dand Rajpuri, but unfortunately could not win Janjira. Prince Akbar and Dadaji Raghunath accompanied Chhatrapati Sambhaji in this expedition. This expedition ended without result as Hasan Khan marched towards north Konkan with a large force. The Siddis attacked the Maratha armadas in Dabhol and Nagothane in 1682. The Maratha armadas
repelled this attack. In 1687 Siddi Sardar Kasim entered in Kolva region. Chhatrapati Sambhaji could not control the movements of the Siddis as Aurangzeb had himself arrived in Deccan. Therefore, the Marathas could not succeed as far as Siddis were concerned. Thus, the Siddis of Janjira had proved troublesome to Marathas in a number of ways.

3. Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s relations with English:

The Maratha-English relations became more friendly as a result of a revolutionary change in the management of the East India Company which took place at Bombay in December, 1683. However, in reality English provided all sorts of assistance to the rivals of the Marathas on one hand and showed keen interest on maintaining good relations with Chhatrapati Sambhaji on the other. Chhatrapati Sambhaji wrote many letters to English asking them not to assist the Siddis however the English did not heed his requests. Hence Chhatrapati Sambhaji sent his envoys (vakils) Awaji Pandit and Niraji to discuss with English, but the discussion were not fruitful. The Marathas conquered the regions around the English factory at Bombay. This forced the English to sign a memorandum of understanding with the Marathas. The provisions of this memorandum of understanding were as follows:

1. English could not spread Christianity.
2. No human trafficking for the purpose of slavery.
3. English should only trade in the Maratha provinces.
4. English could establish the trade centre only after taking proper permission
5. English should pay 2.5% octroi tax to the Marathas.
6. No octroi tax was to paid on goods for export.
7. The English and Marathas should not fight each other.

• The Sacrifice of Chhatrapati Sambhaji:

The period between 1685 to 1689 was a very chaotic period in the history of the Marathas. Many Maratha sardars were fighting with each other. Chhatrapati Sambhaji wrote many letters to these sardars and told them the importance of the unity during such chaotic situation. Aurangzeb had appointed various commanders to conquer Deccan. Mattabar Khan was in Nasik and Baglan province, while Muazzam was marching towards Konkan through Chakan. Firuz Jung, Zulfiqar Khan was planning to attack Raigad, the capital of the Maratha kingdom. Shaikh Nizam Muqqarrab Khan had reached Karveer and Panhala. During such helpless situation, many Maratha nobles were supporting the Mughals against Chhatrapati Sambhaji. Moreover, in 1688 two incidents took place in Maratha Empire which intensified the
disorder- the rebellion of Shirke and the treachery of Prahlad Pant and others at Raigad. The trusted aide of Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Kavi Kalash tried to resolve the situation, but did not succeed. Chhatrapati Sambhaji was engaged in resolving the matters of Deshmukh and Deshpande after breaking the revolt of Shirke. Shirke was not ready to resolve the issue. In January 1689 Chhatrapati Sambhaji was trapped by the Mughal sardar Shaikh Nizam at Sangmeshwar when he was on his way back to Raigad along with Kavi Kalash.

The capture of Chhatrapati Sambhaji by the Mughals proved to be a turning point in the history of the Deccan. When Chhatrapati Sambhaji was captured, Aurangzeb was at Bahadurgad. The Mughals carried out inhuman torture of Chhatrapati Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash. They insisted on their conversion to Islam. The Mughals killed Chhatrapati Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash on 11th March, 1689.

The Maratha people mourned the sad death of Chhatrapati Sambhaji who was mercilessly tortured and killed by the Mughals.

• Estimate of Chhatrapati Sambhaji:

The reign of Chhatrapati Sambhaji was from 1681 to 1689. This period was marked by chaos, unrest and fighting against the enemy. Chhatrapati Sambhaji had to take care of many things at the same time. He had to secure the Swarajya, to control the enemy, to look after the civil and military administration, to lead the armed forces, to give refuge to Prince Akbar, to check the movements of Siddis, English and Portugeuse etc. Chhatrapati Sambhaji successfully preserved Swarajya and Swadharma in very adverse conditions. For this purpose he sacrificed his life. He ignited the spirit of freedom among the Marathas. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, who wanted to conquer the Maratha could not do so. Chhatrapati Sambhaji was very valiant and brave king. By giving refuge to Prince Akbar he gave certain example of his vision. He assisted Adil Shah and Kutub Shah when Aurangzeb arrived in the Deccan. He was aware of the importance of the navy. Chhatrapati Sambhaji was also an accomplishd writer. He wrote the books like, ‘Budh Bhushan’, ‘Nakha Nikh’, and ‘Sat Sattak’etc. His sacrifice for the sake of Swarajya ignited the flame of patriotism, Swarajya and swadharma.

4.2.2 Chhatrapati Rajaram (1689-1700)
The Maratha people were shocked by the way Chhatrapati Sambhaji was tortured and killed by Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb started to capture the forts of Maratha power one by one in order to destroy the Maratha power. The treatment given by Aurangzeb to Chhatrapati Sambhaji inspired the Marathas to resist the onslaught of Aurangzeb. The Marathas kept fighting against the Mughals with determination in order to secure their independence. The Marathas gave a number of reversals to Aurangzeb. Though the Maratha did not have strategic guidance and financial support after the death Chhatrapati Sambhaji, they used guerrilla tactics and maintained their freedom. The war which was started in 1681 ended only in 1707 with the death of Aurangzeb. After Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s sacrifice Chhatrapati Rajaram and Maharani Tarabai led the Marathas.

• Childhood of Chhatrapati Rajaram:

The year 1689 was a catastrophic year in the history of the Marathas. They were completely stunned by the torture and subsequent death of Chhatrapati Sambhaji. The Mughals took advantage of this and captured the principal Maratha forts such as Purandar, Raigad, Torna, Rohida, Lohgad, and Pratapgad. Chhatrapati Rajaram was the youngest son of Chhatrapati Shivaji. He was born on 24th February, 1670 at Raigad. Soyarabai was his mother. His maternal uncle and Sarsenapati of the Maratha forces Hambirrao Mohite trained Chhatrapati Rajaram in warfare and politics. Chhatrapati Rajaram married Janakabai, the daughter of the late Prataprao Gujar, Sarsenapati of the Maratha. Chhatrapati Sambhaji had kept him under house arrest during the problem of succession.

• The Coronation:

After the sad demise of Chhatrapati Sambhaji, the age old diplomat Yesaji Kank with the help of all other ministers coronated Chhatrapati Rajaram on 9th February, 1689 at Raigad. Maharani Yesubai, Prince Shahu, Santaji Ghorpade, Khandoji Ballal, Manaji More, Changoji Katkar and Pralhad Pant Niraji were present on the occasion. All these officials decided to fight with the Mughals under his leadership. Maharani Yesubai avoided discord within the family by agreeing to enthrone Chhatrapati Rajaram than Shahu. She had a plan against the Mughals:

i) She would stay at Raigad and secure it.
ii) Chhatrapati Rajaram would lead the forces.
iii) The Mughals would be troubled with guerrilla tactics.
iv) Chhatrapati Rajaram should march to Karnataka and fight against the Mughals.
This was the military diplomacy of Yesubai which brought all the Maratha warriors together once again. Historian G.S. Sardesai has written, ‘the thing, which Chhatrapati Sambhaji could not achieve in his life, was achieved after his death.’ The spirit of Swarajya ignited once again in the Maratha Empire.

• Mughals capture Raigad:

After the killing of Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Aurangzeb sent his maternal brother, general Zulfikar Khan to capture Raigad, the capital of the Marathas. As per the plan of Yesubai, Chhatrapati Rajaram left Raigad on April 5, 1689 for Pratapagad. The Mughals conquered many forts and provinces of the Marathas. Yesubai fought bravely with the Mughals at Raigad, but she could not succeed and in order to avoid further loss, she handed over Raigad to the Mughals on 3rd November, 1689. Zulfikar Khan took the charge of Raigad and Yesubai, Prince Shahu, members of kings family and ministers were imprisoned by him.

• Chhatrapati Rajaram at Jinji:

To avoid being besieged in Raigad, Chhatrapati Rajaram slipped out of Raigad in disguise with a small band of followers on 5th April, 1689 and through Satara and Parli reached the fort of Panhala. Ruhullah Khan besieged Panhala. Then Chhatrapati Rajaram had to leave for Jinji, the province of the eastern Karnatak on 26th September in order to go beyond the reach of the Mughals. The Maratha sardar Bajirao Kakade accompanied him and travelling through Vellore, they arrived at Jinji on 2nd November, 1689. Chhatrapati Rajaram later led the Maratha empire from Jinji, as it was a safe place.

• Reorganisation of the administration:

After reaching Jinji, Chhatrapati Rajaram reorganised the administration of the regions which were still under control of the Marathas. He appointed his own Ashta Pradhan Mandal:

i) Nilo Moreshwar- Peshava
ii) Janardhan Pant Hanmant- Amatya
iii) Shankarraji Malhar- Sachiv
iv) Balaji Sudar-Judge
v) Ramchandra Trambak- Minister
vi) Pralhad Niraji- Pratinidhi
vii) Khando Ballal-Chitnis

Besides above council, Chhatrapati Rajaram appointed the following administrative officers:

i) Parsoji Bhosale (Sena Saheb Subha)- Gondwan to Wardha
ii) Sindhoji Nimbalkar (Sar Lashkar)- territory surrounding river Godavari.
iii) Khanderao Dabhade (Sar Dhurandhar)-dominion from Gujarat to Baglan
iv) Timaji Pingle (Subhedar of Jinji)

This reorganisation of the administration of the Maratha kingdom made the people happy and strengthened their belief in Maratha independence.

• The siege of Jinji:

In 1690, Zulfiqar Khan besieged the Jinji fort. As Chhatrapati Rajaram was at Jinji, Aurangzeb moved his camp to Bijapur and monitored the siege of Jinji. But they could not capture Jinji. During this siege Mughal subhedars like Mahammad Sadik, Yachappa Naik and Lachami Nayak etc. joined Chhatrapati Rajaram. The king of Tanjavur Shahaji II also assisted Chhatrapati Rajaram. Aurangzeb sent Asad Khan and Prince Kam Baksh to Jinji as Zulfiqar Khan did not succeed. The Mughals suffered due to monsoon rains and these three generals were not able to besiege the fort. In addition to it Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav attacked the Mughals. They imprisoned Ismail Khan and Ali Mard Khan. This caused anxiety among the Mughals and rumours spread in their camp. There were disputes between Vazir Asad Khan and Prince Kam Baksh, which resulted in the imprisonment of Prince Kam Baksh by Asad Khan. The guerrilla tactics adopted by Santaji and Dhanaji resulted in large losses for the Mughals. The Marathas raided almost up to Pulicat plundering and burning everything. In September 1692 the Marathas attacked the Mughal camp with great success. The Mughals lifted the siege of Jinji and Chhatrapati Rajaram was given a lot of gold and jewellery for it by them. Thus the Mughals could not succeed in their endeavour sure to internal disagreement and the attacks of Santaji and Dhanji. As a result the lost their morale.

• Second Invasion of Jinji:

Zulfiqar Khan arrived at Bandvas and encamped there. Vazir Asad Khan left for Sagar region of Karnataka. This gave much freedom to the Marathas in Karnataka, they even carried out large scale plunder of the Mughal troops. In 1694 Zulfiqar Khan tried to besiege Jinji for second time. However, contemporary documents mention that this was done with the aim of just putting on a show. The Mughal troops had not done any successful capture besides just besieging the fort. Some skirmishes took place between the Marathas and Mughals in Tanjavur and Madras provinces. Zulfiqar Khan camped at Arkat. Santaji and Dhanaji defeated Subhedar Kasim Khan. In the second attempt too, the Mughals failed to capture Jinji.

• Third attack on Jinji and arrival of Chhatrapati Rajaram in Maratha territory:
During this period, some misunderstanding happened between the two Maratha generals Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav. Aurangzeb received the information that a cordial relationship had developed between Chhatrapati Rajaram and Zulfiqar Khan. Aurangzeb realized that Zulfiqar Khan was just passing the time and doing nothing. He sent a farman and ordered Zulfiqar Khan to capture the Jinji fort or face the consequences. Then Zulfiqar Khan realized that there was no other alternative than to capture Jinji. He had a diplomatic meeting with Chhatrapati Rajaram and requested him to leave Jinji. As per the agreement, Chhatrapati Rajaram left Jinji for Maharashtra on 30th December, 1697. Though the Mughals were able to capture Jinji, they could not capture Chhatrapati Rajaram. Chhatrapati Rajaram arrived in Maharashtra travelling through Vellore in March, 1698. Aurangzeb had longed for more than 8 years to kill Chhatrapati Rajaram and destroy the Maratha kingdom, but could not realise his wishes.

- Contribution of Santaji Ghorpade:
  Ramchandra Pant and Shankaraji Narayan were the two ministers who looked after the day to day affairs of the Maratha kingdom when Chhatrapati Rajaram was in Jinji. Santaji and Dhanaji were under their command. The contribution of Santaji and Dhanaji is invaluable in the history of the Marathas.
  i) They reinforced the territory from Patan to Vishalgad in Maratha territory.
  ii) They defeated Sheikh Nizam (Murqar Khan).
  iii) The Queen of Bednur assisted Chhatrapati Rajaram against the Mughals. Aurangzeb sent his three commanders Mutlab Khan, Jan Nissar Khan and Tahbbar Khan to avenge the Queen. But Santaji defeated all these three.
  iv) Upto 1690, Santaji and Dhanaji won the territory of Wai, Mahad and Pratapgad once again and imprisoned Ismail Khan and Ali Mardan.
  v) The Mughals camp of Satara was destroyed by them and they forced Sarja Khan to flee.
  vi) In 1695 they attacked Zulfiqar Khan in Kaarnatak and used guerrilla tactics of war.
  vii) By defeating Kasim Khan, they captured Doddari territory. They killed Himmat Khan in 1696 at Basavpattan. Santaji and Dhanaji not only defeated the Mughals commanders but killed majority of them. They struck terror in the hearts of the Mughals.

Unfortunately, due to some misunderstandings these two valiant generals had disagreement between them. This disagreement led in the murder of
Santaji. This was the great setback to the morale of the Marathas. After the death of Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadhav became the general. Dhanaji also achieved a lot under the leadership of Maharani Tarabai.

• Death of Chhatrapati Rajaram:
Chhatrapati Rajaram fought for 11 years with the Mughals. He successfully led the Marathas from Jinji and Swarajya. When he arrived in Maharashtra in 1699, he started expedition against the Mughals. Due to his friendly nature, Chhatrapati Rajaram brought all the Marathas who were earlier fighting each other. This unity proved useful in the securing the territory of Swarajya. He led Swarajya with the help and guidance of his ministers and advisors. However due to a lot of travel his health had deteriorated. He died on March 2, 1700 at Sinhgad. He was just ??? years old then.

• Evaluation of his Chhatrapati Rajaram’s reign:
Chhatrapati Rajaram led the Marathas in a very unfavourable conditions from 1689-1700. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb himself was in Deccan and he had killed Chhatrapati Sambhaji. Chhatrapati Rajaram, after Chhatrapati Sambhaji, was crowned as the Maratha Chhatrapati who protected Swarajya with help of his ministers such as Pralhad Pant Niraji, Khande Ballal, Manaji More, Nilo Moreshwar, Janardhan Hanmante, Sankaraji, Ramchandra Pant, Mahadaji Gadashwar, Pasoji Bhosale, Sidhoji Nimbalkar, Tinaji Pingle, Vithoji Chavan, Bahirji and Maloji Ghorpade, and the commanders Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav. Chhatrapati Rajaram inspired the Maratha soldiers to fight with the Mughals by honouring them with many awards and respect.

Chhatrapati Rajaram restarted the ‘Watandari System’. He gave ‘Watans’ and ‘Jagirs’ to many Marathas nobles and inspired them to fight against the Mughals. This decision proved helpful to Chhatrapati Rajaram under very unfavourable circumstances. Though the Watandari system was ended by Chhatrapati Shivaji, Chhatrapati Rajaram revived it, as the political situation of his time demanded it.

As Chhatrapati Rajaram did not get much education and training in the art of warfare and other matters, he was not a valiant warrior. Moreover he had many concerns about his health. He made Jinji the second capital of the Maratha Kingdom. He led the Marathas from Jinji. Due to his leadership the Marathas could successfully recapture the territory and forts taken from them by the Mughals.

4.2.3 Maharani Tarabai (1700-1707)
Maharani Tarabai was the wife of Chhatrapati Rajaram. She was born in 1675 and married Chhatrapati Rajaram in 1683. She was a daughter of the general of the Marathas Hambirrao Mohite, the Sarsenapat. She had first hand knowledge of warfare and political affairs. She accompanied Chhatrapati Rajaram in the Jinji expedition. After the untimely death of Chhatrapati Rajaram, she crowned her son as Chhatrapati Shivaji II and led the Marathas. She bravely faced the invasion of the Mughals.

a) Aggressive Policy of Aurangzeb towards forts:

i) Capture of Vasantgad:

Aurangzeb reached Masur on 21st November, 1699. The fort of Vasantgad was only six miles from Masur. Tarbiyat Khan was sent in advance to lay siege to the fort. The Maratha garrison fought against the attackers. Saqi Mustaid Khan, who was present at the siege, reveals the curious mixture of religious and political motives which influenced Aurangzeb in this war. He writes that ‘the Emperor ordered his tent to be pitched on the banks of Krishna, which flows at the foot of the fort at a distance of one kilometer.’ After a short fight the Marathas evacuated the fort and the Mughals captured it on 25th November, 1699.

ii) Capture of Ajinkyatara:

Aurangzeb then marched towards Satara, arriving there on 8th December, 1699. The fort was surrounded by the Mughal forces on all sides. Prince Azzamand Khudabanda Khan was posted along western face of the fort. They captured the fort on 21 April, 1700.

iii) Capture of Sajjangad:

After the siege of Ajinkyatara, Aurangzeb himself arrived to capture Sajjangad on 30 April, 1700. But the Maratha troops resisted strongly and fought bravely against the Mughals. The Marathas fought for the fort till 4th June, 1700. When the Mughals realized it was difficult to conquer the fort, they captured it on 9th June, 1700 through diplomatic stratagem. Aurangzeb then marched towards Bhushangad as the monsoon rains had started in Satara. The Marathas carried out guerrilla warfare by attacking and looting Mughal camps and killing Mughal troops.

iii) The siege of Panhala:

Prince Bedar Bakt accompanied by Zulfiqar Khan had arrived at Panhala at the end of the year 1700. The Marathas too made very strong arrangements for retaliation. Aurangzeb arrived at Panhala on 9th March, 1701. The Marathas once again threatened the base camp of Bramhapuri. Dahnaji Jadhav, Raniji Ghorapde and Hanmantrao Nimbalkar attacked various Mughal camps at
Ashta, Shirala and Islampur. Aurangzeb soon realized that it is difficult to lay siege to Panhala, hence through diplomatic talks and by taking cash, the Marathas surrendered Panhala to the Mughals on 28th May, 1701.

iv) The Siege of Vishalgad:
Aurangzeb later laid siege to the fort of Vishalgad. He guided the general Fatte Ullah Khan in the siege. The siege lasted for about four months. But the Mughals could not capture the fort. The Mughals gave cash and captured the fort of Vishalgad. Aurangzeb left for Bhushangad. The Mughal troops suffered a lot due to heavy rainfall, a shortage of food stuffs, epidemics, and guerrilla tactics of the Marathas.

b) Aggressive Policy of Maharani Tarabai:
Maharani Tarabai took aggressive steps against the Mughals. The Maratha soldiers invaded and created disturbances in the Mughal territory of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu in South and in Malwa, Gujarat in north India. The whole Mughal administration collapsed and chaos prevailed in the territory. Aurangzeb was under pressure to secure the Mughal territory in the North India. In order to capture one fort, the Mughals had to fight for eight to nine months and then the Marathas used to surrender the fort after taking huge payments in return. In this way they could just win one or two forts in a year. Moreover, after the end of the monsoon season, the Marathas used to recapture the forts which had been won by the Mughals earlier. In the years from 1702 to 1704 the Mughals captured Sinhgad, Raigad, and Torana. During that time the Marathas plundered Malva, Burhanpur, Guajrat, Baglan and Varhad. They raided in Hyderabad and Golconda regions also. Moreover, they collected huge payments from Karnataka. Aurangzeb was puzzled by all these guerrilla tactics followed by the Marathas. The Maratha army which numbered only seven thousand horses plundering and burned the suburbs of Surat, well known as the port of the Mughal empire.

• Aurangzeb’s Wakinkheda Expedition:
The Bedars of Wakinkheda revolted against the Mughals in 1704. Maharani Tarabai assisted this revolt. The Bedars were tough fighters. They were known as the best musketeers in the south. The Mughals captured a hillock known a Lal Tekri with great difficulty only to lose it the same day. Dhanaji Jadhav and Hindurao Ghorpade arrived at Wakinkheda to assist the Bedars. The Marathas made frequent attacks on the Mughal camp. Grain and fodder became extremely scare in the Mughal camp. The Mughals had suffered from similar disasters in the past. The emperor was alarmed. The Bedars kept up a pretext
of negotiating with Aurangzeb. At the end under the vigorous attacks of Zulfiqar Khan, the fort of Wakinkheda was captured by the Mughals on 27th April, 1705. Meanwhile the Marathas had recaptured Sinhgad, Lohgad and Rajmachi. Aurangzeb fell ill at Dewapur when he was on the way to Ahmadnagar. His health deteriorated.

- **Last period of struggle for freedom (1706-07)**
  
  Wakinkheda expedition proved to be the last expedition of Aurangzeb. Though he fell ill, still he continued the encounters with the Marathas. The Maratha continued to invade the Mughal territories in the North and the South at the same time. The Marathas got a great success at Malva, Delhi, Agra, Bengal, Dhaka, Gujarat, Surat, Baroda, and the regions the basin of Narmada river. The Marathas were also helped by the the quarrels between sons of Aurangzeb- Muazzam Khan, Azam Shah, and Kam Baksh.

- **Death of Emperor Aurangzeb:**
  
  Aurangzeb sent Muazzam to the North, Kam Baksh to Bijapur, and Azam Shah to Malva. He had planned to rest and take respite from the constant warfare. But he had suffered from severe illness in January, 1707. He had, however, recovered from it. He fell ill in February when he suffered from severe fever. This proved his last illness. He died on 20th February, 1707 at Ahmadnagar. During this period the Marathas recaptured the important forts of Rohida, Vasantgad, Panhala, Parli, and Satara. The Mughals put hardly any fight for these forts. In fact, the Mughals were not in the position to put up any fight. The Jats, Bundelas, Rajputs, Sikh people had revolted in north. As the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb had camped in the Deccan for more than 25 years, many Mughal Subhedars in the North had founded their own states. The Mughals eventually had to withdraw from the war with the Marathas. Immediately Tarabai transferred her headquarters from Ragna to Panhalgad and started administrating the Maratha kingdom. The Maratha war of independence had started in November 1681, when Aurangzeb had come to the Deccan with his grand army and ended in February 1707 when Aurangzeb had died.

- **Contribution of General Dhanaji Jadhav:**
  
  Dhanaji and Santaji started their military careers during Chhatrapati Rajaram’s reign. Unfortunately, the rivalry between Dhanaji and Santaji resulted in the death of the latter. However, this did not affect the course of the struggle. Dhanaji ably conducted the wars with the Mughals after the death of Santaji and brought them to a successful conclusion. It was Dhanaji who made the Mughals pay dearly for every fort they captured. It was he, who made
Zulfikar Khan marched thousands of miles on a wild goose chase. He showed his extraordinary gallantry in the battles which took place at Satara, Parli, Karad, Khatav, Mayani, Ashta, Walva, Shirala, Panhalgad and Vishalgad. He adopted guerrilla tactics to perfection and killed many Mughal soldiers and plundered the Mughal camps. Dhanaji Jadhav inspired many Maratha sardars, who helped Chhatrapati Shahu later. Under his leadership, the Maratha troops recaptured all the forts within two years of Aurangzeb’s death.

- Evaluation of the work of Maharani Tarabai:

  Maharani Tarabai successfully and bravely led the Maratha empire in a very critical situation after the untimely death of Chhatrapati Rajaram. She was very diplomatic and strong. She left the sufferings of widowhood aside and fought against Aurangzeb. She fought the Mughals from 1700 to 1707. She made the powerful Mughal emperor Aurangzeb helpless by adopting guerrilla tactics. Aurangzeb came to conquer Deccan but he died without any notable success. She was very diplomatic woman, who adopted the policy of fighting the fort for 7 to 8 months and then surrendering it in return for a huge cash payment and then recapture it after the end of monsoon rains. She sent the Maratha troops in territories ruled by the Mughals and plundered them. Aurangzeb became helpless due to unprecedented policies adopted by Tarabai. The contemporary poet Devdatta writes, ‘The honour of the Mughals was lost, the Mughal Emperor earned disgrace. A kind of great disaster in form of Marathas fell on Mughals, in which disaster the Mughals were badly destructed.’ Tarabai was very clever and aggressive. Many historians have called her Bhadrakali, Ranragini, and Soudamini. She had all qualities which a good general needed to have. She not only had good knowledge about political affairs but also knowledge about the geographical terrain and the technique of guerrilla warfare.

4.3 Glossary:

- Mutiny: revolt
- Takht: crown, throne
- Swarajya: own state
- Camp: military camp
- Doab: territory between two parallel rivers.

4.4 Self learning questions:
A) Choose the correct alternative.
1) The war which took place between the Marathas and the Mughals (1681-1707) is known as ..........
i) civil war ii) a war for successor iii) cold war iv) war of independence
2) .................laid the foundation of Swarajya.
i) Chhatrapati Shivaji ii) Chhatrapati Sambhaji iii) Chhatrapati Rajaram iv)

Maharani Tarabai
3) .................was the mother of Chhatrapati Chhatrapati Sambhaji.
i) Soyarabai ii) Yesubai iii) Saibai iv) Sagunabai
4) Chhatrapati Sambhaji was the author of the book ............
i) Budh Bhushan ii) Rajtarangini iii) Radha Madhav Vilas Champu iv)

Anupuran
5) .................crowned Rajaram Maharaj as Chhatrapati.
i) Niraji Rawaji ii) Annaji Datto iii) Keshav Bhatt iv) Umaji Pandit

B) Choose the correct alternative.
1) ...... set Rajaram Maharaj free from imprisonment.
i) Yesaji Kank ii) Tanaji Malusare iii) Vithaji Chavan iv) Damaji Thorat
2) .................was the maternal brother of Aurangzeb.
i) Ruhullah Khan ii) Zulfiqar Khan iii) Azam Khan iv) Kam Baksht
3) .................conquered the region from Patan to Vishalgad.
i) Prataprao Gujar ii) Sarsenapati Hambirrao mohite iii) Santaji Ghorpade iv)

Nilo Moreshwar
4) .................revived the Watandari system.
i) Chhatrapati Rajaram ii) Chhatrapati Sambhaji iii) Chhatrapati Shahu iv)

Chhatrapati Tarabai
5) Chhatrapati Rajaram died on ..............at Raigad.
i) March, 1 1700 ii) March 2, 1700 iii) March 3, 1700 iv) March 4, 1700

C) Choose the correct alternative.
1) .................is the safe thane of Sarsenapati Hambirrao mohite.
i) Sadashivgad ii) Vasantgad iii) Bhushangad iv) Machhindragad
2) The expedition of ..............proved to be the last expedition of Emperor Aurangzeb.
i) Satara ii) Parli iii) Panhala iv) Wakindekha

Aurangzeb died in ..............at Ahmednagar fort.
i) February 20, 1707 ii) February 21, 1707 iii) February 22, 1707 iv)

February 23, 1707
4) .................was called as ‘Bhadrakali’ by the poet Devdatta.
i) Maharani Yesubai ii) Maharani Tarabai iii) Maharani Sayarabai iv) Maharani Rajasbai
5) ______ became the capital of the Maratha empire during the Maratha war of independence.
   i) Vishalgad ii) Panhalgad iii) Parli iv) Sajjangad

**Answers of self learning questions:**
A) I) d ii) a iii) c iv) a v) b
B) I) a ii) b iii) c iv) b v) b
C) I) b ii) d iii) a iv) b v) b

**4.5 Summary:**
The Mughal-Maratha conflict started in 1656 when Chhatrapati Shivaji first raided the Mughal territory of Junnar and Ahmadnagar. But Aurangzeb had not come to Deccan during the lifetime Chhatrapati Shivaji. His aim in coming to Deccan was to crush Chhatrapati Sambhaji and capture Prince Akbar. The spirited defense which Chhatrapati Sambhaji put up frustrated the plans of the Mughal emperor. The period between Chhatrapati Shivaji’s death and Aurangzeb’s death is known as ‘the period of war of independence of the Marathas’. The capture and execution of Chhatrapati Sambhaji was a great disaster to the Maratha state. The Mughals took full advantage of the situation. But Chhatrapati Rajaram and Maharani Tarabai led the Maratha Empire and made the Mughals to realise that the Marathas could not be conquered easily. Though they had a very little experience and knowledge of diplomacy and politics, they fearlessly took on the Mughal army of Aurangzeb. The Maratha troops showed extraordinary courage in order to maintain their independence. In the end the Marathas were able to successfully resist the efforts of Aurangzeb to bring them under Mughal control.

**4.6 Exercises:**
A) Long answer type questions.
   1) Describe in detail the conflict between the Mughals and the Marathas during the reign of Chhatrapati Sambhaji.
   2) Review the relationship of Chhatrapati Sambhaji with the Portugeuse.
   3) Evaluate Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s reign.
   4) Discuss the Mughal-Maratha war during the reign of Chhatrapati Rajaram.
   5) Describe the contribution of Maratha generals Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji JadHAV to the Maratha war of independence.
B) Short Notes
1) The siege of Jinji (1690-92)
2) Chhatrapati Rajaram’s role in preserving Swarajya.
3) Santaji Ghorapde and Dhanaji Jadhav
4) Maharani Tarabai
5) Muazzam’s Konkan Expedition

4.7 Books for further reading:
Marathi:
1. Hindavi Swarajya and the Mughals : Setu Madhavrao Pagdi
2. Shivputra Sambhaji : Kamal Gokhale
3. Marathe and English : N.C. Kelkar
4. Biography of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj : V.S. Bendre
5. Relations of Portugese and the Marathas : P.S. Pisurlekar
6. Chhatrapati Sambhaji Memory Scriptures : Dr. Jaysingrao Pawar
7. Chhatrapati Rajaram : V.S. Bendre
8. Documents of Maharani Tarabai’s period: Dr. Appasaheb Pawar

English:
1. Shivaji and His Times : Jagunath Sarkar
2. Maratha-Mughal Relations, 1680-1707 : Setu Madhavrao Pagdi
3. Tarabai and Her Times : Btij Kishor