Shivaji the Great created an enduring edifice of a kingdom at least as big as Great Britain. He was a great general and a conqueror but he was perhaps greater as a founder of a National state. The whole career of Shivaji was one of struggle and stress. Starting his career with high ideals of protecting the honour of the people in his kingdom, he was careful to abstain from other disgraceful acts and scrupulous enough to maintain the honour of women and children when they fell into his hands.

So far as the origin of Shivaji is concerned, the kannada account maintains that he was a carpenter by caste. But other non-kannada sources maintain that he was a ksatriya. Shahji and Jija Bai, after their marriage, spent a few years happily. In 1623 Jija Bai gave birth to a child, thirteen years after the marriage.

1. Linganna Kavi (K.N.V., IX, pp.137-138) says that while Rana of Udaipur was ruling the kingdom in pomp, he got a son by his first wife whom he named Rana. One day while Rana was returning to his capital from hunting, he saw the daughter of a carpenter in the vicinity of his capital. He married the girl and got by the latter two sons whom he named Shivaji and Sambhaji. One day the three sons of Rana went out on hunting; and as they were tired of hunting they went to take rest under the shade of a tree. While they were reposing, Shivaji asked his brother Rana, the name of a tree which was at a distance. Rana replied that only the sons of carpenter could tell the names of trees. On coming to Udaipur Shivaji and Sambhaji deliberated that they had no claims to the throne as they were born of a mother belonging to a carpenter's caste. The two brothers went to the shrine of Onkareshwara and prayed for his blessings. The God appeared in Shivaji's dream, conferred upon him kingship and directed him to go on hunting the next day and dig the place wherever his shirt would be caught to a plant. The two brothers did accordingly.

(continued on the next page)
He was named Sambhaaji. On April 10, 1627, after an interval of eight years, another son was born to them. This was Shivaji, the Founder of the Maratha empire. At the time of his birth Jija Bai was living in a house on the top of Shivner fort. Shivner was one of the seven forts ceded by Shahji to the Moghals according to the terms of the treaty signed in October 1636. In the same year Shahji went over to the side of Bijapur. While he was in Bijapur an interesting event took place.

Very early in his life, Shivaji showed signs of utter repugnance to the treacherous systems and practices of the Muslims in the kingdoms of the Deccan. One day while Shivaji was accompanying his father to the court of the Sultan of Bijapur, he saw to his utter indignation, a Vazir of the Sultan engaging himself in the slaughter of the cows which have been worshipped by the Hindus as sacred animals; and he told his father that it would not be right

(from previous page)
They saw treasure buried underground and with the help of it they built up a kingdom. According to Linganna Kavi the father of Shivaji was Rana of Udaipur but not Shahji. Though the author confines the genealogy of Shivaji, yet the rest of his work pertaining to the exploits of Shivaji is more or less in complete agreement with other non-kannada sources.

1. There are discrepancies about the date of Shivaji's birth in various Bakhars. Malhar Ram Rao and Shivadurgalaya give the second of the first half of Vaishakh as the date and Thursday as the day of week. But the date and day do not seem to agree. The Kairi's Bakhara, giving the same date and day as in the text gives the year as Saka 1548. Wilks says that he was born on the 17th of May 1626. The Shedgaokar Bakhara gives Saturday, the 3rd of the first half of Vaishakh, Saka year 1549 as the birth date. While Jedha chronology dates the event in Saka year 1551, Falgun which would be Feb.1630 A.D. I have preferred here Raja Wade's Marathi Itihasanchi Sadhane, pp. 42-43.

and logical to let go the butcher unpublished. Shahji who had thrived on the august state of Bijapur advised his son not to protest against such practices as it would affect his position to a good deal. Turning deaf ear to the admonitions of his father, Shivaji called upon the Vazir and asked him to refrain from indulging in such cruel practices. When the Vazir did not care for him, there ensued a fight between the two. This news was soon communicated to the Sultan who, by summoning the father and the son to his court reminded them of their true positions in a Muslim State.¹

Fearing that the unruly boy might injure his own prospects of advancement by pursuing anti-Bijapur activities, Shahji ordered Jija Bai and her son to go away to Poona.²

Poona district was a grant made to Shahji by the Bijapur Government. Shahji appointed Dadaji Konde Deva to administer the Jagir. In 1638 both mother and son journeyed to Poona and Shivaji was left there under the guardianship of Dadaji.³

¹ Linganna Kavi: Ke. N.V; pp.149-150: Chap, IX, Stanza 42:
³ Kincaid & Parasnis: A.H.M. P. P.16; see and compare Sarkar’s Shivaji and His Times, pp. 23-24. Linganna Kavi (Ke. N.V, IX, Verse 42) says that Shivaji unwilling to accept the advise of his father went away to Javlí where he raised a strong army to make his fortune.
Education: "Shivaji could never write his name" is the dogmatic assertion of James Grant Duff. But it is a wrong notion. Many letters written by Shivaji himself have come down to us. In the collection of English records on Shivaji, there are about eight references which have a direct bearing on the question of literacy of Shivaji. Phillip Goffert reports that Raoji Pandit received a letter on the 11th April 1663 from Shivaji, "written himself" giving him an account of the Shahab Khan incident. When we add to the English references, the accounts of Tarikh-i-Shivaji and Shiva Bharata, the combined result of all these point towards the conclusion that Shivaji could write and used to send autographed letters.

Shivaji knew several languages. He learnt Bhagavata and Bharata from learned teachers.

Shivaji knew riding, wrestling, spear-throwing, sworismanship and swimming. Further he could imitate the voices of birds and beasts. He enjoyed to listen to the recitations of Ramayana and Mahabharata.

2. English Records on Shivaji, P.53. See also letter No.53 in P.46; letter No.429 in 314; letter No.473, P.347; letter No.198/11, pp.105-106; letter No.224/11, P.113; No.226/11, P.121; letter No.231/11, P.124; letter No.251/11, pp.137-138; letter No.26, P.133. in the same work.
3. J.N. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times (III edition) P.91, quotes No.60 without any comment on "the letter from the Raja written himself to Raoji". Again in P.27 he asserts that "the weight of the evidence is in favour of the view that Shivaji was unlettered". But he has not given those evidences.
Sardesai in this connection says that "Shivaji was doubtless taught reading and writing". Wilks observes, "For Shivaji he (Dadaji) procured all the advantages of civil and military education which the state of times could afford". Therefore it is clear that Shivaji knew reading and writing.

Shivaji at Bangalore: When Shahji entered the Bijapur service, the Sultan conferred upon him the old Jagir in Poona and commissioned him to go to Karnataka along with R.D.Khan. Before leaving for Mysore, Shahji entrusted the duty of administering the old Jagir to Dadaji Kondedev. Jija Bai and Shivaji were left behind under his guardianship. Dadaji built a palace called Lal Mahal for their residence.

After the successful termination of the Mysore campaign, Shahji was placed in charge of the conquered districts in Mysore with Bangalore as his headquarters. About 1640 "Dadaji, Shivaji & Jija Bai paid a visit to Bangalore; and for about two years from 1640 to 1643, the whole family was at Bangalore.

Jija Bai and Shahji, having met after their long separation, got Shivaji married to a girl named Sai Bai from the Nimbalkar family of Phalton. In 1640 the marriage was celebrated at Bangalore with

4. See Chapter IV.
5. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, P.56; Shivaji and His Times (3rd edition), P.2; Sardesai N.H.M., Vol.I, P.74. The actual date of their visit is nowhere recorded. I have preferred the probable date of Sardesai.

(For foot-note 6 please see next page)
great pomp and eclat. Jija Bai, during her stay at Bangalore, went on pilgrimage to several Hindu shrines of Mysore. Being saturated with the traditions of Vijayanagara empire, Bangalore played a pivotal part in the history of Mysore Maratha relations. The court of Shahji at Bangalore was a miniature edition of old Hindu courts; not modelled after the Muslim court of Bijapur or Ahmadnagar. It was in this heart of Hindu empire that Shivaji's ideals were shaped. He resided at Bangalore for some years during his most impressive years of a precocious boyhood. Being saturated with the tales from Ramayana and Mahabharata, Shivaji aspired to be guided by these Epics. Can we expect such a mind to remain impervious and unconcerned with the history of the territories surrounding Bangalore especially when his father was conquering those territories from the heirs of the immortal Vijayanagara, lawfully or otherwise? We can take it for certain that Shivaji's mind was thrilled by the tales of Vijayanagara, by the exploits of its heroes and the cultural work of its learned men like Krishnadeva Raya, Therefore it is clear that Shivaji's ideal was formed in the shadow of Vijayanagara.

(from previous page)

6. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times (5th edition). Shivaji's marriage is related differently by different authors. Takakhav (Life of Shivaji Maharaj, P. 56) says that the marriage was solemnised at Poona while Kincaid and Parasnis (A.H.M.P., P. 16) say that Shivaji was wedded at Bijapur. I prefer the former.

1. Sardesai (N.H.M., Vol. I, P. 75) thinks that she went on pilgrimage because she did not feel at ease as the court of Bangalore was filled with Muslims. But Shiva Bharat, Chapter IX, Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu, Ch. VII (both Sanskrit) say that the court was adorned with Hindu poets and officers.

2. Radha Madhav Vilasa - Champu, Ch. VII; Shiva Bharat, Ch. IX.
Shivaji's way of living; his anxiety to absorb what is best in Hindu culture; his attitude towards Hindu priests and temples; all these speak of the mental make up of Shivaji. He imbibed and cultivated all these ideas at Bangalore and its surrounding parts "where Hindu life was still flowing in its pristine purity unimposed upon by foreign domination".  

There were shrewd diplomats and wise and far-sighted counsellors at Shahji's court. They asked questions among themselves as, "was it not Shahji's duty to try and preserve this noble ancient culture and learning? Why should he at least protest against these destructive actions of Bijapur Government?". The boy Shivaji listened to them attentively. 

After spending nearly two years, the whole family was sent back by Shahji from Bangalore to Poona with their full retinue in 1643. Those who accompanied the family were confidential officers of Shahji and were well trained in the art of Government at Bangalore. 

Paramananda says: "In a few days Shahji Raja gave leave to Shivaji to depart from Bangalore at an auspicious moment, supplying him with infantry, cavalry and elephants, also prominent ministers, renowned instructors, costly flags and insignia of royalty and with

3. Vij. Sex.Com. Vol. p.128; Shiva Charitra Nibhandavali, Ch. IV; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I, P.95. Sardesai fixes the end of 1642 or the beginning of 1643 as the date when the whole family went to Poona from Bangalore. I have preferred here Sardesai's date not Shejwalker's date of 1641.
plentiful treasure". 1 Shyamrao Nilkanth Peshwa, "Sukrishnapant Mazumdar, Bala\ji Hari Majalsi (Sabhasad), Raghunath Ballal Korde, sonopant Dahir, Raghunath Ballal Atre Chitnis - these and other officers were well instructed and sent with Shivaji. 2

**Swarajya**: Having arrived in Poona, Shivaji set himself to the task of achieving Swarajya - swarajya outside the limits of original Jagirs but based upon it. 3 Shivaji dreamed of reestablishing Hindu empire. "I will conquer Delhi from its ancient throne. I will re-suscitate Hinduism", said Shivaji. 4 Shivaji was the crown and essence of Hinduism. Labouring hard, day in and day out in the selection of a band of selfless workers and in the reconnaissance of difficult passes in Sahyadri mountains, Shivaji resolved to put his dream into action.

Shivaji drew the attention of his comrades to the hardships inflicted and the wrongs and injustice done to the Hindus by the Muslims. He inspired them to action in the following way:

"Why remain content with the gifts conferred by foreigners or with our paternal acquisitions only? The whole country is ours and yet it is held by the Muslims. They desecrate our temples, break our idols, plunder our wealth, convert our countrymen forcibly to their religion; we will suffer

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3. Ibid.
4. Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi: A saviour of Hinduism (translated into English from original Gujarati) - Shivaji Souvenir, P.120.
this treatment no more. Let us draw our sword in defence of our sacred religion and liberate our native country". ¹

The horrible cruelties perpetrated in the south by the Muslims moved Shivaji to righteous indignation. Soon he set himself to work out his designs. Sinhagad was attacked and reduced to submission. In 1646 Torna was captured.² Shivaji secured here large amount of treasures which helped him enormously in his preparatory work.³ Within a very short period Shivaji established his authority over Maval country.⁴ Acquisition of Rohida, construction of Raygad and organisation of Mawale youths created a great uneasiness among the hostile groups of the successor states of the Bahmani empire.

Dadaji at Bangalore: In 1646 Dadaji Kondedeva visited Shahji at Bangalore and explained the growing political situation at Bijapur consequent on the activities of Shivaji. He seemed to have begged instructions from Shahji as to his future policy.⁵ Dadaji passed away on March 7th, 1647, a year later after his return from Bangalore.⁶ Thereafter Shivaji became the sole master of the Poona Jagir.

3. Ibid.
7. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I. P.102. Wilks (I, P.88) says that Shivaji cared little to his teacher and that he was responsible for the death of the latter. But Sardesai (I, P.99) says that Dadaji whole-heartedly supported the new movement of Shivaji. From this it is clear that Shivaji never disregarded his teacher.
Shivaji sent Sambhaji to Bangalore: Resuming his policy of territorial conquest, Shivaji captured Chakan naming it Sangramdurg. Then Shivaji took Purandar from Milo Nilakanth Samseik, Governor of Bijapur. The fort proved to him of immense value in the long run. One night Shivaji marched on Supa and took possession of it by plundering all its belongings. Its Governor, Sambhaji, an unfriendly relation of Shivaji (Sambhaji's sister Tuka Bai was married to Shahji) was sent under proper escort to Bangalore, somewhere between 1649 - 1652.

The seal of Shivaji: The unique seal of Shivaji compares the slow but sure growth of the Swarajya to the progress of the Moon which by degrees attains fulness on the purnima day. Like the official seal, Shivaji assumed the title Chhatrapati long before the celebration of his coronation in 1674, during the first stage of his Swarajya.

Conquest of Javli: Shivaji realized that his independence movements would remain incomplete, if Chandra Rao of Javli was not reduced to submission. When all his peaceful efforts proved null and void in bringing round Chandra Rao, Shivaji declared war; and a terrible battle was fought near Javli in which Chandra Rao was killed and Javli was taken possession of (26th January 1656).

1. Ibid, pp. 102-103.
3. Ibid: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.104. "The seal of Shiva, the son of Shah shines forth for the good (of the people). It is to increase daily like the first phase of the Moon and is going to be respected by the universe". The seal was used in papers from 1645 onwards.
4. Ibid, pp.105-106.
Shivaji obtained here large amount of accumulated treasures; and two miles west of Javli he built a new fort, pratapagad. It was in this year Shivaji started his independent career.  

Shivaji's earliest raid into Karnatak: Consequent upon the death of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur on November 4th, 1656, a serious controversy arose among the nobles of the court on the question of lawful heir to the throne. Taking advantage of this civil faction, Shivaji launched forth his first Karnataka expedition and grabbed whatever he could. He marched at the head of a powerful army and encamped at Masur in the vicinity of Bednur, on the northern border of Mysore. As soon as the arrival of Shivaji was communicated to the Shah of Bijapur, the latter immediately detached Iklas Khan, the son of Khan Muhammad and the Subahdar of Karnataka to intercept the raid. The army of Iklas Khan was strongly reinforced by Rauloji Chorapare, Venkatadri Wagoji and Hanumantha Gowda. In the action that followed between the two armies, Shivaji was completely routed and driven out. This was the most ignominious defeat sustained by Shivaji for the first time in Karnataka on Jan. 5th, 1657 A.D.  

North and South Konkan seized: During 1655 Shivaji learnt from his spies that the Sultan of Bijapur ordered the Governor of Kalyan

3. The Karnataka Historical Review, Vol. V, Part II. July 1939, pp.20-21. The author of the article, G.H.Khare has arrived at this conclusion mainly relying on the three documents which he secured from (1) the Ghorpade family at Kolhapur, (2) Venkatadri Srinivasa Bahadur Desai of Gadag(Dharwar) and (3) Baba Sahib Bahadur Desai of Guttal (Dharwar).
named Mulla Ahmad to transfer his accumulated treasure to Bijapur. Soon Shivaji detached one party to fall on the load of treasures and transfer it straight way to his residence; and other party to subdue Kalyan. The scheme was highly successful. Towards the end of 1657, the whole province of North Konkan came into his hands. From there he turned towards the south and returned to Raigad after inspecting the country.¹

**Karnatak expeditions of Shivaji:** B. G. Khara on the basis of Adil Shahi farmans and a Marathi document traces another Karnatak expedition undertaken by Shivaji in the year 1658, but the details of the war were lost in obscurity.² The same author proves on the basis of Adil Shahi document that Shivaji raided as far as Terdal (Bijapur) in the early part of 1659 A.D.³

**Afzal Khan's end:** Troubles and tribulations that Shivaji had been giving to Bijapur made the young prince Ali call upon his nobles, at the suggestion of Badi Sahiba, the widowed queen, to volunteer for the command of the army destined to destroy Shivaji and his followers. In the meanwhile the young Sultan called upon Shahji and directed him to punish his son Shivaji for his disloyal conduct. Linganna Kavi writes: "The Bijapur Sultan, having heard the turbulent activities of Shivaji summoned Shahji and angrily ordered him to bring to his presence his son". Further the Sultan

³. Ibid.
threatened that "if he failed to capture his son, Shivaji, he (the Sultan) himself would undertake to capture and kill him". Shahji replied that his son was not acting under his eyes and orders and as such he could not be held responsible for the acts of his son. He also pointed out that he had no objection to any step that the Bijapur Government could adopt in dealing with his son. Having understood the relations between the son and the father, the Sultan wrote a letter to Shahji on May 26, 1653:

"Be it known to his loyal subject that the improper conduct and acts of Shivaji are evident to his Majesty. Therefore faults of Shivaji will not be laid upon you. Hence keep your mind composed."

Shahji alone stood by his master as a loyal officer during critical times of Bijapur. Then Bijapur sent Afzal Khan against Shivaji.

Afzal Khan was secretly instructed by the Sultan to capture Shivaji dead or alive by pretending friendship. One of the English Factory records says: "Against Shivaji, the Queen, sent Abdullah Khan with an army of 10,000 horse and foot and because she knew with that strength he was not able to resist Shivaji, she

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2. Ibid, Atanenna matinolillam.
5. In Ke.N.V., P.151 his name is mentioned as Abdulla Khan, apparently a scribal error.
counseled him to pretend friendship with his enemy which he did. Afzal Khan came with rapid marches and encamped at wali, about 16 miles east of Pratapgarh whither Shivaji and his mother had already come and taken up their residence. Interview was fixed to be held at Pratapgarh on November 10, 1659 between Shivaji and Afzal Khan. When Shivaji arrived in at the appointed place, Afzal Khan rose up and embraced him tightly. Without losing courage, Shivaji thrust his short sword into Khan's body and killed him. Thus Sambhaji's death at Kanakagiri was avenged by his brother.

Conquest of Panhala and its surrounding places: Afzal Khan's episode proves once again the decline of the Bijapur State. With the falling fortunes of Bijapur, Shivaji's independence movement became quicker and sharper. Shivaji attacked Panhala and its surrounding districts of Kolhapur, Vasantgarh, Khelna and Rangana and took possession of them. Raibag, Gadag and Lakshmeshwar were plundered and reduced. By the end of January 1660 Shivaji was found at Rajgad with vast booty at his disposal. The kannada account maintains that "Shivaji with the object of subduing the whole Bijapur kingdom, raised a strong army and conquered Pannali (Panhala), Vasantgarh and other surrounding places".

The Sultan of Bijapur in his perplexity summoned his

1. Revington at Rajpur to Company, 10, December 1659.
4. Linganna Kavi: Ke.N.V., Ch.IX, P.150, Vs. 44-45.
Viceroy, Siddi Jauhar of Karnool, honoured him with the title of Salabat Khan and ordered him to lead an expedition against Shivaji. Salabat Khan with the assistance of Baji Ghorpade, Rustam-i-Zaman, and the English factors of Rajapur, proceeded and encamped at Panhala in May 1660.

It was exactly in this year that Shaista Khan, a renowned Moghal Commander, stepped on the soil of the Deccan as the Governor, taking up his residence at Ahmadnagar. Realising the precarious position of Shivaji at Panhala, Shaista Khan left Ahmadnagar in February 1660 and occupied Poona in May. Thus Shivaji was about to be crushed by "two huge grinders."

Finding the futility of resistance, Shivaji opened negotiations with Salabat Khan. When siege operations were stopped, Shivaji, on the dark night of July 1660, slipped away and by daybreak he found himself safe at Valsalgad. On 22 September 1660, Shivaji delivered Panhala to Bijapur and concluded peace.1

In 1661 Shivaji pounced upon the Moghals, who had been detached by Shaistakhan to conquer Kalyan, in the narrow defiles of Umber Khind and exacted heavy ransom. Thereafter Shivaji conquered Konkan territory and looted English Factories.2

Night raid on Shaista Khan: Shaista Khan's conquest of Kalyan, devastating expeditions in the neighbouring territories of Poona

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2. Ibid, pp. 137-139.
and inhuman cruelties were a source of alarm to Shivaji. Taking up his residence at Sinhagad, Shivaji had been waiting to make a sudden dash on Khan's residence at Poona. That day came. On April 5th, 1663, during dark hours, Shivaji attacked Shaista Khan in his bed room, cut of his fingers and fled away. Khan's son Abdull Fateh was killed; and two other sons and maid servants were wounded.  

This is confirmed by kannada source which says:

"Aurangzeb despatched his maternal-uncle, Shaista Khan with instructions to capture Shivaji, who was causing disturbances in his (Aurangzeb's) empire. Marching with all his rapidity at the head of a large army, Shaistakhan laid siege to Poona". "Having come to know of this, Shivaji personally attacked, cut off Khan's fingers and slipped away in darkness".  

Further it maintains that Shaistakhan who was afflicted with great fear, soon made his way to Delhi with the wreck of the army, interviewed the Emperor and told him all that happened at Poona. But non-kannada sources reveal that in great haste, Shaista Khan retired to Aurangabad. This being communicated to the Emperor, the latter transferred Shaistakhan to Bengal as the Governor.

After this spectacular incident, Shivaji attacked Surat and carried away great riches in early January 1664.  

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2. Lintanna Kavi maker. Ponhla which Is wrong.
   V.49:阀likavana rajyagalolupatalavam rachisalke tanna 
mavanenippagga la naha Shaistakhana naalavim bilkode
   (continued)
Affairs of Mysore: As soon as Shivaji returned to Rajgad, he heard the sad news of the sudden death of his father near Hodigere in Shimoga district on 23rd January 1664 in an accident while engaged in hunting. The kannada account says that Shahji died of some disease in the neighbourhood of Sira while he was on his way from Tanjore to Bijapur.

Shivaji went to Hodigere and distributed large sums of money in charity. He caused to be constructed a building over the spot where his father had fallen. After making due arrangements for lamp-burning in the building to honour the dead man's spirit, Shivaji returned to Maharashtra.

Shivaji's Karnataka expedition, 1664: Somashekara Nayaka, the ruler of Badnur (1664-1671) did not begin his rule in an happy augury because the whole atmosphere of the Deccan and the coast of Kanara was thrown into great confusion and chaos of a civil war. Taking advantage of this situation, Shivaji projected his campaign of conquest. He fitted out four vessels to Kanara while he wished to go overland with an army. He reached Barakur by sea and dismissed
the greater part of his fleet at Gokarna, scourged the country and exacted heavy contribution from Karwar, towards which the English Factory paid £112. It appeared to be a plundering expeditions for he conquered and annexed to his kingdom not an inch of land in Kanara. Again in 1665 Shivaji appeared before Bednare with 85 brigades, collected a booty of 80,000 guilders and set sail.¹

Shivaji and Jai Singh: The discomfiture of Shaista Khan and the sack of Surat caused bitter mortification to Aurangzeb who immediately called on Jai Singh to his presence and ordered him to bring Shivaji a prisoner by making sudden advance on his capital city.² Accordingly Jai Singh arrived at Poona on March 3rd, 1665 with full equipments.

Jai Singh occupied important places around Poona and prevented Shivaji from having any foot hold. Above all he appealed to the English at Bombay, Portuguese at Goa for help. The Nayak of Bednur helped Jai Singh in men and materials.³

Jai Singh despatched Dilir Khan to lay siege to Purandar. Dilir Khan went and stormed the fort, killing Murar Baji, the defender of the fort. Being alarmed at the increasing difficulties

Shivaji opened negotiations with Jai Singh and Dilir Khan and concluded the treaty of Purandar in June 1665. One of the important terms of the treaty was that Shivaji should join Jai Singh in reducing Bijapur and that his son Sambhaji should accept a command of 5000 horse in the Imperial service. This treaty was ratified by Aurangzeb. Shivaji joined Jai Singh with his contingents, and the combined armies moved to Mangalvedhe on December 18th, 1665. Here Maloji Ghorpade of Mudhol and Ekoji from Bangalore joined the Bijapur forces under Sharza Khan and Khawas Khan who had arrived from Bijapur to oppose the Moghals. For the first time the two brothers, Shivaji and Ekoji stood face to face in an open combat.

A sanguinary action took place in which the Bijapurs were completely defeated. While Shivaji had been conquering one country after another, Aurangzeb had been writing letters of appreciation to the former. In one of the letters Aurangzeb invited the Maratha prince to his court, promising free permission to return home whenever he wished.

In the meanwhile Shivaji met Jai Singh. Linganna Kavi says: "When Shivaji came and paid a visit to Jai Singh, the latter shook his hand. Then Shivaji smilingly said to Jai Singh that if he had the vigour to hold him by his hand, he could do so; otherwise he should honourably leave him (Shivaji). On hearing this Jai Singh

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told him categorically that he would not let him go when once he held him by his hand". Probably Jai Singh insisted on Shivaji to go to the Imperial court.

Having held long deliberations with Jija Bai and other courtiers, Shivaji decided to visit the Emperor. Shivaji made arrangements for the smooth working of his administrative machinery and set out for Delhi. Linganna Kavi says:

"Shivaji, accompanied by his son, Sambhaji set out for Delhi, attended by a small contingent". Some weeks' travel brought the party to Delhi on May 9th, 1666.

Shivaji's interview with Aurangzeb: Shivaji paid a visit to Aurangzeb on May 12th, 1666 and was received most warmly by the Emperor. Shivaji presented a Nazar or offering of Rs.30,000. Highly elated at the presentation, Aurangzeb cried out, "Come up, Shivaji Raja, Come up "1. "Aurangzeb honoured Shivaji with suitable presents and conducted him to a specially constructed house where he was imprisoned". This is the version of Linganna. Other non-kannada sources state that Shivaji was accorded a place along with the mansabdars of 5000 horse in the court of Aurangzeb. Shivaji considered this as an insult and resented. Consequently Shivaji was

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2. Ke.N.V., IX, P.153: Sabhasad says that Shivaji started for the North with his son, seven trusty chief officers and 4000 troops (Shivaji and His Times, P.142 (3rd edition); Shedgavkar Bakhar says that Shivaji took with him 1,000 infantry and 3000 horse (A.H.M.P., P.74), Khafi Khan and Parasnis Manuscripts place the scene of Shivaji's detention at Agra. But Grant Duff, Ranade place the scene at Delhi. The latter authorities are corroborated by kannada source.

3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.153; Shivaji and His Times, P.143. F.N.

(foot note continued on the next page)
dismissed without any ceremony or return-presents and sent to a
house nearby where he learnt that he was a Moghal prisoner.\footnote{\text{1}}

The trick played by Aurangzeb created great mortification
to the sensitive spirit of Shivaji who set about devising plans for
his escape. To work out his plan, the first and foremost thing
was to enlist the sympathy of the Kotwal who guarded his prison.
Linganna Kavi says,

"Sojourning there for several days, Shivaji enlisted
the confidence of the Kotwal (Kavi Kalasa) by
various means, and through him obtained the per­
mission of the Emperor to send presents, sweet
meats and choice dishes to his several Vazirs
and Umars"?\footnote{\text{2}}

The wonderful escape:

The same author continues as follows,

"After taking the permission of the Emperor, Shivaji
collected a number of big but light baskets, filled
each one of them with various types of grains and
clothes, fruits and precious articles; and on every

\footnotetext{\text{1}}{\text{Ibid, IX, P.153; Avarangazebana bhethiyam kolalmanisi yuchita-
madugore vilyangalanithadarisi bidarakke teralchi ...chauki-
yanikkal...}}

\footnotetext{\text{2}}{\text{Be, N.V., IX, P.153; Shivaji Sambhaji vera su kelavu dina
miruthum kramadim nana prakardinda kavi kalasana nolagu maji-
kondu ninna samsthanadolirpa vajira umarevu galgautana udugere
galam majisalvelkendu pathu sahanindappane vettu.}}
day he used to send a basket to each of his Vazirs. By continuing this practice for several days, Shivaji created an impression in the minds of the guards that he was reliable.

At first the kotwal used to examine every basket that was passing out of his house. But as the practice of sending and receiving baskets continued long, the kotwal was disgusted and let the baskets pass unexamined. This was the opportunity for which Shivaji had been waiting. Shivaji suddenly announced that he was ill. He sent word to his guards not to disturb him. A few hours later he gave out that he had been recovering. Charities were distributed.

"Availing himself of the opportunity", Linganna Kavi says, "Shivaji put a long pillow on his cot and at the top of it another small pillow; and covered them with his bed-sheets, creating an impression on the guards that he was still sleeping in his bed. Then Shivaji put Sambhaji into one basket and himself got into another and were carried to the house of Jai Singh. There they disguised themselves as fakirs and started their journey."
Sabhasad Bakhar and Kafi Khan seem to differ from the account of kannada source although they are in agreement with it as far as the main event in respect of Shivaji was concerned. Sabhasad Bakhar says that that evening Shivaji and his son got each into a sweet-meat basket and their remaining followers, disguised as porters carried them out. One only of his retinue, the faithful Hireji Pharrand stayed behind. Kafi Khan says that Hireji Pharrand who looked some what like Shivaji, lay down on Shivaji's cot and covered his head with a muslin, but left exposed one of his hands upon which Shivaji had placed his own ring.

Thevenot the French traveller who was then at Agra has recorded what he saw and heard on the spot. As he was an eye-witness of the event, we can take him as a reliable source of information.

Route of Shivaji's flight: Shivaji and his son rode on a fast horse and reached Mathura the next day. There Shivaji left his son to the care of some faithful priests and started his journey. It was unsafe to take a direct route to the Deccan. Therefore Shivaji went to Benares and worshipped God Vishweswara with all his devotion. From Benares he went to Gaya where he went through the usual routine of worship. Then he turned his direction and

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2. Kafi Khan, Ii. 198-201.
3. See Appendix III.
4. Grant Duff: H.M. Vol.1, P.215. Linganna Kavi says that Shivaji advised his son, Sambhaji to proceed to Panhala with care and caution, disguised as a fakir. (Ke.N.V., IX, P.134)
journeyed to Golkonda. There Shivaji acquainted himself with Akkanna and Madanna, the two powerful administrators of the Golkonda kingdom. The latter immediately communicated the arrival of the great hero to Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golkonda for namesake and made arrangements for their personal meeting. On the appointed hour Shivaji went to the palace and met the Sultan who, feeling happy for the occasion, honoured the former with several costly presents. Taking leave of the Shah, Shivaji rode on horse and reached Panhala safely. From Panhala he rode in state to Rajgad on 20th November 1666.

Jija Bai saw her son and received him with open arms. His return to Rajgad was followed by widespread rejoicings throughout Maharashtra.

Not long afterwards Sambhaji reached home, Shivaji rewarded the faithful three brahmins Krishnaji, Kashi Rao and Visaji; gave them the title of Vishwas Rao (Lords of Fidelity) and a lakh of gold ríces and settled on them an annual revenue of 10,000 hun. The devoted companions of his own escape were similarly rewarded.

   V.55: Varakāśikśhētravana garuvaṅtha pordiminḍu vāraṇāsiyōḥ parama bhaktiyōle vishve shvvaṇaṇadiyam bhajisi kūde gayeyam sārdam
   V.56: Mirupākśhētraṇolam mige virachiph kṛityagalanāide tirchi kalikam Teradallinde tadareya Dere yam tām Goliṅkaṇe yavunīre sārdam See also Shivadīgviyajya Bakhar in A.H.M.P.


4. Sabhasad, P.57.
In the meanwhile in Delhi Shivaji did not rise as usual. As stillness was reigning supreme in the prison, the guards began to suspect the presence of Shivaji. They went and saw to their utter bewilderment that the bird had flown away. Immediately they ran and reported to the Emperor the flight of Shivaji. Aurangzeb became furious and rebuked the guards for their negligence of duty. Immediately Aurangzeb sent out a band of spies; and also a huge army instructing them to make a thorough search of the missing prince in all places. While the entire army engaged itself in the thorough search of the prince in all four directions, Aurangzeb learnt that Shivaji had left Gaya and reached Pannali (Panhal).

Aurangzeb also wrote to the Sultan of Bijapur asking him to make a search and send the escapologist with proper escort in case he was captured there.

How Aurangzeb felt for the flight of Shivaji can be seen in his own writing:

"The greatest pillar of a government is the keeping of information about everything that happens in the kingdom, while even a minute's negligence results in shame for long years. See, how the flight of

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2. Ibid. P.155. V.60: Terālāda vārgalnālgaḍgalō Loraṣuttire tacchivājī Gāyāyim poramā Turē pannāliyanāldida pāriyam kaldu turuskapatiyati khatiyim.

the wretch Shiva, which was due to carelessness, has involved me in all these distracting campaigns to the end of my days." \(^1\)

Jai Singh was still in the South making tremendous preparations to reduce Bijapur. Now Bijapur and Golconda united and made a surprise attack on the encampment of Jai Singh who in his distressing position wrote the Emperor the trouble of further investment and awaited orders. Aurangzeb disgraced and recalled him. In his place was appointed Shahzada Muazzam who took over the charges from Jai Singh at Aurangabad in May 1667. But the war-worn Rajput died at Burhanpur on August 28th, 1667 on his way to Delhi. \(^2\)

After his escape from Delhi, Shivaji had no inclination to involve himself in hopeless wars as his full determination lay in the conservation of his energies. Therefore he appealed to the new governor of the Deccan for imperial favours. Muazzam recommended Shivaji’s offer to Aurangzeb who, having accepted the proposals of Shivaji, recognized the latter’s title of "Raja". \(^3\)

Further Aurangzeb conferred upon Shivaji his father’s old fief of Poona, Chakan and Supa and the neighbouring forts except Sinhgad and Purandar. On August 5th, 1668 Sambhaji entered the Moghal camp

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1. Quoted from Sarkar’s Shivaji & His Times, P.157.
as a commander of 5,000. Jagirs were assigned to him in Berar for his expenses. With his entry to the Moghal side, Shivaji became more powerful than ever before.

Shivaji's conquest of Sinhgad, Surat and Salher: The peace-treaty (March 9, 1668) that Shivaji and Aurangzeb entered into did not last long. There arose difference of opinion between Muazzam and his overbearing lieutenant Dilir Khan. The latter, having seen Shivaji and Muazzam living on amicable terms, reported the Emperor that they were plotting to overthrow his Majesty. Rellying on such false report, Aurangzeb ordered his son to arrest Shivaji. Muazzam who sympathised with the Marathas, communicated the matter privately and enabled them to go home before the order came to his hand. Just at the same time Aurangzeb issued orders (April 19th, 1669) for the persecution of the Hindus. Hindu schools were demolished; temples were desecrated; Jizis was imposed; Hindus were forbidden to enter offices; and Hindu fairs and festivities were forbidden.

Now Shivaji recommenced his aggression upon the Moghal territories. Early in January 1670, he raided Berar and took 25 lacs. On February 4th, 1670 he conquered Sinhgad. Next Purandar was attacked and taken on March 8th, 1670. At the same time Shivaji's generals raided Chandwad near Nasik and carried away great riches.

Kalyan and Bhivandi were captured. On June 16th, 1670 Mahuli was surrendered to Shivaji. By the end of April 1670, Junnar, Ahmadnagar, Parande and many other Moghal territories were plundered and heavy contributions were collected. Thus Shivaji set out to avenge the humiliation done to the Hindus at large. On October 3rd, 1670 Shivaji plundered Surat, the city of great riches. On the 3rd day when he came to know of the advancing tide of the Moghal army to relieve Surat, Shivaji retraced his steps with vast amount of booty. While Shivaji was marching in the vicinity of Chandwad, the Moghal army attacked. A sanguinary battle was fought near Vani and Dindori in which 3,000 Moghals and a few Marathas were killed. Then Shivaji led his troops and treasures safely to Rajgad. Then Shivaji captured Khandesh, forts of Aundha, Patta, Trimbak and Salher. The latter fort fell on January 5th, 1671.

The second sack of Surat and the conquest of Baglana by the Marathas roused Aurangzeb to the lively consciousness of the danger that threatened him. Adopting the retaliatory measures, the Moghals took back Aundha and Patta in 1671 and 1672 respectively. The relieving Maratha army that went to Salher was cut to pieces by the Moghals. On the question of Salher, a bloody battle was fought in the first week of February 1672 between the Marathas and the Moghals in which the latter were completely defeated. Thereupon

the Marathas took Salher & Mulher and stationed guards over there.¹

**Capture of Panhala:** Shivaji now, turned his attention towards the affairs of Bijapur. Consequent upon the death of Ali Adil Shah II on November 24, 1672, fight for power was commenced in the court of Bijapur. Taking advantage of this court faction, Shivaji sent his generals and conquered Panhala in March 1673. But the Bijapur Government protested and immediately sent out Bahlol Khan to take back Panhala. The Marathas and Bijapuris met at Umbrani between Miraj and Bijapur; and in the battle that was fought on April 15th, 1673, the Bijapuris were routed. Though the hostility ceased for some time between the two parties yet it recommenced owing to the rebellious attitude of Bahlol Khan. Pratap Rao fighting on the side of Shivaji, pounced upon the enemy in the narrow pass of Wesari near Gad-Hinglaj about a mile to the north of the Ghatanrabha river but died fighting.

Pratap Rao's friend Anand Rao took the field and plundered Sampgaon (23rd March 1674). While he was returning, Bahlol Khan surprised him; but Ananda Rao drove him back and returned home.²

**CORONATION 1674.**

Shivaji wanted to crown himself as a king, but there were

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certain impediments in the way. Though his actions proved his claims for coronation, yet theoretically his position was that of a subject: to the Moghal Emperor he was a mere Zamindar; to the Adil Shah he was a rebellious son of a Vassal Jagirdar. Further the orthodox Brahmins had never recognized Shivaji as a Ksatriya. They were not without reasons in their opinions. In fact the Bhonsles were held neither as Ksatriyas nor as twice-born caste, but mere tillers of the soil as Shivaji's great grand father had appeared to be. According to kannada account Shivaji was a carpenter by caste. The suspicion - whether he could lay claims to the coronation ceremony or not - had been haunting the mind of Shivaji; and in order to clear his doubts and fears, Shivaji wished to find out a renowned scholar. Such a man was found in Vishweshvar, nick-named Garga Bhatta of Benares. He was the greatest scholar then alive, a sanskrit theologian and a controversialist, a master of four Vedas, the six philosophies. He was popularly known as Brahma deva and Vyasa of the age.

The kannada account says: "he (Shivaji) invited Garga Bhatta from Benares and held long deliberations on his claims for coronation. Having heard all about their origin, Garga Bhatta said: Though you are born in a low caste from the mother side, you are a Ksatriya from the father as he belongs to a solar race of

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2. See first page in this Chapter.
Ramachandra famed in Ramayana; and as such you are eligible for thread-ceremony and other important ceremonies. Pronouncing that he (Shivaji) belongs to Bharadwaja gotra, Gaga Bhatta took leave of him. The decision was accepted by all and Shivaji was crowned on June 6, 1674 with due pomp.

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1. Ke.N.V., IX, pp.138-139. Gaga Bhatta's name is printed as Naga Bhatta, apparently a scribal error.