Chapter IV.

TOWARDS NATIONAL STATE.

A - 1645-1660

Introduction:

In the last chapter, we have seen how Shahaji tried his level best to become an independent king and to what extent he was successful. However, powerful Shahaji with his large army still he cannot be called as a sovereign independent king. To the last breath of his life, he was a Sardar - a vassal king of Bijapur, paying tribute, Peshkashi to Badashaha. It was left to his illustrious son Shivaji to become completely independent sovereign king. Shivaji got himself crowned, by performing that ceremony of coronation according to Hindu traditions; while Shahaji, probably had not even imagined to get himself crowned. We can note that, it would have been possible for Shahaji to get himself crowned at Bangalore. Shivaji's independence, the birth of the new sovereign state, has been duly recognised by other states, because their representatives attended the coronation - ceremony and had presented the presents to Shivaji, which were fit for that occasion. Therefore, the credit for establishing a new sovereign national state goes obviously to Shivaji.

Maharashtra Dharma:

The building up of national state is a long process.
Because nationality is a peculiar integrating force. The concept of nationality is subjective and abstract. A number of elements are responsible for creating the sentiment of nationality. Territory, race, language, history and traditions, common religion, common interest, common political associations and common hopes of political unity are the elements on which nationality is based. Nationality is a quality of corporate personality (राज्य and भाषा). The different forces that shaped this corporate personality were working from the days of Dyaneshwar, i.e. from the last quarter of the 13th century. Shivaji was the symbol of Maharashtra Dharma - which was at the root of this Maharashtra Rajya.

Elements of Nationalism - Dyaneshwar to Tukaram:

From Dyaneshwar to Tukaram and Ramdas, Maharashtra had a continuous glorious tradition of saints who sowed the seeds of nationalism. Common language, history, traditions, etc. are the essential elements of nationalism, that is the elements which forged unity, cohesiveness and oneness among the peoples of Maharashtra. Dyaneshwar was the first to interpret Sanskrit Bhagwat Gita in Marathi. Hitherto, the language of the intellectuals was Sanskrit; and Prakrit languages were looked down upon. Thus the doors of knowledge were opened to common people. For this purpose Dyaneshwar
had to struggle hard on two fronts. On one hand he had to face the intellectuals who were reactionaries, on the other hand he had to face the tradition-influenced masses. In this respect, Dyaneshwar stands with John Wycliff, Martin Luther, Chaucer and many other prominent reformists in Europe during the Reformation period. From Dyaneshwar, what is popularly known as 'Pandharpur Movement', started. This movement was philosophical, mystical and devotional. This movement reached every house of Maharashtra. Dyaneshwar asked the people to love their own country, religion and people, (रसेल, रसमण व रसकर) 27. Through Dyaneshwari, Dyaneshwar conveyed the message of Lord Shri Krishna, a message of hope, of action, of courage and duty. Fearlessness, purity, steadfastness, sacrifice, were the other virtues. Dyaneshwar was an intellectual mystic, Namdeo and Eknath who contributed a lot to the development of Marathi language have expressed their sympathy to the worldly and spiritual life. Tukaram's mysticism is most personal, while Ramdas is an active saint. The Bhajan and Kirtan system of Maharashtra had a profound emotional effect upon the masses. Language was most important unifying factor. There were other factors, like, pride of the race - that we are Rajputs belonging to Sisodia Clan, which Shahaji and Shivaji had proclaimed on several occasions. The same spirit of pride pervaded through various Maratha families - for example, we

27. Dyaneshwari - Canto 18.
are Kshatriyas - warrior class, ruling class; Marathas belonging to famous 96 families - महाराष्ट्र महान संपूर्णता संपूर्णता

Another most important factor which kept unity among Maharashtrian society is the anti-Yavan or anti- Mlenchha spirit prepared by different saints. Ramdas had castigated Brahmins in severe terms. So the various factors which constitute the concept 'nationality' were being gradually nursed from Dyaneshwar onwards to Tukaram and Ramdas. This background made it possible for Shivaji to establish independent national state, which was obviously his ideal. He wanted to establish 'Swarajya' to be enjoyed under the protecting authority of Chhatrapati (चैत्रपटि). Shivaji realised this aim when he himself became चैत्रपटि in the year 1674.

It was not an easy task to establish 'Swarajya'. Let us enumerate the different factors and the situation which was existing at that time. This will enable us to understand the political policy which Shivaji had adopted.

Various Factors :

(1) Any attempt of establishing a new independent Hindu kingdom would have been certainly opposed by the Mughal Emperors at Delhi - whosoever the Emperor might be. Aurangzeb was the Subhedar of the Deccan from 1632, and 1653 - 1657. The history records that the formidable
challenge to the Maratha Swarajya did come from Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. So it is essential to note the policy of Shivaji towards the Mughal Emperors in general.

(2) Shivaji’s policy towards Adil Shah - Shahaji was a Sardar of Bijapur. Though he was away, i.e. at Bangalore, still Bijapur Darbar was in a position to bring pressure upon Shivaji - which it did.

(3) Nizamshahi was dissolved in 1636. The result was that anarchical situation prevailed near Poona and in Thana, Colaba and Nasik districts.

(4) Shahaji’s jahagir at Poona - comprising the land between Ghod river in the north, Nira in the south, Bhima in the east, stretching over the ghats and the Mavals into the Konkan in the west - was practically independent, though nominally a fief under Bijapur.

(5) General laxity of feudal administration of Bijapur, particularly during 1646 - 1656 and court intrigues of deadly nature.

(6) Constant war activities and famine.

(7) Loyalty of certain Maratha to the Muslim ruler of Bijapur, coupled with enmity, hatred, and other human psychological factors which hindered the establishment of new independent state. The concept of स्वामीनिधि Shivaji had to face many Maratha Sardars who were unable to understand and digest the new spirit complete independence or
(8) The caste system and certain other problems of this nature.

(9) Shivaji had to frame his policy after weighing pros and cons of these various factors - the European powers and their settlements: English, Portuguese, Dutch, French, etc.

**Policy towards Adil Shah**: Under this heading, the Mughal policy is given.

(1) For the establishment of 'Swarajya', Shivaji adopted a dual policy. Adilshahi was gradually becoming powerless. Shivaji, therefore, opened 'one front' against Bijapur Darbar only. It was merely 'local' or 'internal' affair of Bijapur Darbar. Aurangzeb's interest certainly lay in seeing that Bijapur kingdom is made weak by this internal conflict. Shivaji's military power had not increased to such an extent as to warrant the union of two Muslim powers, i.e. Adilshahi and the Mughals. From 1645 to 1657, Shivaji conquered as much territory and forts as possible, belonging to Bijapur kingdom. During this period Shivaji kept friendly relations with the Mughal Subhedars of Deccan, i.e. Prince Murad and Prince Aurangzeb. Shahaji had been a Mughal Sardar for a short period of merely two years, i.e. from October 1630 to April 1632. Therefore, it is quite natural for the Mughal Subedar to look at Shivaji as a prospective Mughal Sardar. Aurangzeb had
already started treating Shivaji as his Sardar. In a letter dated 23rd April 1657, Aurangzeb writes to Shivaji that he (Shivaji) should keep with him whatever territory and forts that he (Shivaji) had conquered from Bijapur. Further his (Shivaji's) desire to possess Dabhol port and adjoining territory, had been accepted and the said territory is granted to him. Aurangzeb further asks him (Shivaji) to see him (Aurangzeb) personally. Shivaji had kept his Vakil Kaghunathpant with Aurangzeb. In a letter dated 14th February 1658, Aurangzeb writes to Shivaji - "I have received your petition (कथनलि) through Kaghunathpant with a letter from Krishnaji Bhaskar Pandit. The matters about your Peshji cannot be forgotten. If you express regret for whatever you have done in the past, and if you ever remember that this (Mughal) Darbar is not despicable, then we shall forgive you. Always serve the cause of this kingdom." Aurangzeb had clearly adopted a double policy. On one hand he treated Shivaji as his loyal Sardar and on the other he encouraged Bijapur Darbar to employ Shivaji's services. In a letter to Ali Adil Shah in 1657, Aurangzeb writes, "..." Shivaji had captured a few forts in that province. Drive him out from that province. If you wish to employ him, give

29. 'Patrasarsangraha' Part I, letter No. 724
30. 'Patrasarsangraha' Part I, letter No. 739
31. 'Patrasarsangraha' Part I, Letter No. 744 (1657-58)
him a Jahagir in Karnatak, so that he will not devastate
the Mughal territory ... (If you are going to employ
him, then,) I will not employ Shivaji in my services.

Aurangzeb's attitude :

Aurangzeb continued the same attitude towards
Shivaji even after he crowned himself as an Emperor. In
a firman dated the 14th July 1659 Aurangzeb writes to
Shivaji "... God had made me the master of this empire.
I have appointed Umde Tulmuluk Amirul Umr as a Viceroy
of Deccan. You always behave according to his advice and
do as we have prior decided. Accept the robe which I have
despached for you." This cordial relationship between
Aurangzeb and Shivaji was known even to foreign settlements.
The governor of Goa in his letter to the Emperor of Portugal
writes (18th December 1659) that 'Shivaji is supported by Aurangzeb.' Aurangzeb was compelled to change
his policy when he knew that Shivaji had looted Junnar,
captured 200 horses, collected a huge amount of 3 lakh hons
etc. and had reached Poona.

Double Policy of Aurangzeb:

A few more letters describing the double policy

32. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, letter No. 775
33. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, letter No. 792
of Aurangzeb, are available. Aurangzeb in his letter (May 1657) addressed to Nasirikhan and other Sardars, asks them "to defeat and drive out Marathas from Mughal territory. Kill the people mercilessly and loot them to the maximum extent. Poona, Chakan, etc. should be completely destroyed. Enter into Shivaji's territory from all sides and drive the villagers out of it. Do not show leniency." As long as the struggle with Bijapur Darbar continued, Shivaji adopted a conciliatory policy towards Aurangzeb. In a letter to the Mughal officers, Aurangzeb writes that he has received a letter from Shahu's son (Shahaji's) that he (Shivaji) is prepared to give province to the Imperial state as an expression of loyalty and obedience on the part of a Mansabdar, provided that he is allowed to keep the territory which he (Shivaji) had conquered from Bijapur and if the Mansab is granted to him (Shivaji). It appears from this letter that Shivaji was prepared to accept Mansab from the Mughal. Yet he had the courage to protest against 'Zizya' imposed by Aurangzeb. In a letter to Aurangzeb Shivaji writes that "You (Aurangzeb) are collecting 'Zizayapatti' from Hindus. Naturally Hindus hate you. Many Hindus can not get even sufficient food to eat. (In such a situation)... how are you going to rule..."

34. Patrasarsangraha, Part III, 2808, 2616 A
35. Patrasarsangraha, Part III, 2616
36. Patrasarsangraha, Part III, 2621
If you think that true religion consists in harassing Hindus, then first, collect ziziyapatti from king Jaysing. Then it will not be difficult from this territory (to collect ziziyapatti).

Shivaji's policy towards Aurangzeb and Aurangzeb's policy towards Shivaji changed after 1660.

(2) From the very beginning Shivaji had adopted a belligerent policy towards Bijapur Darbar. There are two important reasons why Shivaji adopted this policy. First reason is that Bijapur kingdom was on the decline. Being the son of a powerful Bijapur Sardar, he intimately knew the internal situation of Bijapur kingdom. Shahaji was practically independent at Bangalore. Second reason is 'the mild punishment' which Shahaji got from Bijapur Darbar. When the news of Shivaji's aggression reached Bijapur, Bijapur Darbar was not in a position to arrest Shahaji openly. Shahaji was treacherously arrested by Baji Ghorpade, Yashwantrao Wadve and Asad Khan. Shahaji was honourably acquitted later on. Mahammadnama says that "the nobles and the gentry of the city were astonished at the graciousness of the king and began to say: 'Shahaji Raja deserves to be put to death, and not to be kept under guard.' Some councillors did not at all like that Shahaji should be set free, because that faithless man would play the fox again. Many others held the view that to liberate traitor and ruined wretch would be like treading on the tail of a snake. No wise man would rest his head on a hornet nest
as on a pillow." The way in which Shahaji was arrested, the treatment given to him, the way in which he was released (Shahaji was released in return for Kondana) clearly indicate the weakness of Bijapur Darbar.

Few Important Events:

It will be interesting to note the few events and conflicts between Shivaji and Bijapur.

(a) Shivaji becomes the owner of Jahagir in 1636 (by the deed 'Potmokasa' of Shahaji) which included 36 villages (Karyat Maval).

(b) Shivaji came to Poona from Bangalore in 1641. He captured 'Twelve Mavals' round about Poona. The names of these Mavals are - Andar Maval, Nane Maval, Pavan Maval, Korabarase Maval, Paud, Mutha, Musa, Gunjan, Kanad, Welwand, Hirdas and Kohida - This territory is included in the present Poona district and is roughly equal to it.

(c) The death of Dadaji Konddeo - 7th March 1647; the capture of Torana Fort in the same month. Capture of Purandhar Fort on the 19th October 1647.

(d) Maratha Sardars of Bijapur, like king Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Ghorpade, More were defeated. The defeat of Fattekhan at Purandhar and Balaji Haibatrao at Shirwal.
Kalyan and Bhivandi, captured; Shivaji three Karnatak campaigns - 1656, 1658, 1659.

Sawant of Kudal was the first 'Mandlik' of Shivaji.

The defeat of Afzalkhan on 10-11-1659.

Siddi Johar's unsuccessful attempt to defeat Shivaji.

During this period, Shivaji's territory increased. Conflicts with the Mughals started. Shahistakhan came to Chakan. Shivaji, therefore, thought it expedient to establish peace with Bijapur. By handing over Panhala to Siddi Johar, peace was established between Bijapur and Shivaji. Shivaji was now in a position to concentrate upon the Mughal threat.

Relation With the Maratha Sardars:

Mughal Emperor Shahajahan and Aurangzeb, and Bijapur king Ali Adil Shah were Muslim rulers and therefore both were the enemies of Shivaji. Only expediency required that Shivaji should not fight on two fronts. Therefore, he humbled the minor Muslim power, i.e. Bijapur, keeping friendly gestures towards the Mughals. But Shivaji's relations with Maratha Sardars who were loyal to Bijapur or Mughals, Sardars who could neither appreciate, nor understand the 'new spirit', stand on an altogether different footing. Those, who understood the new spirit of nationalism and joined Shivaji, were certainly respected, loved,
completely taken care of, protected. Those who opposed, who were too loyal to Bijapur or Mughal; even at the expense of the national cause (whether they have understood this new spirit or not) were treated harshly. In the beginning Shivaji had to face many Maratha Sardars. To name a few - Nimbalkar, Chorpade, More, Balaji Asibatrao, Ghauge, Dalvi, Surve, Samant, Bhosale, etc. were Maratha Sardars who opposed Shivaji in his attempt to establish 'Hindavi Swarajya'. Krishnaji Baji More was beheaded at Chakan when Shivaji saw that there was treachery. In Sabhasad Bakhar we come across one statement -

\[\text{It means that unless and until Chandrarao More is beaten, the kingdom cannot be realised. Shivaji had to subdue some of his near relatives who were not prepared to accept new regime. For example, Sambhaji Mohite was maternal uncle of Shivaji. Shivaji arrested him on the 24th September 1656.}\]

**Shivaji's aim - Hindavi Swarajya**:

Shivaji wrote assuring letters to those who joined this new movement. The earliest, and one of the most important letters is one which Shivaji wrote to Dadaji Narasprabhu Deshpande of Mohida. When Shivaji captured Mohida fort, constructed Rajgad, Dadaji Narasprabhu received a threatening letter 37 from Bijapur on the 30th March 1645.

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37. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (504)
that you will be taken to Bijapur and beheaded there.'  
( Because he failed in his duty to oppose Shivaji ).

Naturally, Dadaji’s father Narasprabhu became worried and restless. Shivaji wrote on the 17th April 1645 to Dadaji, 

‘Neither you nor I am disloyal to Shah ( It means there is 
no question of loyalty ). The God Mahadeshwar - on the top of the hill in your territory - is the self - ancient family 
God. He had made us victorious and he is going to fulfil 
all our desires by establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya' ... 
We shall continue your watan. That this new kingdom should 
be established is the will of the God.

In this letter Shivaji had clearly expressed his 
aim of establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya'. Shivaji was a 
religious man. In a letter dated 18th February 1653, 
Shivaji wrote to Vedmurti Gopal Bhat Bin Shridharbhat, that 
he should perform certain religious rites and he ( Gopalbhat) 
should pray to God always about Shivaji’s welfare and 
prosperity. In a very short period Shivaji was known as a 
king who is religious and who is a protector of brahmans 
and cows ( मैं ब्राह्मण प्रतिमालक ). In another letter

38. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (504)  
39. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (504)  
40. Patrasarsangraha, Part I,  
41. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (631)  
42. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (718)
Shivaji is described as a devout Hindu.

**Problem of Watans:**

Two important letters, slightly of different nature, of this period are available. One letter is addressed to Haibatrao Deshmukh of Gunjanmaval who was doubtful about the continuity of his watan, because of certain debt which he owed. Shivaji assured him about the continuity of his watan. The language of this letter clearly reveals the intimacy which Shivaji had with his juniors.

Shivaji writes that 'You (Deshmukh) need not doubt about anything. I swear in the name of Mahadeo and my mother that we shall not do any harm to you. Your thousand crimes are forgiven. You are just like a child of my family. Do not worry about anything and be loyal to us.' Another letter addressed to Kedarji Naik Khopade Deshmukh, Tal. Utarvali, Kohidakore, on 5th September 1661, Shivaji writes, ...

"During Afzal Khan's march over our territory, you have joined Afzal Khan's services. Afzal Khan was defeated. Therefore, you doubted about the continuation of your watan, and therefore, you have started harassing the nearby territory. What advantage are you going to get thereby? You have not rejoined my services and still are trying to get watan by harassing the territory. Who advised you to adopt...

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43. Marathi Daphtar.
44. Shiv Charitra Sahitya.
this measure? Join my services. Do not have any doubt about your watan."

Maratha Kingdom is an aim:

One more incident, which is also very important from the point of view of Shivaji's aim, is noteworthy. On the 8th January, 1658 Shivaji seized Mahuli. It is certain that he was assisted by certain local Maratha Chiefs who were eager to throw off the Muslim yoke. As a result of Shivaji's increasing activities, Ali Adil Shah issued one Firman which was dispatched to all Deshmukhs of Maval. In it he asked Deshmukhs to assist Afzal Khan. He says in his Firman that 'Afzal Khan is being despatched to defeat and kill Shivaji. You should not assist Shivaji. You should annihilate people who have joined Shivaji.' Kanhoji Jedhe was not prepared to leave Shivaji. Therefore, Afzal Khan himself wrote a letter to his (Kanhoji's) one of the sons, named Shivaji Jedhe, that ... 'I know that your father and brother are serving Shivaji for the last ten to twenty years. We know this fact. But do not doubt about it. Join our services. If you will join our services, you will get promotion.'

45. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (774)
46. Shiv Charitra (Male)
real intention of Afzal Khan and of what was happening. Kanhoji Jedhe received a reply from Shivaji that either Kanhoji should get all the people to swear on oath of loyalty or he should please himself by going over to the Khan.* Then Kanhoji Jedhe with his five sons went and saw Shivaji at Shivapattan and had a private interview. Kanhoji and Shivaji put their hands on bel-bhandar and exchanged solemn oaths. Shivaji said ... "We and our descendants shall never fail to look after you and your descendants; when I am victorious I shall reward you justly." Then Kanhoji conveyed the message to all the Deshmukhs declaring: "The Khan is treacherous. When the object is accomplished he will ruin us all. This Maratha Kingdom is Our Own. We should stand by Shivaji and protect it with our contingents and courage." They repeated the oaths and Shivaji got together an army of the Mavales.

What happened after this, how Afzal Khan was defeated and how later on his son Fazal Khan was despatched by the Bijapur government, how Shivaji was besieged at Panhala and how he left it, is all part of the history.

Relations with Foreign Settlement:

47. Bel-bhandar has the same religious sanctity among Marathas which the Holy Bible, Bhagwat-geeta, or Koran has among the Christians, Hindus, or Muslims respectively.
(d) We shall now note the relations between Shivaji and foreign settlements on the Western coast. During this period, i.e., from 1645 - 60 the important foreign settlements were (1) Portuguese at Vasai, Sashti, Chaul and Goa, (2) British at Bombay, Surat and Hajipur, (3) Mughals at Janjira - i.e. Siddis who were nominally under Bijapur but actually their own masters, who pretended to pay homage to the Adil Shah or to the Mughal Emperor as it suited to their convenience. (4) French and Dutch.

Out of all these foreigners, Portuguese and Siddis were powerful. However, Portuguese monopoly of trade was on the decline. The English, French were essentially traders seeking concessions from native rulers for exchanging their merchandise. These foreigners watched political situation and events in this part of India, for their own safety and the safety and security of their business. It compelled them to play a double game. 'Duplicity was the very breath of their nostrils and diplomatic negotiations were intended to cut both ways, if possible.'

Shivaji, is perhaps, the only Indian ruler in the 17th century, who bestowed much attention on the sea. He built up a new navy. The new state of Maharashtra which was emerging, was so situated that its western fringe became very important. Shivaji had the foresight. He visualised the dangers of these powers, particularly the activities of the Siddis and the Portuguese. The religious policy of
intolerance adopted by Portuguese was well-known. Their officers used to exact all kinds of compulsory service, popularly known as Vetha (⊥⊥) from their subjects and their political opponents without paying attention or regard whatever to their birth, position, caste, etc. ... The Prabhus had under pain of being forcibly converted to Christianity ... After the rise of Maratha power good many Prabhu families fled from their Christian rulers and sought refuge under the comparatively mild sway of the Marathas.' (S.M. Nayak's History of the Pattan Prabhus, pages 69-70)

Portuguese prohibited Hindus of Chaul, even to bathe in the sea. It is obvious Shivaji hated them most. Even the British East India Company has recorded the conflict between Portuguese and Shivaji on this account. It states that, 'Shivaji hates Portuguese because Portuguese convert the Hindu children into Roman Catholic and therefore there is a constant quarrel among them.'

'English' had the first political contact with Shivaji in January 1660. Shivaji's troops came upto Rajapur in pursuit of the three junks of Afzal Khan. The English prevented the seizure of these boats and the goods contained in them. A year later Shivaji surprised Rajapur and plundered the English factory and arrested four prisoners. It was

48. Patrasarsangrahah, Part III (2596)
49. Patrasarsangraha, Part II, (1798)
really a revenge because the English had given aid to Siddi Johar at the siege of fort Panhala. English had not only supplied ammunition to Siddi Johar but allowed to use English flag while bombarding the fort Panhala. Therefore, there is nothing wrong, if Shivaji retaliated for this act on the part of English. English demanded the compensation, but it was not paid by Shivaji.

Shivaji's policy towards all these foreign settlements was based upon justice. He allowed them to trade, firstly on one condition that they should not dabble in local politics. Secondly, these settlements should not undertake the work of religious conversion and religious intolerance as practised by Portuguese. Shivaji's aim was to wrest this land (Konkan) from the domination of the foreigners. Another side of this aid was to subjugate the Hindu Chiefs and Rajas who had either remained vassal of Bijapur or asserted their feudal independence. It was necessary to bring them into the new state. Even the foreigners have stated his policy in no uncertain terms. For example, Gyfford on the 24th May 1663, writes 'All the way, as he (Shivaji) goes along, he gives his qual (assurance) promising them that neither he nor his soldiers shall in the least do any wrong to any body that takes his qual, which promise he hitherto has kept.'

50. Patrasarsangrah, Part I, (874)
The appointment of Shahista Khan as the Subhedar of Deccan required a change in the policy. The new state, which was yet to take shape, now has to face a powerful enemy. We shall note the shift in the policy in the next part of this chapter.
Shift in the Policy:

Aurangzeb crowned himself as an Emperor on the 5th June 1659. While he was Subhedar of Deccan, he had tried his level best to destroy Deccani kingdoms like Bijapur and Golkonds. Aurangzeb’s policy towards these Muslim Sultans and Shivaji can be stated like this:

(a) His ultimate aim was to extinguish Adilshahi and Kutubshahi – which he realised in 1686 and 1687 respectively.

(b) Shivaji was exploiting the anarchical situation in Adilshahi, by conquering and strengthening himself. During his tenure as a Viceroy of Deccan (1653-57), Aurangzeb probably did not understand the “real” aim of Shivaji. He thought about Shivaji as a ‘rising Maratha Sardar’, who would probably be satisfied with a Mansab from the Mughal Emperor. Therefore, he continued connived at the activities of Shivaji, as long as Shivaji was fighting against Bijapur.

(c) Once the territories belonging to Adilshahi and Qutubshahi are brought under the Mughal rule, Aurangzeb thought, Shivaji would not get an opportunity to expand his territory and that Shivaji could be easily crushed. He, therefore, adopted a neutral attitude, when Shivaji was conquering the territories including Dabhol port – belonging to Bijapur. In addition to that, Aurangzeb himself conquered Bidar fort (29th March 1657) and Kalyani fort (2nd August 1657);
Aurangzeb's policy towards Shivaji changed when he heard the news of Shivaji's attack upon Junnar. After being firmly settled on the throne of Delhi, he sent one of his highest generals - Shahistakhan - as Subhedar of Deccan to suppress Shivaji. Shahistakhan entered Poona on the 9th May, 1660, defeating the Maratha opposition on his way. Now 'Maratha kingdom' has to face a very powerful enemy in the person of Shahistakhan. And therefore, it was essential to adopt a new political policy. The new policy was based upon three principles - (i) The southern kingdoms should sink their internal rivalries and they should form an alliance to face the common enemy. (ii) North versus South - Southern Patshahis should remain in the hands of southerners. (iii) It is our duty to protect our land. Shivaji consistently followed this policy upto the end of his life, though certain occasions compelled him to change his policy for the time being. This change in the policy was not a fundamental one but only a diplomatic one. Because Shivaji neither had given up the ideal of establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya' or 'Maharashtra Rajya', nor had he side-tracked it. He realised his aim in 1674.

Shahista Khan and Prince Muajram:

Shahista Khan occupied Poona from the 9th May 1660 to the middle of 1663. During this period the Mughals reconquered Kalyan and dominated Northern Konkan. Direct
fight with a large Mughal army was beyond question. Therefore, Shivaji had to adopt the policy of surprise, terror and coup and Guerilla warfare. The great coup in Shahista Khan’s camp (or Lal Mahal) took place on the night of 5th April 1663. Philip Gyfford writes, "... with 400 choice men, (Shivaji) went to Shahista Khan’s camp; there upon some pretence he got into his tent to salam and presently slew all the watch, killed Shahista Khan’s eldest son, his son-in-law, twelve of his chief women, forty great persons attending their general, wounded Shahista Khan with his own hand (and thought to death, but since hears he lives) wounded six more of his wives, two more his sons; and after all this returns but losing six men and forty wounded. 10,000 horse under Kaja Jaswat Singh standing still and never offered to pursue him ... Shivaji tells his men, his parameshwar bid him do it "

The consequences of such master strokes were—(1) Shahista Khan was transferred to Bengal, which is described as 'hell crammed with good things.' (2) It created terror about Shivaji’s prowess in the Mughal Court and camp. (3) Shivaji was fast acquiring a reputation for working miracles.

Guerilla Warfare—Durat I.

Shahista Khan, backed up by powerful Mughal army and Shivaji, was certainly an unequal match. There are only two alternatives in such an unequal match. — (a) Complete
surrender, and (b) Guerilla warfare. Shivaji never allowed breathing time to his enemy and acted with incredible swiftness. Soon after his coup in Poona, he descended into Konkan and struck a blow there on the Sawant of Kudal. From southern Konkan Shivaji 'suddenly turned north and blitzed 'Surat' in the first week of January 1664. After careful consideration, Surat was decided as the 'target' for attack. (1) Surat was the most important trading centre, where European companies like British, Dutch etc. had their settlements (2) It is a religious centre, in the sense that from here, every year Muslim pilgrims used to go to Macca. (3) If Surat is looted it will prove beyond doubt, the inefficiency, unpreparedness, insecurity for trading communities thus resulting into the loss of revenue; and the most important factor was (4) the shock which the Mughals will have.

From the 6th January to 10th January Shivaji looted Surat. His main target was not the 'loot' as such but the 'revenge'. The British prisoner, Mr. Anthony Smith, who was arrested by Shivaji's soldiers was brought before Shivaji, and 'was asked what he was and such like questions, and at last, 'Sevajee told that he was not come to doe any personal hurt to the English or other merchants but only to revenge him selfe of Oram Zeb (the great Mughal) because he had invaded his country ...' Thevenot, who passed through Surat

51 North Vietnam had adopted the same policy.
two years afterwards have noted: 'All the rest of the town was plundered except the monastery of the Capucius. When the plunderers in front of their convent they passed by, and they had orders from their chief to do likewise, because on the eve of the very first day, Father Ambrose, who was their superior, moved with pity for the Christians inhabiting Sourat, went to this Raja to speak to them in their favour and to beg him at least to do no violence to their persons. Sivagy had respect for him. He took him under his protection and granted him what he wanted for the Christians. 'Cosme da Guarda categorically confirms: 'Men, women and children ran naked without knowing where and to whom. But no one was in the peril of his life, for it was the strict order of Sivagy, that unless resistance was offered, no one should be killed, and as none resisted none perished. (Compare the atrocities committed by Nadir Shah in Delhi and Muslim Emperors in general.) Valentyn states... 'He (Shivaji) distributed the less valuable things... among the poor, whereby many acquired much more than what they had lost through fire and pillage... (Shivaji) ... departed... delighted to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail.' All these statements by foreigners prove that Shivaji's aim in attacking Surat was mainly political and neither financial nor religious. Shivaji achieved his political aim.

Policy of Sama, Dam and Bhed: (सामा, दाम व भेद)

Shivaji's raid on Surat had dealt a blow to the
prestige of the Aurangzeb's Empire. Firstly Surat was to be fortified and to set it on the road to recovery. Secondly Aurangzeb decided to open a grand offensive against Shivaji. Prince Muazzam, who succeeded Shahista Khan as Mughal Subedar of Deccan was a sluggard and spent his time in caring only for pleasure and hunting and so was Jaswant Singh. So, Aurangzeb sent his ablest generals Mirza Jaja Jay Singh of Amber and Dilir Khan. & Jai Singh, who was now about sixty years old, had served Mughal army for nearly forty seven years and had travelled from Balkh in central Asia to Bijapur in South. He was a first rate diplomat, a man of tact and patience, was able to speak many languages. ' His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue, and cool calculating policy were in striking contrast with ... the Rajput character.' Unfortunately, he allowed himself to be exploited by a foreign, fanatic, orthodox Muslim ruler to suppress a native, religious, nationalist, budding Hindu king like Shivaji.

Jai Singh started from North in September 1664 and arrived in Aurangabad on the 13th February 1665 and reached Poona on the 3rd March 1665 and occupied it. He lost no time in augmenting his forces by despatching orders to the various Sardars, foreign settlements etc. By using many means ( Wealth and Mansab ) & Jai Singh had broken the Maratha unity. Fazal Khan, More were already the enemies. Jai Singh attempted that Portuguese, Dutch, English and Siddi shall march against Shivaji at that very moment. European arti -
artillery had helped in conquering Purandhar Fort. 'The first thing that Sevagy did was to tempt this general (Jai Singh) as he had done the other. He sent him a very large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. (Policy of दान). The Raja (Jai Singh) refused both and ordered to inform Sevagy that he had not come to receive presents but to subdue him; and for his (Shivaji's) own good, he asked him to yield and avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution perturbed Sevagy. (Cosme da Guarda). When the policy of दान failed Shivaji employed another policy of नेतृत्व. He wrote a letter to Jai Singh as a Hindu. Shivaji writes ...

'it is astonishing that a few handful Muslims are governing so vast a country of ours. Their mastery over this land is not the fruit of their valour ... We should now try our utmost to protect Hindus, Hindustan and Hindu religion.' If you would help me, ... 'I will remove the name of Islam from Deccan.' In order to rouse the fighting spirit of Raja Jai Singh, Shivaji further writes that Jai Singh should attack the enemies of Hindu religion and root out the Islam (from India). 'I will show you the secret letter which I have picked up from Shahista Khan's pocket.'

When this policy of दान and नेतृत्व failed and was out of question, Shivaji adopted the last method

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52. Patrasarsangrah, Part I, (1042)
After nearly two and a half months (3rd March 1665 to 20th May 1665) Shivaji opened negotiations through Raghunath Pandit but Jai Singh insisted on a personal interview. Accordingly, it took place on the 11th June, 1665 and Shivaji spent a couple of days as Jai Singh’s guest. The treaty of Purandhar was signed on the 12th June, 1665.

By this treaty Shivaji ceded 23 forts and adjacent land yielding four lakhs of hons a year and retained only 12 forts and lands of the annual value of one lakh of hons and further he agreed to serve Delhi government as a loyal vassal.

The treaty of Purandhar (1665) was a severe blow to the politically developing Maharashtra nation. The dream of establishing a new independent sovereign national state was shattered to pieces and Shivaji became a vassal king of Aurangzeb, whom he hated most. Raja Jai Singh of Amber the most obedient and loyal servant of Aurangzeb was following the tradition of Raja Man Singh of Jaypur and Shivaji was following the tradition of Pratap Singh of Udaypur. A year later, Jai Singh had thought of murdering Shivaji by adopting treacherous and immoral means. Shivaji shrewdly avoided becoming a Mansabdar. Sambhaji attended the Mughal camp on the 18th June, 1665. Shivaji accepted the Mughal Firman on the 27th September 1665.

54. Jai Singh’s letter to Jafar Khan.
Jai Singh has persuaded Aurangzeb to invite Shivaji to visit the Emperor in person and to adopt a policy of conciliation. On the other hand, he prevailed upon Shivaji by 'a thousand devices' to undertake a visit to Agra, which Shivaji reluctantly accepted. After making masterly arrangements for the safety and administration of his territories during his absence, Shivaji left Rajgad on the 5th March 1666, and reached near Agra on 11th May 1666. Shivaji was to have been presented to Aurangzeb, on his birth day Darbar on 12th Morning. But owing to Ham Singh Kachvas bungling (Shivaji's host), Shivaji met Ham Singh in the heart of the city at noon, after the public Darbar had broken up. Ham Singh hurried Shivaji to Agra Fort, where he was presented to the Emperor, who received his gifts but said not one word of welcome in return. Then

55. Patrasarsangrah, Part I, (1110)
Shivaji was led back and made to stand in the third row of Nobles. Shivaji felt humiliated and angrily protested to Ram Singh and refused to accept Mughal iansab. The result was that Shivaji was kept in detention in charge of Ram Singh, but with a guard of Agra police-prefects men round his tent.

Effect of Shivaji's flight from Agra:

When all hope of deliverance was lost, Shivaji turned to effecting his own deliverance. He sent home his men and escaped from his tent on the 19th August 1666, with his son Sambhaji, concealed in big baskets of sweets. By moving in disguise, he reached Rajgad on 12 September 1666. After two months, Shri Krishnaji Vishwasrao brought Sambhaji safely. On the 20th November 1666, the news of Shivaji's return was authoritatively proclaimed. Shivaji's successful flight proved that Aurangzeb's Empire is not invincible, it restored the faith that 'Shivaji does miracles', it rekindled the hope of establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya' (which was practically extinguished by the treaty of Purnandhar in 1665), it gave freedom to Maharashtra and a blow to both Jai Singh and Aurangzeb.

Policy of Offence:

After his return from Agra, Shivaji had not started

56. See Appendix.
immediately, an offensive campaign against the Mughal Empire. Because, he knew perfectly well that it will be suicidal. Inspite of the worst treatment, insult and imprisonment at the hands of Aurangzeb, Shivaji, outwardly at least, kept a friendly policy with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb was also occupied with the suppression of Yusufzai rebellion at Peshawar (March 1667). Shivaji appealed to the Prince Muazzam, who was again appointed as Subhedar of Deccan, to become his patron. At his recommendation, Aurangzeb recognised Shivaji as a naga and a loyal vassal. Sambhaji was restored to his Mansabdari and was sent to Aurangabad.

During the period of three years (1667 - 1669) Shivaji kept friendly relations with Aurangzeb. He utilised these three years for organising his government, repairing his forts and making sufficient provisions over them. He extended his power on the Western coast at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis. Shivaji opened his offensive with great vigour in 1670. Because time was now opportune for it - (1) Mughal power in the Deccan was weakened by quarrels between Dilir Khan and Prince Muazzam, (2) Aurangzeb was insulted by the Emperor of Iran, (3) The campaign of Jai Singh against Bijapur was unsuccessful; ( to that extent

57. Ramdas, Dasbodh,
58. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (1200)
against Marathas also) (4) Aurangzeb adopted a policy of religious persecution – (1) a letter from Vasai (Bassein) dated the 10th December 1667 communicates the news that 'Ziziya' had been reimposed upon Hindus. (2) a letter from Bombay (Garry to Lord Arlington) mentions the fanaticism of Aurangzeb, destruction of many Hindu temples. This very letter explains the cause of Shivaji's offensive policy against the Mughals. This letter also mentions about the forcible conversions of Hindus. (3) He (Aurangzeb) reimposed taxes upon the Hindu merchants of Surat. On several occasions Hindu traders and merchants observed 'Hartal' in Surat. (4) The worst act of Aurangzeb was that he demolished (August – September 1669) the temple of Kashi Vishweshwar at Benaras and erected there a Masjid. The temple of Kashi Vishweshwar was (and even to day is) the most important sanctuary. When Shivaji heard the news that 'the temple of Kashi Vishweshwar is demolished', he wrote a stunning letter to Aurangzeb. The result of the policy of Aurangzeb can be imagined. Shivaji adopted aggressive policy against the Mughal Empire as a fitting reply to Aurangzeb's policy of religious persecution. (5) Aurangzeb issued orders to arrest Prataprao Gujar and Miraji Pant, who were at Aurangabad with Sambhaji according to...

59. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (1187)
60. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (1281)
61. "
to the treaty of Purandhar. Prince Muazzam secretly communicated the news to Prataprao Gujar and Mriraji Pant and asked them to leave Aurangabad. This incident clearly reflected the aim of Aurangzeb.

Offensive:

Marathas opened offensive with great vigour. Many of ceded forts were recaptured. During the period of three years, i.e. 1666 - 1669, Shivaji had raised a large army. The English factories at Surat wrote in March 1670, that '... Shivaji marches ... with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes.' Shivaji sacked Surat for the second time (3rd October to 5th October 1670). His purpose of sacking Surat, his clearly stated by the French, English and the Dutch people who were there. According to Abbe Carre ... 'As the purpose of Sevagy was only to make fun of the great Mogol, he did not exert himself further and did no harm to the people.' The French, the Dutch and the English were given 'a timely notice to display their standards on the top of their terraces that they may be saved thereby from the fury of the soldiers ...' The English lost one soldier, the French 'two black servants' and the Dutch none: 'we could only oppose to Shivaji's horde, 35 men in all, but they not molest us.'

The Marathas flushed with victory burst into all directions. Trimbak, Ahiwant and three other forts, Khandesh, Berar, Bahadurpura, Karanja, Baglan and Salher
were captured and Mogol territory was looted. As a retaliation, Dilir Khan seized Poona (December 1671) and massacred all its inhabitants above the age of nine years.'

This was replied by Marathas at Salher. Baglan was captured in 1672. Kolwan, Jawhar, Darampur were conquered. In November 1672, Maratha army made a lightning raid into Berar and Telangana. In 1673, Bijapuri Kamara was invaded, Hubli was sacked. In the same year Bankapur was sacked. Shivaji reached upto Kadra. In April 1674 Shivaji was able to keep his hold on Kudal. The Rani of Bednur promised to pay an annual tribute. Panhala was recaptured on the 6th March, 1673.

Mughal Reaction :

The Maratha blow at Salher to Mughal army was so powerful that the Emperor at Delhi was shocked. Sabhasad Bakhar states: "The Badshah at Delhi felt much distressed at the bad news. For three days he did not come out into the Hall of Public Audience. So sad was he that he said, 'It seems God has taken away the Badshahi from Musalmans and conferred it on Shivaji.' As per their traditions, Persian records are silent on this; but the English records had confirmed the victory. It states that Marathas forced the two generals (Bahlot Khan and Ikhlas Khan), who with their armies had entered into Sevag's country, to

62. Sabhasad Bakhar.
retreat with shame and loss.' Aurangzeb wrote a strong letter (according to Jayram) asking them 'to bring into a commonfold all the enemies of Shivaji like Adil Shah, Kutub Shah, Firangis, Hashbis and the Mughal army should conquer all the territory belonging to Shivaji. Shivaji will not be able to reside on forts for long and therefore, he will surrender.' But Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan replied that 'It is of no use. He (Shivaji) possesses many strong forts and ... even if we try for hundred years he will not surrender. We have therefore, no alternative but to enter into a treaty agreement with him. We have accordingly, despatched one Brahmin envoy to Shivaji for discussion and in return he has despatched one Muslim envoy named Kazi Haider, to us. Kindly, order us to enter into treaty agreement (with Shivaji). However, Aurangzeb was not prepared to have a treaty with Shivaji. With the result Kazi Haider was arrested and was confined on the fort of Parinda. However, the situation was such, Mughal generals were prepared to establish peace by entering into treaty agreement with Shivaji. This shows that the time was ripe to transform 'de facto' sovereign state of Shivaji into 'de jure' sovereign state by performing the Coronation ceremony according to Hindu religious traditions.
C - 1674

The Coronation of Shivaji :

Reasons :

(a) Practical -

There are many reasons why Shivaji got himself crowned at Raygad on Friday 5th June 1674. The reasons can be broadly classified into two categories namely (a) practical reasons and (b) Ideological reasons. Political scientists have accepted a few advantages of monarchical forms of governments. They are chiefly, respect for law on the part subjects, obedience, continuity, etc. So long as Shivaji was not crowned, he was not respected like a king by the Sardars and subjects and foreign powers. British and other foreign records have described Shivaji as a predatory. Henry Oxenden who was present at the time of Coronation ceremony (Aajyabhishek) at Raygad was assured that the Rajah would after his coronation act more like a prince by taking care of his subjects and endeavouring the advancements of commerce and trade in his dominions which he could not attend before being in perpetual wars with the kings of Vizapore and the Great Mogull. The other practical difficulty was in respect of the old Maratha Sardars. Maratha Sardars like Shirke, Mohite, Mahadik and others whose traditional social and political status was higher than that of Shivaji, thought
it below their dignity to bow their heads before Shivaji. According to Shivadigvijay when Shivaji realised this situation he asked Balaji Avaji about the remedy. He replied - 'the king who sits on the throne is respected like a God by the people.' He further said that 'you (Shivaji) should be able to prove that you are Kshatriya, because a kshatriya alone is entitled to wear a crown and perform a coronation ceremony. That is why Shivaji had to prove that he was a kshatriya, and that he belonged to Sisodia Family of Hajputs. And hence the traditional ceremonies like sacred thread ceremony etc. were performed. It is said that Swami Ramdas was present at the time of sacred thread ceremony of Shivaji. The third practical reason was to impress upon the people by performing all the ancient traditional ceremonies which accompany the major Rajyabhishek ceremony. The common people could not find in Shivaji the traditional splendour and lustre resulting from certain specific traditions and customs which are observed by the Koyal Families. Sabhasad Bakhar has given the practical and ideological reason why Shivaji got himself crowned. Sabhasad Bakhar states - According to the opinion of Bhat (Brahmins) and Gosavis, Muslim Badshahas occupy the throne, become Chhatrapati and rule over the territory. And how it is that

63. Shivadigvijay.
64. Sabhasad Bakhar.
Shivaji Raje, who has humbled four Muslim Patshahis, who has a military force of 75,000 horse, several forts and ports, has no throne to sit upon? Therefore he thought to himself that a Maratha king should become Chhatrapati. When he was fully convinced about it, he summoned all the prominent people for discussion. In the discussion everybody supported the idea of coronation. Therefore, Bhat and Gosavi (i.e. Brahmins) said that Shivaji should get himself crowned. When this decision was taken then followed the normal procedure. The Family Tree of the Raje was investigated. It was found that Shivaji belonged to Sisode Rajput Family. One branch (family) of this family came to the south from north. During the intervening period, the observation of certain family traditions gradually elapsed. Hence there was the necessity of reviving those traditions. So it was essential to perform the sacred thread ceremony to which high caste Kshatriya were entitled. When Shivaji performed this ceremony, he became pure, high caste Kshatriya. Then it was decided that the coronation ceremony should be performed according to the traditional Hindu customs. A Sinhasan (Throne), weighing 32 maunds (roughly lbs. 2,560) was constructed. Water of seven great rivers was brought. Water from important rivers, sea, holy places was also brought. Special pots of gold were prepared for Abhishek. Shivaji bowed his head before the learned Brahmins

Note the procedure which Shivaji followed. This proves beyond doubt that he was not a despot or an autocrat.
and sat upon a special square sized seat made of gold. Then the Brahmins and Ministers showered the holy water through gold pots. Afterwards, saluting the Sinnasan, Shivaji sat upon the throne and thus became a real king, or de jure king. Sabhasad proudly states, that this was not a small achievement. Everywhere there are at present Muslim rulers or Patshahas. Shivaji is the only (Hindu) Maratha ruler who has become a Chhatrapati."

(b) Ideological

Maharashtra Dharma:

Sabhasad Bakhar has already referred to practical as well as ideological reason - the ideological reason being that everywhere there are Muslim kings or Badshahas governing Hindus and there was not a single Maratha Badshaha or king. Only now the Maharashtrians felt that they have their own king and that they have their own kingdom. The dream of establishing Maharashtra Dharma (महाराष्ट्र धर्मः) was realised when Shivaji crowned himself as a king. From the 13th century onwards there was the deeply rooted concept amongs the Hindus that the Muslim power in general, cannot be defeated. After the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire, Shivaji was the first Hindu to prove that Muslim power can be defeated. The importance which is attached to Russo-Japanese war of 1905 and its political impact upon the nationalist movements in Asian states, is the only example which can be compared with Shivaji's achievement.
By crowning himself, Shivaji proved beyond doubt that Muslim power is not invincible.

Cherished Dream

Background

The establishment of Maharashtra Dharma was long standing cherished dream of the Maharashtrians. Though the rulers might belong to different religion, Dyaneshwar has advised Hindus to follow their own religion. His advice to a certain extent checked the temptation amongst those Hindus who perhaps would have tempted to adopt Muslim religion for selfish motives. He further asked kshatriyas to fight with the enemies because there is nothing more proper for kshatriyas than to resort to fighting. He stressed the principle of equality amongst different castes in Hindus. The Pandharpur movement or the Cult of Vithoba was started by Dyaneshwar, has the same goal to achieve. Vithoba was the symbol of unity amongst Maharashtrians. Vithoba was not a mere a Deity to be worshipped at, it was much more than that. The famous saint Tukaram has properly described Vithoba. He says that 'Vithoba is the deadly enemy of these Asuras. He protects his disciples.' He further describes Vithoba as a symbol of prowess. Vithoba is the full incarnation of the Gods Rama and Krishna. The Vithoba at Pandharpur

66. Dyaneshwar.
67. Tukaram.
was thus an objective symbol for Maharashtrians, which inculcated the spirit of nationalism amongst them.

**Meaning of Maharashtra Dharma**

The *Bakhar of Mahikavati*, written during the middle of the 15th century describes the condition of Maratha Kshatriyas; how the goddess Jagadambika is pleased to support the cause of protection of Maharashtra Dharma. She has advised the people to come together. Nayakorao dreamt about this Goddess. The *Bakhar* states that in this country the number of Yavanas (Muslims) increased. The Marathas forgot the pride of their country. They gave up their arms and became agriculturist. They began to forget their past, their traditions, customs, family goddess, etc. Observing this state of affairs the Goddess Jagadambika came into the dream of Kajeshri Nayakarao." Thus the movement was started. Maharashtra Dharma consists of three important principles - (1) Observation of religion (2) Observation of system of Varnas and Ashramas (3) Acceptance of the final authority of Shruti's (Vedas) and Smriti's (Purusha). Keshavacharya, in the *Bakhar of Mahikavati* states that - Behaviour according to Vedic principles is superior, behaviour according to the family traditions and traditions of the country, Maharashtra Dharma is the life-root of all religions.

68. *Bakhar of Mahikavati*

69. Keshavacharya - *Bakhar of Mahikavati*
It means in Maharashtra Dharma all the important principles to be observed are included viz. Vedic principles, principles of family tradition and the principles of local traditions.

Establishment of Traditional Hindu Religion:

Shivaji got himself crowned not because he had a personal desire of pleasure or greatness, but because he had fulfilled a national cause, realised a long standing dream of Maharashtra Dharma being established. The political aim behind the coronation was to terrorise those who opposed traditional Hindu religion, and to remove the deeply rooted impact of Muslim domination from the minds of Hindus. The idea behind establishing Maharashtra Dharma was, on one hand to remove the inferiority complex of the Hindus and their misconception about the invincibility of Muslims; on the other hand to make people feel that this is their own kingdom, it is meant for their happiness and for observation of their religion. From 1645 Shivaji had triple ideas before him viz. Maharashtra should become independent, the people of Maharashtra should live freely and fearlessly and the protection of religion. All the three ideals were realised when according to ancient Hindu traditions Shivaji crowned himself in 1674 at Naygad.

Coronation Ceremony:

The Gaga Bhatta, who was the chief priest at the Coronation Ceremony at Naygad, was a well known authority in India, well versed in Vedas and an author many learned books. His book 'Kayastha dharma deep' (Kayastha dharma deep)
is a well known book. He wrote one book the title of which is Shivarkodaya (शिवरकोड़य). Bhattavanishkavya, Sarga 5, Shlokas 7-8 states that it was Ramdas who asked Shivaji to bring Gaga Bhatta from Varansi for his Coronation. Sabhasad states that 'for the coronation ceremony of Shivaji, 50,000 Brahmins learned in the Vedas had assembled. Besides them had gathered many Taponidhinis and holy men, Sanyasis, Manabhavas, Yogis, etc. Ramdas, was obviously very much pleased to note the changed political situation in Maharashtra. He describes Maharashtra as Anandvanabhuvan (the abode of happiness). He says that now the religion will flourish from this place. The sinful Aurangzeb had been defeated, Muslims have been killed, the temples which were demolished are reconstructed, now happiness will prevail in Anandvanabhuvan. All our desires will now be fulfilled, in Maharashtra because Maharashtra Dharma has been established. In the Sanad granted by Shivaji to Chaphal Village state, Shivaji had himself stated the aim of his State as ordered to him by Ramdas. In it he states that "the chief aim in establishing a state is the restoration of Dharma, service to the Gods and Brahmins, protection and care of the subjects."

Chhatrapati:

'It speaks, writes Dr. S.A. Sharma, volumes for

70. Ramdas
71. Sanad
Shivaji's statesmanship to have conceived of all the implications of an Abhishikta raja (अभिषिक्त राजा) and the significance of the unique title of Chhatrapati (छत्रपति). No Hindu or Indian prince, or for that matter any ruler whatsoever had borne the significant name of Chhatrapati symbolising the protective umbrella ...

A very good illustration of the manner in which the Chhatrapati discharged his trust as leader and protector of Hindu Dharma and civilization is to be found in an important document which might be considered as Magna Carta of Maratha Swarajya. This document traces the past history and atrocities committed by Muslim rulers. It states that through the instrumentality of Shivaji, it was God Shankar (शंकर) defeated the Muslim and will do the same in the future. It has assured every community within the Hindu society to follow their own traditions and customs. If any one raises any dispute within the community then that community should communicate it to Shivaji immediately. It assures to render the most speedy and impartial justice to all who should invoke Shivaji's dispensation following established traditions, scriptures and public opinion; and calls upon people of all communities to act with one accord and co-operate with the government in defeating the Muslims coming from the North.' This proves the real political aim why Shivaji crowned himself. The ideals which Shivaji cherished continued to dominate the whole of the Maratha Polity in
the remaining part of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century as well. We shall write now about it in the next few chapters.

Royal Seal of Shivaji:

The very fact that the royal Seal of Shivaji is in Sanskrit, connotes more meaning than the words would suggest. During the days of Shivaji, Persian was the state-language and it dominated the official correspondence including the usage of Muslim Calendar. The Sanskrit language used in the Royal Seal of Shivaji denotes that it is the revival of ancient regime, based upon sacred scriptures. The Royal Seal suggests the end of the state i.e. protection of Hindus and Hindu religion. The literal meaning of this royal Seal is as follows - "Increasing in size like the new born moon, adored by the Universe, this Seal of Shiva (Shivaji) who is the son of Shahaji, guarantees happiness and prosperity."
Reforms:

Official Language and Almanac:

The very first thing, which Shivaji had to do when his coronation ceremony was completed, was to look after the administration. The happiness of the subjects lies in the clean and efficient administration of the State. Therefore, in order to realise the aim of the state, i.e. the happiness of the people, he issued 'Kanujabtes' i.e. state orders in which we see the clearcut division of administrative work. The Kanujabtes were issued on the 21st June 1674. Administrative system of Shivaji was based upon the famous ancient system of Ashta-Pradhan. The names of the different ministries are in Sanskrit and not in Persian. The administration was to be carried out in the language of the people, and not in the Persian - which was obviously a foreign language. In order that the regional language should flourish and Persian language driven out of official correspondence, Shivaji asked Raghunath Pandit to compose 'Rajyavyavahar Kosh' (राजनीतिक व्यवहार कोश) - a dictionary of words on state-administration. In order to remove another draw-back viz. the usage of Muslim almanac in official correspondence, Shivaji asked Krishna Jyotish to compose

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74. Sanads and Letters - Vad Page 122.
a new almanac named 'Karan Kaustubh'.

It is obvious that with these two reforms, the people of Maharashtra thought that now it is their own kingdom; Swa-rajya (our government) has been established.

Ministries:

The Kanujabtes distributed the administrative work among the different ministries and other officers. Though the authority was divided, yet there was some interdependence left among different authorities. Though the authority was divided, yet the final power - sovereign power - was in the hands of Huzur, i.e. Shivaji. The work of each Minister was as follows:

(1) Mukhya Pradhan: (Chief Minister)

was in charge of the overall supervision and general administration. He had a separate Seal of his own. He was to conduct war and when a territory was conquered, he had to protect it and administer it. All Sardars and army were to accompany him and all were to obey his orders.

(2) Amatya: (Minister for Finance)

He had to prepare the State Budget after careful inquiry. Phadnis and Daptardar were his under-officers. He had to participate in war. He had a Seal of his own.

(3) Sachiv: (Minister for Correspondence)
His duty was to scrutinise the state papers carefully and if necessary to make slight changes therein. He had to participate in war.

(4) Mantri : (Minister for Home)

His duty was to frame a policy after careful thinking. He had to participate in war.

(5) Senapati : (Minister for War)

His duty was to keep the army updated. He had to direct the war and to protect the territory which was conquered. He had to keep record of all taxes, booty, etc. imposed upon the people of the conquered territory. He had to settle the disputes arising within the army. It was his duty to listen carefully to the grievances and disputes within the army. All the army Sardars must accompany him.

(6) Panditrao : (Minister for Religion and Law)

He was to inflict punishment according to religion, after the careful scrutiny of each case. He should bestow honours upon the worthy people. He had to seal all the letters of Aachar, Vyavahar and Prayaschitta.

(7) Nyayadhish : (Minister for Justice)

He had to decide the cases according to religious scriptures, traditions and customs.

(8) Sumant : (Minister for foreign affairs)
He had to correspond with foreign states, to receive foreign ambassadors and to follow the protocol. He had to participate in war.

Apart from these eight Ministers there were many other subordinate officers, to whom some specific function was assigned by 'Kanujabta', for example, the duty of the Chitnis was to write all state letters, replies, sanads, Danapatra, etc. There were other officers like Karkhanis, Sabnis, Sarnobat, Tatsatnobot, Subhedar, Havaldar, etc. The duty of the army Sabnis Bakshi was to distribute salary to the army people and to maintain attendance. One important note issued was that nobody should spend anything from 'Karkhannas' (Stores) unless a written order was received. In all there were twenty Kanujabtes (List of Laws), issued.

Careful Administration:

Efficient administration helps in realising the aim of the State. A few letters of Shivaji even prior to his coronation ceremony and a few letters after his coronation ceremony prove the best quality of his administration. How Shivaji cared well for his subjects is proved by a letter which he wrote to his soldiers and officers of his

75. Sanads and Letters - Wad page 122.
army on the 13th May 1671. He has stated in his letter that 'proper arrangement of supply of grass etc. required for horses had been made. If you use it in improper way, the time may come when there will be no grass left to feed the horses. It might result into the loss of the horses. Then in that case, it will be you, who will be responsible for the loss of the horses. Improper use of supply may land you into certain other difficulties.

You will think of collecting corn, bread, grass, etc. from the neighbouring people. In that case the poor Kunabis who are residing in those villages might leave those villages, cursing you and saying that you have harassed them more than the Mughals. Wherever you might camp, it is not your business to harass the subjects. You must go to the market and purchase the things which you require. You should not purchase anything by way of force. Utmost care should be taken about your behaviour, otherwise there will be tremendous loss due to fire or any other such thing.

He who behaves contrary to the directions issued will lose his wages because he has lowered down the prestige of the Marathas. Guilty individuals will be severely dealt with.'

A letter addressed to Tukaram Subhedar and Karkuns of Prabhavali points out the need, stressed by Shivaji, that he (Shivaji) should be immediately informed about the incidents which have taken place in his kingdom. He had laid down a rule to that effect. The letter dated 8th September

76. Rajwade, Part VIII.
1671 refers to a conflict between some Marathas and a Brahmin Sabnis. In the conflict, the Sabnis was attacked by the sword. Shivaji castigated the Subhedar and Karkuns for not informing this incident to him. He states, 'You should have communicated it to me so that I could have ordered the relevant individuals to present before me and I could have punished them according to law. It is your duty to see that people do not become indisciplined. You should see that nobody behaves in indisciplined manner.'

Shivaji had used very curt, strong and stern language in his letters when he came to know that a Subhedar has been negligent in carrying out certain duties which were assigned to him with full faith. The letter addressed to Jiwaji Vinayak Subhedar and Karkuns, dated 18th January 1675, refers to the failure on the part of the Subhedar, not sending the supplies to the proper authorities. This Subhedar was asked to despatched supplies to the navy at Padmadurg which was a very important sea-base built to counteract the Janjira - Hajapuri - a sea-base of Siddis. Shivaji suspected some foul play; he thought that the Subhedar might have been bribed by Siddis. He, therefore, writes that 'the agent of the enemy will be treated like the enemy.' At that time he (Shivaji) will not take into consideration the upper caste (Brahmin) of the individual, in question. The same Subhedar is further warned that he (Subhedar) will be treated harshly if he (Shivaji) receives any further information about his
Directive to Revenue Collectors:

A letter addressed to Hamaji Anant Subhedar dated 5th September 1676 refers to the system of revenue collection and the attitude which revenue collectors must adopt while collecting the revenue. Shivaji states that the revenue officer should behave properly and correctly. While collecting the revenue, they should not collect even a stem more than whatever is due to government from farmers. 'You should collect revenue in such manner that the ryots receive its proper share and the government also receives its proper share. The government (i.e. Shivaji) will be displeased if you harass or vex the ryots for collecting the revenue. You must make an attempt, by removing from village to village, by which the ryots will be rejuvenated and that they will sow their farms with vigour. All the Kunabis of a village should be asked to assemble and revenue officers should render all sorts of help to those who need it. Attempts should be made by which the waste land would be brought under cultivation. The necessary facilities and exemption should be given to those who deserve it.'

Effect of the Policy:
The above mentioned letters clearly denote the policy which Shivaji adopted towards his ryots. This attitude bridged the gulf between the ruler and the ruled. This policy created a sense of unity, a feeling that 'this is our government', which looks after the happiness and prosperity of the people as suggested by the Royal Seal of Shivaji viz. युद्ध मद्य राजते. The words on the Royal Seal, were not like a political platitude meant to deceive the people, but the words which reflected the true spirit behind them and the actual implementation of it.

Religious Reform : Reconversion :

The most important religious reform which Shivaji enunciated was that of re-conversion of those Hindus who had embraced Muslim religion for one reason or another. Many Hindus embraced Muslim religion because they were forced to do so, many were enticed, while a few adopted for selfish motive or political gain. The orthodox Hindu religious tradition had prevented the re-entry into the Hindu fold of those who had knowingly or unknowingly embraced other religion. Shivaji started this tradition of re-conversion by asking Netaji Palkar to re-embrace Hindu religion. It is essential to narrate the history of this important event. Netaji Palkar was one of the trusted Sardars of Shivaji. At the camp of Vishalgad in 1666, there arose a row between Shivaji and Netaji. Netaji left Shivaji and joined the Bijapur Darbar and became a Jahagirdar.
of Vijapur Kingdom. He started attacking the Mughal Kingdom. Jay Sing first arrested him and later on gave an employment under him. After Shivaji's flight from Agra, Aurangzeb arrested him and kept him at Agra, on the assumption that Netaji was a relative of Shivaji. In order to avoid harassment in prison, Netaji, along with his wives and children, embraced Muslim religion. He was named 'Mushid Qulikhan' and was given an important post. After ten years i.e. on the 19th June 1676 Netaji Palkar was reconverted by performing a certain 'Prayaschitta' ceremony, and Murshid Qulikhan once again became Netaji Palkar. This was really a stupefying incident for Hindus. This shows the willingness on the part of Shivaji to keep aside the superficial religious technical conditions for the important political cause which serves the national interest. People obviously have attached more importance to this unique episode, which had some political effects in the country as a whole.

Religious attitude:

There are many Sanads available, showing the religious attitude of Shivaji. Even prior to his coronation ceremony Shivaji had granted Inam to Veda Murti Gopal Bhat Bin Shridharbhat of Mahabaleshwar. There is one unique

78. Patrasarsangraha, Part II.
79. Sanads and Letters.
appears that Shivaji was a student of Gopalbhat. Another Sanad granted in 1654 to Sidheshwar-bhat bin Meghnathbhat, Brahmin Paragana Chakan shows Shivaji's belief in religious blessings offered by holy Brahmins. The Sanad begins with the word obedient Shivaji. It states that 'because Swami had performed certain religious rites he, (Shivaji) had been able to secure kingdom for himself and had received all, whatever he had prayed for. He had an experience to that effect and therefore he is granting a Varshasan (Endorsement). This kingdom is the gift of Swami ...' Sanads granting endowments to holy places like Chinchwad, Dehu, Alandi, Chaphal are also available. Sanad was granted to one Taponidhi Deobharati residing at Mudalgaon because he conferred blessings upon Shivaji and said that 'the Forts of Salher and Mulher will be conquered on the 9th day from to-day.' 'If it happens,' said Shivaji, 'I will grant this village to you.' The said forts were captured by Shivaji exactly on the 9th day. Shivaji kept his word by granting a Sanad.

80. Sanads and Letters.
81. Biography of Hamdas.
82. Sanads and Letters.
to that effect.

**Temple:**

Shivaji reconstructed the temple of the God Saptakotishwar at Narve (near Goa). This temple was demolished by Portuguese in 1540. In May, 1675 Shivaji conquered the Fort Phonda, Shiweshwar, Ankola and Kadwar. He repaired the Fort Phonda and fixed a wooden plate (which had a carved Ganapati idol in it) upon the main entrance-gate of the Fort.

**New Political Policy - Deccan for Deccanis:**

When the coronation ceremony was over and the administration firmly rooted in the state, Shivaji undertook the task of increasing the size of Swarajya. There were three important powers he had to face viz. Mughal, Bijapur and Golkonda. Besides these, there were other powers too! For example Siddis, English, Portuguese etc. After the death of Ali Adil Shah II in 1672 the Bijapur power rapidly broke up. Taking advantage of this situation, Shivaji conquered eastern Karnataka. The territory annexed by Shivaji roughly covers an area of 22,000 sq. miles, including 86 forts and yielding a revenue of Rs. 44 lakhs. Prior to this campaign, Shivaji entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the government of Golkonda, i.e. Qutb Shah.

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83. Portuguese Maratha Relations.
84. " " "
The adoption of this new policy i.e. 'Deccan for Deccanis' was not a genuine one. It was a policy adopted for a temporary period to achieve the political gain. In Bijapur Darbar, there were two factions - one led by Pathans under Bahalolkhan and other led by Deccani Muslim Khawaskhan. The attitude adopted by Mughal power was based upon the temporary gain. The Mughals changed sides on several occasions. In order to face Mughal power of the North, it was desirable on the part of Shivaji to align himself with the power of Southern Muslims. The actual result of this policy, was the increase of the Maratha power in the Deccan at the cost of Muslim powers.

The Aim of the Policy:

The aim of this policy is clearly reflected in a letter written by Shivaji in March, 1677 to Malojiraje Ghorpade of Mudhol. Malojiraje Ghorpade was the son of Baji Ghorpade, who had treacherously arrested Shahaji on the 25th July 1648. Yet Shivaji conniving at this act on the part of Ghorpade, wrote him a letter. In this letter, Shivaji narrated the historical background of the conflict between the two families and mentions his aim. When Shahaji was a de facto ruler of Nizam Shahi, his aim was to make our kingdom i.e. Marathas who are subsisting themselves upon the ordinary hosts of Sardars, as Imperial Sardars

85. Patrasarsangraha, Part II, Itihas Manjiri.
Accordingly your father was made an Imperial Sardar. Now Bahalolkhan is a Pathan - has become a master of Adilshahi. If Pathans become powerful, then they will destroy one after another the powerful, influential families of Southerners. Therefore, we kept friendly relations with Qutb Shah of Bhaganagar. Qutb Shah requested us to visit Bhaganagar. Qutb Shah knowing fully well that I have now become a Chhatrapati, adopted a new protocol, and left aside the traditional protocol of salute etc. We embraced each other on equal terms. During the discussion that followed we both accepted the policy that 'our rule' Padshahi should be extended as far as possible, the Pathan rule should be destroyed and we should take such steps by which the Pada Shahi of Deccan shall remain in the hands of ours, i.e. in the hands of the Deccanis. I, therefore, thought, that all true Marathas should be introduced to Qutb Shah. It is but proper for us to consider the good of the Marathas who are my kith and kin. You should be free from suspicion because the Pathans (of Bijapur) leave the Pathans and come to me at Bhaganagar. Bijapur had been taken over by Pathans. Now, where remains Adil Shahi? If you wish to continue your service at Bijapur still Pathan is not going to give you any higher post. Moreover, we ourselves and other southern powers together are going to destroy the Pathan-rule at Bijapur. Therefore, leave Adil Shahi and join Qutb Shahi.
The Result of the Policy:

The actual effect of this policy - Deccan for Deccaniis - was the weakening of both the Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi powers, also the great Mughal power and strengthening the Maratha power. Because soon after the Karnataka expedition, Shivaji had a rupture with Qutb Shah. Qutb Shah had borne all the expenses of this expedition but Shivaji neither had given a single fort out of 36 conquered there nor a part of the fabulous booty to Qutb Shah. So Qutb Shah and the Ministers of Bijapur entered into a mutual agreement. Their aim was to confine Shivaji to Konkan. But this coalition was broken. Shivaji, who a year ago wrote to Malojiraje Ghorpade, that he should leave Bijapur and join Qutb Shah, now helped the defence of Bijapur by raiding Mughal territory. In a lengthy letter Shivaji states that 'the Dilir Khan, observing the weakness of Bijapur government, had descended upon the Bijapur city. Masaud Khan wrote to me that 'the enemy (Mughals) is pressing hard. Therefore, please come and help us.' Accordingly, I started immediately and reacted Panhala'. Shivaji then narrates how he, with a large army, had defeated Ranamasta Khan, had looted the Mughal territory. He further states that 'Dilir Khan now understood that if we (Dilir Khan) remain here, our rule will be totally overthrown; therefore, he left Bijapur.
Thus, we protected Bijapur by removing the calamity hanging over Bijapur. We encircled the enemy and utterly routed the same wherever it went. The enemy had been defeated to such an extent that it dare not attack Bijapur again.

Extension of Swarajya:

It is clear from the letters cited above that the policy 'Deccan for Deccanis' supported by Shivaji was not the real political aim of Shivaji. Mughals for north or any other power from North was not automatically 'a foreign power' to Shivaji because it came from North. From his point of view all Muslim powers were foreign.

Whether they are in the South or in the North, was simply immaterial for him. His real political aim was to extend the territory of Swarajya. He supported the policy in order to realise this political aim, which he successfully achieved.

The Death of Shivaji:

Shivaji died after a short illness on the 4th April, 1680. At the time of his death, his kingdom included all the country from Kamnagar to Karwar (excluding Portuguese possessions); its eastern boundary embraced Baglan in the North and then ran southwards through the Middle of the Nasik and Poona districts, encircling the whole of Satara and much of the Kolhapur district.
territories conquered in Karnatak were ruled by a Viceroy at Jinji. Shivaji successfully established a national state in 1774 and strengthened it from 1774 to 1680. The important factor was the spirit of nationalism which survived after him, facing grim onslaughts of the Muslim power under Aurangzeb. This spirit defeated all the attempts of Aurangzeb to smash this tiny national state. On the contrary, this tiny national state, later on became an imperial power extending its sway from Peshawar in the North to Jinji in the South and upto Bengal in the East.

In the next chapter we have to study the policy adopted by Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai to face the Mughal power. The spirit of nationalism and the policies adopted by Rajaram and Tarabai upto 1707 paved the way for Shahu to establish Maratha Empire or Maratha Confederacy.