



THE LIFE OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJ FOUNDER OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

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Chapter 18

The Invasion of Raja Jay Singh

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News of a more portentous crisis in his fortunes than any he had tided over in his hitherto triumphant career was destined to greet Shivaji's ears immediately on his arrival at Raigad from the scene of his recent conquests in the Southern Konkan and Kanara. This was the bodeful invasion of the Mogul army under the command of two of the most illustrious generals of the empire, Mirza Raja Jay Singh and Diler Khan, who had marched down upon the south with the fullest and the most efficient of warlike equipment then known in India. They were eager to wreak on Shivaji a full revenge for the disgrace of Shaista Khan and the defeat of Jaswant Singh. At first sight it may appear strange that an emperor of the haughty and bigoted temper of Aurangzeb should have allowed any length of time to elapse before paying off old scores, and making the raider of the Mogul provinces feel the power of the empire. Yet so it was and it could not be otherwise. With all his sense of power, the usurper, whose conscience was burdened with the guilt of having deposed his dotard father and the judicial murder of his more guileless brothers, lived in an insecurity of his own. His mental torments were a veritable hell. His father's fate was the sword of Damocles that hung above his head. He distrusted Prince Muazzim even while sending him to take over the command from Shaista Khan. Thus Muazzim had come down with resources ill-proportioned to his task, but with all the gilded splendours of the mighty Mogul name. The calculating emperor was watching an opportunity when the political ferment in the north should have sub-sided in order to lead the Mogul legions under his personal

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command and destroy by one crushing blow at once the Maratha and the Adil Shahi powers. Of the military calibre of the new Maratha power he had indeed a poor notion. The surprise and discomfiture of Shaista Khan was in his opinion no proof of a genius for war; the humiliation of the Adil Shahi power was due after all to its growing incompetence. Before the arrayed forces of the Mogul power, Shivaji seemed to him like a flying phantom, easy to overtake and crush in a moment. Not for nothing did he call him a mountain rat. He cherished these delusions for too long a time to be able to retrieve his error.

But his wrath was still further roused by the news of the recent acts of the despised Shivaji, – the spoliation of Mogul territory, the sack of Surat, his assumption of the title of Raja and his presumption in instituting a coinage of his own. This wrath was inflamed into a bigoted hatred and religious frenzy by the naval preparations of the Maratha Raja, and the systematic pillage and confiscation of pilgrim vessels bound for Mecca. He vowed to wreak a bloody vengeance upon the infidel author of these atrocities and in consequence of this determination he had now launched, as described above, a new invading host upon the impious Maratha.

The emperor's object in deputing two commanders obviously was to balance an attempted treason on the part of one by the envious vigilance of the other. The emperor lived in an atmosphere of suspicion and was convinced that Shivaji was a past master in the art of sowing treason in the enemies' camp. Aurangzeb seems to have specially enjoined upon Diler Khan to take particular care lest the infidel Jay Singh might artfully turn the tables in favour of the infidel Shivaji, that he should be prepared for a very emergency and scent treason from a distance. The emperor had indeed little confidence in either of these leaders. He sent them, however, upon the great task awaiting them, under a belief that they had at least enough of that capacity which might serve to distract and weaken an enemy.

In connection with this there is a tradition of an attempted coalition between the Mogul and Bijapur powers against Shivaji. The fame of Shivaji's exploits had filled the emperor with dismay; the annihilation of Shaista Khan's invading host had come as a staggering blow; and the emperor in his anxiety conceived the plan of a concerted campaign supported by Bijapur. With a view to securing the accession of Bijapur to this projected enterprise, Aurangzeb is said to have despatched an envoy extraordinary bearing the terms of a proposed alliance with the Deccan kingdom, wherein the emperor is believed to have expatiated at length upon the magnitude of the menace to the Islam church and dynasties, as also upon the necessity of joint action in extirpating one whose state, according to Mahomedan opinion, was a hot-bed

of rank sedition and lawlessness. In short the united arms of Bijapur and the Mogul power were to be turned upon the common foe before his power and position really became impregnable.¹ Accordingly the Deccan state was invited to form an alliance with the emperor and unite with him in an attack upon the common aggressor. The Adil Shahi state felt flattered by this invitation and ordered their general Khawas Khan to proceed against Shivaji with a great army. Maratha leader overtook the enemy and forced him to give battle on unfavourable ground. Khawas Khan was defeated and driven back in confusion to Bijapur. This was the result of the attempted coalition between the two great Mahomedan states of the north and the south, though it is pertinent to observe that Mahomedan historians and Maratha chroniclers persist in assigning the credit of the victory to their own co-religionists.

Upon the appointment of Jay Singh and Diler Khan to the Deccan province, Prince Muazzim and Jaswant Singh were naturally recalled. Their united armies had effected little worth the name, and the emperor, true to his distrustful nature, had grave suspicion of a possible collusion between these imperial commanders and Shivaji. The new commanders had a double task before them, first to exterminate the Maratha power, and secondly to exact the prompt payment of tribute from Bijapur, and to terrorise the insecure sultan, in punishment for the fickleness with which he had shaken off the last alliance and set himself in opposition to the Mogul arms.

It was in February 1665 that the great Mogul host under Jay Singh and Diler Khan crossed the Narbada. Shivaji was engaged upon the naval war described in the last chapter. It was owing to this that he remained without prompt information of the new danger from the north. The Mogul generals did not allow the grass to grow beneath their feet. They came to Aurangabad, the head-quarters of the subha or province, put its affairs on a footing of efficiency, and straightway advanced upon Fort Purandar. Diler Khan undertook the blockade of Purandar, while Jay Singh advanced to besiege Sinhagad, despatching a few detachments to operate against Rajgad and Lohagad.

Meanwhile Shivaji returned to Raigad and held a council of war to which the principal military officers were summoned. At this crisis one of the old Maratha leaders, Netaji Palkar had come under the royal disfavour in as much as instead of dogging the enemy's movements on his first entrance into the Maratha territory as were his distinct orders, he had diverted his light cavalry on distant forays. This conduct of his lends some plausibility to the

1. Modak's History of the Adil Shahi Dynasty (in Marathi) p. 212.

view of certain authors who accuse him of a corrupt understanding with Jay Singh. Shivaji sent orders for his instant return. On his non-compliance he degraded him from the title of sir-nobut, or commander of the royal forces which he had so long enjoyed. This title was now conferred upon Kartoji Guzar, who is later on known as Prataprao Guzar.² Guzar had earned the highest praise for the able strategy he had displayed in intercepting the forage and supplies of the Moguls and the vigilance with which he had guarded against all Mogul tactics to out-wit or elude him.

Jay Singh's forces amounted to 80,000, in which were represented some of the most warlike and spirited races of Hindustan. Jay Singh was himself a brave and clever tactician who was not likely to blunder easily.

He had brought with him a number of Rajput warriors. From the moment he crossed the Narbada he had tried to form coalitions with Shivaji's enemies. He enlisted the support of the Abyssinians of Janjira, the zemindars of the Karnatic and in particular the raja of Bednore who had been recently humiliated by Shivaji, and the rajas of Jawhar and Ramnagar. Lastly he had won over to the imperial cause the families of those who had sworn, so to say, a blood-feud with Shivaji. Thus there came to the imperial camp Fazal, the son of Afzul Khan still thirsting for vengeance against Shivaji. There came likewise to the Mogul side two members of the vanquished More family of Javli, on the special invitation of Jay Singh.³ Jay Singh had realized the gravity of his task, and made his preparations accordingly. He had signaled his arrival in the Maratha country by a sudden siege of two of the most impregnable forts of the Marathas. Shivaji was shrewd enough to foresee the difficulty of subduing such an enemy.⁴ The arts which had succeeded so brilliantly with Afzul Khan and Shaista Khan were not likely to stand any chance with the present commander. He was not a man to take anything on

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2. According to Sabhasad's chronicle, when Sidi Johar besieged Panhala that fort having but lately passed into Shivaji's power had not been well fortified and equipped; and Netaji Palkar's failure to bring succour to it on that occasion led to his forfeiture of the title of sirnobut. However, in any case, it is clear that he still continued in Shivaji's service. The assertion about bribery is made by Catrou.
 3. Letters of Jay Singh in the *Haft Anjuman* (Paris MS.) cited by Prof. Sarkar, and Manuccis: "*Storia*." Manucci himself instigated the Koli Rajas of Jawhar etc. on behalf of Jay Singh (*Storia* II, 132).
 4. Soott Waring says that Shivaji had sent Prataprao Guzar to assassinate Jay Singh. According to his story Guzar went to Jay Singh and got himself admitted to his service. He was in close attendant about Jay Singh's person, and one day seeing that there were very few people present attempted to kill him. But he was at once arrested and disarmed. He was, however, let go by Jay Singh with impunity.

trust. An appeal to his sense of patriotism or to his religious fervour was out of the question as the presence of Diler Khan made it necessary that he should always be on his guard.

Shivaji is said to have had one of those ecstatic fits to which he was so prone on occasions of high nervous excitement. It was believed that he again became the medium of the communication of the fiat of his guardian deity. His utterances in the trance were taken down by his secretaries. They were to this effect: "Great is the peril that is threatening thee now. Jay Singh is not fated to taste defeat at thy hands. Thou shalt have to make terms of peace and amity and go to Delhi into the sunshine of the imperial presence. Dark clouds gather round thee at Delhi. But I shall shield thee from all harm and restore thee safe and victorious again to thy realm." This oracular assurance calmed Shivaji's mind.

Jay Singh was encamped at Saswad between the siege lines around Sinhagad and Purandar. He was well informed about Shivaji's antecedents. He was prepossessed in his favour by what he had heard about his daily sacrifices in the promotion of the cause of religious and political independence. He looked upon it as in some measure a holy enterprise and his conscience did not whisper to him any assurances of success or encouragement.

He saw the heroic stuff of which Shivaji's followers were made and how they had poured their hearts and souls into his enterprise. These meditations combined to influence him also to think of peaceful methods and an honourable conclusion of the task he had undertaken. Then the fates of Afzul Khan and Shaista Khan constantly hovered before his eyes, and no concessions to Shivaji appeared in his mind too great so long as they were consistent with self-respect. From the moment he had set his foot in the Maratha country some instinct whispered to him that his life was not worth a moment's purchase and his chief desire now was to escape with honour from the hostile land.⁵ He, therefore, tried persuasion expatiating on the advantages of peace with the great Mogul. He referred to the family tradition of Shivaji's Rajput descent from the Sesodia stock of Udaipur, expressed his personal gratification at his religious pride, and concluded with an expression of his willingness to maintain the power and possessions of the Maratha Raja.

The hints thus conveyed relieved Shivaji from all immediate anxiety. His officers and chiefs advised a continuation of these peaceful overtures.

5. Some of the Marathi chronicles say that he got his priests to offer special prayers and perform ceremonial rites for the success of his campaign.

Raghunathpant, the chief justice, was sent as an envoy to the camp of Jay Singh with the customary presents of jewellery and embroidered silks, of horses and elephants. The envoy presented a missive embellished with the most courtly compliments and couched in the most mellifluous strain of which Shivaji's secretary was capable. Shivaji professed himself to be inspired almost with a feeling of filial affection at the paternal tone of Jay Singh's epistle; he compared himself to Jay Singh's son and offered to abide by his counsel. He ascribed his operations of war to his love of the Hindu religion and his desire to set free Hindu worship, usage and law. He painted a lurid picture of the Hindu church bleeding under the talons of Islam, of Hindu temples converted into mosques. While thus striving to stir up the Rajput's Hindu pride and sentiment he professed himself ready to accept him as a mediator before the imperial throne, admitting the grounds of the imperial wrath, but pointing out that his domains and castles were acquired from other states, hoping to retain them under the imperial favour and offering to aid the imperial expansion in the South. Such in brief was the character of the epistle, the contents whereof were embellished and supplemented by Raghunathpant's oratory.

Jay Singh was gratified with the tone and contents of Shivaji's letter. He represented to Shivaji's envoy that it was to his own advantage that the Maratha prince should come to terms with the mighty Mogul power and undertook on his word of honour as a Rajput to bring about a reconciliation and invite him as an honoured guest to the Mogul durbar. The envoy at a private audience with Jay Singh addressed himself to the Maharaja's religious susceptibilities and appealed to him to lend his active support to Shivaji's propaganda in favour of a Hindu revival, pointing out the degradation of service under a foreign anti-Hindu domination and the desecration of Hindu shrines and gods. This was done to secure the Rajput's personal intervention as against any insidious designs on the part of his sovereign. Jay Singh renewed his assurances and showed no trace of resentment at the frank language of the envoy.

Jay Singh brought about an interview between Raghunathpant and Diler Khan, where it was agreed that Shivaji should communicate his demands and stipulations, in formal terms to be submitted to Aurangzeb, being assured that these would be carefully attended to at the imperial court. The envoy then returned to Raigad and Shivaji's council after full deliberation drafted the conditions of a treaty. They were to this effect: That Shivaji should retain in his possession the forts and territories already in his power, with the rights of *chaut* (one quarter of land revenue) and *sirdeshmukhi* (one tenth of the revenue) over the rest of the Deccan, and that with these rights and

concessions an alliance should be formed between the Maratha and the imperial power.

These terms and stipulations were submitted to Jay Singh by Shivaji's envoy. The Rajput leader was convinced of the *bona fides* of Shivaji and got the envoy to confirm the declaration on oath, The Raja urged Shivaji to put full confidence in himself and act according to his wishes. The ratification of the terms was postponed to be effected at a personal conference between Jay Singh and Shivaji.

When Diler Khan came to learn that the preliminaries of a treaty were all but completed between Jay Singh and Shivaji and the ratification depended merely on a personal conference between the two leaders, his jealousy was roused and he suspected that the Hindu leaders on either side were going to act in collusion to the detriment of the interests of the empire. He, therefore, held out against this proposal, urging that the final consent to Shivaji's stipulations should be withheld till receipt of the imperial orders on the subject, that their future relations with the Maratha power should be based upon the rescript from the throne and that pending this decision they should prosecute with vigour the siege of Purandar and Sinhagad already begun under such good auspices. 'Upon this Jay Singh enlarged upon the wisdom of an immediate alliance between the Maratha and the Mogul and the acceptance by Shivaji of the suzerainty of the emperor. The purpose of the present campaign, said Jay Singh, would be amply served and the war fully vindicated, if Shivaji were compelled through the instrumentality of the treaty to surrender such of his fortresses and territories as belonged of right to the old Nizam Shahi kingdom and, therefore, formed part of the imperial subha of the Deccan. Apart from such an arrangement the re-conquest of the hill-forts was a difficult task. Each fort would cost thousands of precious lives, and for all these sacrifices the chances of conquest would still remain precarious. Jay Singh, therefore, deprecated any further attacks upon these forts, urging that they should calmly wait and watch, having intercepted all communications of the Maratha garrisons with the outer world beyond their mountain walls. Diler Khan would not yield. He declared that his colleague might rust and dally in sloth before the walls of Sinhagad, but for his part he was resolved to push forward the siege of Purandar and would brook no obstruction to thwart his purpose. He departed with an injunction to Jay Singh on no account to make peace without direct orders from the emperor.

And now the siege of Purandar went forward with great vigour on the part of the assailants. A steady blockade was maintained on all sides. The governor of the fortress, Murar Baji Prabhu, was no mean soldier. As the Mogul siege lines were being pushed nearer and nearer he surprised their

straggling parties, exploded their ammunition bags, and captured war material on an extensive scale. He sent out his light horse to cut off the enemy's supplies and starve the besieging host. These manoeuvres often met with eminent success until the Moguls were able to overtake the flying squadrons or pursue them back to the rocky walls of Purandar. But the inevitable end approached steadily nearer. The siege lines drew closer round the fort and no avenue was left open by which any one could enter or leave it.

But Murar Baji was never daunted in spirit. He could muster a small but sturdy garrison of 2000 brave men – Mavalis and Hetkaris. Thanks to the liberal provisioning on the part of his government, there was an abundance of supplies and munitions of war. The undaunted garrison defended the fort for days together against overwhelming odds. They warded off the Mogul attacks and drove them off from every point of approach. Shivaji availed himself of every opportunity to send re-inforcements and fresh fodder and corn supplies from Rajgad. Thus baffled in these attempts, Diler Khan having driven in some of the outposts, commenced mining a rock under one of the bastions of the lower fort. The garrison made frequent sallies and repeatedly drove off the miners with considerable losses. But their great numbers and tenacity at length enabled them to complete these operations. After repeated failures, they succeeded in shattering the rock. The tower was levelled to the ground, and the lower fort – for the fortifications of Purandar consisted of an upper and a lower fort – was exposed to an assault. No sooner did the invading bands effect the entrance into the lower fort than they dispersed themselves to plunder, and in their heedless precipitation exposed themselves to a withering fire which the Hetkari marksmen from the upper fort opened upon them with unerring precision. So sudden was the destruction that they wrought that the assailants were driven in all directions and rushed head-long to get under cover of the rock. A new party of assailants was in the act of coming up to take their place. At this moment Murar Baji, with the flower of his Mavali infantry, sallied out and engaged in a hand to hand fight with the Mogul forces pouring within. The Mavalis fought stubbornly. Two thousand of the enemy, Pathan and Mogul, felt the edge of the Mavali blade. Hundreds of the ardent Mavalis laid down their loyal lives, but for the moment they had achieved their object, for the foe was melting away, fleeing down the hill, in view of Diler Khan himself, who mounted on his elephant near a temple beneath the fort, was watching the progress of the assault. Seeing the flight of his men he bent his bow, called to a guard of Pathans around him to advance, and rallying the flying host, charged the Mavalis in person. But Murar Baji put forth his utmost strength and disputed every step of Diler Khan's advance. The hardy Afghans recoiled from the swords of the infuriated Mavalis, whom their recent success had raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The

example of the leader was a stirring inspiration to every Mavali heart; for Murar Baji recked not of blood or life but put his soul into every stroke. And what should he reckon of life when in spite of his brave efforts the fort entrusted to him by his sovereign lord had thus been mined and breached and the stream of Mogul foemen was steadily pouring in? It was not for him to survive its capture but to prevent it to the best of his ability. Thus, indifferent to all but the call of duty, he fought on, now here, now there, exhorting and inspiring his gallant Mavalis by word and deed. In the midst of all the dust and din of war he observed where the Khan was stationed, mounted upon his elephant, and in a moment he rushed upon him like a lion upon his prey. He had lost his shield and was now parrying the sword-thrusts of the enemy with his arm which was covered only with a scarf. When Murar Baji drew quite near, the Khan addressed him in a loud voice, declaring, his unreserved admiration of the valorous deeds he had done in the field that day and inviting him to surrender relying upon his assurances, and promising that he would raise him to high titles and dignities. Upon this, it is said, the noble Murar Baji retorted: "Ye are Turks and Tartars and what care I for you and your offerings? I am a true servant to Shivaji and will not hear of terms of surrender. Sooner will I die than yield." With these words he prepared to aim a sword thrust at Diler Khan, when the latter, bow in hand, deftly shot an arrow and killed him on the spot. The garrison soldiers accompanying their noble leader fell back at once and betook themselves fighting all the while into the upper fort, closing its massive gate in the face of the enemy.⁶ A timely succour from Shivaji revived their spirit and encouraged them to renew the struggle. The blare of trumpets and the booming of war-drums began to resound once more and the cannonading was again resumed from the upper ridges. The Moguls were forced to relinquish all the ground they had won.

But Diler Khan doffed his turban and vowed never to wear it again till the fortress was captured. He again carried the lower slopes, and considering the northern face of Purandar impregnable determined to carry by escalade a small detached fort lying towards the northwest, called the fort of Rudramal, or as Grant Duff calls it, the fort of Vajragad, with a view to bring up his guns upon that fort and direct them upon the main fortifications of Purandar. The havalgars in command of this fort were two brothers, Babaji Bowaji and Yeshwantrao Bowaji. Confident that Murar Baji, of whose death they had not heard, would send aid to their rescue, the havalgar brothers put up a strenuous fight. In the end they were slain and the fort surrendered. The fort of Vajragad was a key to unlock the fort of Purandar. Diler Khan now opened a vigorous

6. There arose a superstitious tradition that when the head of Murar Baji was severed from the trunk the latter continued to mow down the Mahomedans!

fire from the top of this fort against the upper fort of Purandar. But the rains set in shortly after and retarded the operations. The garrison, who had hitherto never lost heart notwithstanding the death of their captain and were emulous to lay down their own lives after his example, were, however, somewhat dispirited when they saw that they were now caught between two fires. The Mogul artillery was however extremely bad, and though continued for weeks was found to have done very poor execution, while the rain considerably hampered the Mogul enterprise. Shivaji sent such relief as was possible and earnest instructions to hold on, until he should send them word to surrender.

While Diler Khan sat with iron tenacity before the rocky walls of Purandar, Jay Singh had not been idle. He had organized many a raiding attack in the territory surrounding these forts. The flying columns of the Moguls ravaged the villages, leaving not a vestige of cultivation or habitation, but an utter desolation, wherever they went.⁷ This was the usual kind of warfare with the agricultural classes favoured by the imperial commanders in the south. It was vindictive in its aims and methods. Its object was to terrorize Shivaji, to bring home to him the vastness of the military resources of the empire, and to induce him at length to make a complete surrender, reposing his faith absolutely in the good faith of Jay Singh. On the other hand the Maratha captains did not take these things quite so meekly. From April to May, Netaji Palkar pursued with frequent success his old tactics of sudden forays upon the Mogul camp. Jay Singh of course in his despatches to the emperor drew a rosy picture of his triumphs, but even he had often to admit that he had not always succeeded in frustrating the plans of the Marathas. The brilliant successes of Shivaji's captains, their assaults on dark nights, their blockade of roads and difficult passes have called forth the admiration of Khafi Khan.⁸

While these operations were in progress against Purandar, Sinhagad was also the scene of an active siege under the direction of a deputy of Jay Singh. The Mogul commander had advanced to the wall and was planting batteries, when Shivaji's horse made a sudden raid upon the besiegers' camp just before it was day-break and looted his stores. The officer returned discomfited much to the astonishment of Jay Singh. This made a considerable impression upon Jay Singh as also did the fact that Shivaji's skirmishers had constantly carried on raids, cut off odder, led surprise attacks, driven off sumpter beasts, and set the surrounding woods on fire. It made Jay Singh impatient to have done with his onerous duty. He remonstrated with Diler

7. Jay Singh's letters, (Paris MS.) quoted by Prof. Sarkar.

8. *Vide* Khafi Khan (Elliot VII, 2/2-273).

Khan for his head-strong pride and folly. A single fort had already cost so many Mogul lives, and yet the chances of conquest stood as far off as ever. Shivaji's men were of heroic mettle. One hero took the place of another and there was no end to the tale of valour. What did Diler Khan expect to do with the more inaccessible forts of the Konkan and the Sahyadri ranges? Of his own accord the Maratha prince was coming down to make peace and friendship. Diler Khan had spurned the golden opportunity only to dispel faith and confidence and play a losing game. These reproaches now seemed to make some impression upon Diler Khan, for he had learnt by bitter experience the arduous nature of the plan he had embarked upon. He replied to Jay Singh that he was not averse to a peace, provided some means could be found to draw Shivaji to a conference and the acceptance of a treaty; but he pointed out that he had sworn not to don his turban till Purandar were taken, so that the floating of the Mogul flag on the citadel of Purandar, was a *sine qua non* to any treaty proposals, though it might be open to Shivaji thereafter to have it restored to him by the terms of the treaty itself.

Upon this Jay Singh renewed the negotiations which had been suspended by reason of the obstinacy of Diler Khan. He communicated to Shivaji that his terms were generally agreeable to him, a condition precedent being the hoisting of the Mogul flag upon Purandar. The stipulations were to be settled at a private conference subject to confirmation by the emperor. Shivaji was gratified at the renewal of the overtures, though for the time he feigned anger at the abrupt breaking off of the original negotiations and the losses he had sustained in consequence. Far from his having to surrender Purandar, he declared, it was for the Moguls to surrender Rudramal and raise the siege-lines round Purandar itself. In reply Jay Singh repeated his assurance and undertook to make every concession.

Shivaji then arranged to meet Jay Singh at a personal conference. He started with a large retinue of officers and attendants with every mark of royal pomp and magnificence. His personal attendants were arrayed in rich embroideries and ornaments.⁹ His courtiers and officers wore jewelled

9. Grant Duff and the author of the Bundela Memoirs say that Shivaji was frightened by the large massing of the Mogul forces around Purandar and came to Jay Singh's camp with his retinue. Jay Singh sent forward his son Kirat Singh to receive him at the camp gate and himself came up to the entrance of his pavilion to welcome Shivaji. Khafi Khan says Shivaji's wife and maternal relations were in the fort of Sinhagad and the fort being besieged closely he could not rescue them. Therefore he sent men to ask for pardon and himself proposed to visit Jay Singh in his camp. The latter sent his *Munshi* to tell him that if Shivaji submitted frankly and gave up his forts his petition would be granted; otherwise he had better return and renew the war. Shivaji assured him that he was in earnest, and then the Rajah sent a person of high rank to receive Shivaji.

brocades. The body-guard of Mavalis and Hetkaris was also brilliantly attired. Shivaji's own attire was distinguished for its simplicity. He rode an elephant, with bow and arrows. Raghunathpant led the way to the tent of Jay Singh. The Rajput came out to receive his guest. The Maratha dismounted at the sight of the veteran Rajput. The Rajput dismounted in his turn, and the chieftains embraced. A flourish of trumpets was sounded by both body-guards. The Mogul officers came crowding out to have a look at the distinguished Maratha warrior. Shivaji's bearing and manners made a favourable impression upon the haughty aristocracy of the Mogul camp.

The warrior chief returned to the tent of Jay Singh amid great eclat. The nobles on either side were introduced. Jay Singh complimented Shivaji on his bravery which had brought the Mahomedan chiefs of North and South into so much trouble. He professed himself to be anxious to forward Shivaji's interests consistently with the interests of the empire. He would treat him as he would his eldest son, Ram Singh. He might rely on his word. Shivaji made the utmost professions of humility and respect, offering to place his kingdom at his feet, as a dutiful son to his solicitous parent. He had full faith in his honour and professions and complied with his wishes to come to a conference.¹⁰ He was prepared unreservedly to place all his hill-forts at Jay Singh's disposal. Jay Singh was greatly delighted at Shivaji's loyal proposals, but pointed out that Diler Khan's good will must first be conciliated. He was a haughty patrician of Afghan descent and enjoyed the imperial favour as no other omrah at the court did. It was essential that he must be flattered into reconciliation. He would send Shivaji to Diler Khan's tent with an escort of Rajput officers under a brave noble of the Mogul court. Shivaji agreed to the proposal. Diler Khan lay encamped before the gates of Purandar. He was exceedingly mortified at Jay Singh's receiving Shivaji without reference to him, and thought that Shivaji was now visiting him after carrying things half-way with the Rajput.¹¹ He was smarting under the sense of his humiliation at not having yet fulfilled the vow of the conquest of Purandar. He felt that in the

10. According to Manucci (who was an artillery officer in Jay Singh's camp) Jay Singh had endeavoured to create in Shivaji's mind a good opinion about himself and assured him prior to the meeting that if he put his entire trust in him he would attain all his objects at the hands of the emperor. Shivaji had several conversations with Manucci, who testifies to the inquisitiveness with which Shivaji informed himself about things European.

11. It appears from Jay Singh's letters that in order to impress Shivaji and induce him to make a surrender of his forts, Jay Singh had arranged with Diler Khan and his son Kirat Singh to deliver a final assault upon Purandar at the very time when Shivaji was coming for his interview to the Mogul camp, so that while the conference between Jay Singh and Shivaji was going on, the latter could see from the Raja's tent, which commanded a full view of the siege operations, the assault being delivered.

end the whole credit of the campaign was going to Jay Singh's account. He suspected that Hindu was acting in collusion with Hindu and was frustrating the objects of his campaign. Thus he nursed his irritation and anger, and received Shivaji in a cold and formal manner. The Khan had no faith in Shivaji and kept his arms ready beside him, even when they were seated next to each other on the *divan*. Subhan Singh, the maternal uncle of Jay Singh, began to explain the proposal for a treaty. The Khan, however, with simulated wrath threatened to persevere in reducing Purandar and putting every man to the sword. "Until this is achieved," he exclaimed, "I won't hear of a peace." This was a mere threat and Shivaji's courtly and adroit reply soothed his anger. "The fort is yours", said Shivaji. "Why put yourself to so much ado on that account? I am come here in person to place the keys of its portals in your gracious hands. With Purandar I am prepared to make over all my other forts and lands. My only entreaty is for pardon and forgiveness. Well do I know that it is not for a poor chief like me to defy an imperial general of your calibre and distinction. Your Lordship's propitious favour and mediation will be the ladder of my good fortune." The Khan was highly gratified with Shivaji's courtly flattery and replied that Jay Singh was his senior and in personal favour with the emperor. He was a mere satellite. The final disposition of things was in Jay Singh's hands, whose word was law to him. With this the conference broke up and with it the siege of Purandar. The operations of war were succeeded by an interchange of friendly amenities. Shivaji entertained Jay Singh, Diler Khan and the leading omrahs and officers of the Mogul camp to a sumptuous banquet. The Mogul commanders returned the compliment to Shivaji and his courtiers.

On the conclusion of the armistice Shivaji returned to Raigad. After several conferences the following terms of agreement were entered upon, subject to the imperial sanction, but granted under the personal guarantee of Jay Singh. The first condition was that Shivaji should cede whatever forts or territory he had taken from the Moguls. Of the 32 forts taken or built by him in the territory which had at one time or other been under the Nizam Shahi kingdom, Shivaji was to relinquish 20 to Jay Singh and retain the remaining 12, with the territory adjoining to these forts,¹² yielding an annual revenue of ten lakhs of rupees, and these forts and revenue together with all the rest of his

12. According to some authorities 25, and again according to others 27 forts, were to be relinquished. Khafi Khan says the forts ceded were 23 and the ceded territory yielded a revenue of forty lakhs. Prof. Sarkar says the forts ceded were 23, with an annual revenue of 4 lakhs of pagodas (i.e. twenty lakhs of rupees) and those remaining with Shivaji were 12 with a revenue of one lakh of pagodas. But Rajwade (VIII, 14) quotes an imperial rescript to Shivaji, in which the forts ceded are stated to be twenty. Prof. Sarkar gives a list of the 23 forts (Shivaji, pp. 156, 157).

acquisitions from the Bijapur kingdom were to continue under him as a jahgir depending on the emperor. Shivaji's son Sambhaji, then a stripling of only eight years, was to receive an imperial mansab of 5000 horses. In lieu of the hereditary claims on the Nizamashahi territory which Shivaji hereby undertook to cede, he was to be granted the assignments of chauth and sirdeshmukhi on certain territories above the ghats under the Bijapur kingdom as also the cession of the sea-fort of Janjira. Should the last two conditions be ratified by the emperor, Shivaji was to pay the sum of 40 lakhs of pagodas as a premium or *peshkush* by annual instalments of three lakhs of pagodas, the charge of collecting which he took upon himself; and lastly he also agreed to maintain a special cavalry force in the Mogul service.

These conditions were submitted in petition form to the emperor Aurangzeb, with the special recommendation of Jay Singh that the terms be ratified. Jay Singh drew the emperor's attention to the service Shivaji was capable of rendering to the empire, calling him the Key of the Deccan and declaring his belief that without his accession to the imperial side, the conquest of the Deccan would never be realized. At Jay Singh's suggestion, Shivaji intimated his desire of visiting the emperor.

In a long letter to Shivaji Aurangzeb distinctly confirmed most of the terms proposed by him. As to the grant of chauth and sirdeshmukhi over Bijapur territories, Aurangzeb agreed to a cession of certain Bijapur territories on the distinct understanding that he should co-operate with Jay Singh, together with all his forces in the campaign against Bijapur and exert himself in the conquest of that kingdom and pay forthwith the first instalment of the *peshkush* he had agreed to pay for these assignments. The cession of Janjira was not granted.¹³

Pursuant to this agreement, Shivaji, with a body of 2000 horses and 8000 infantry participated in Jay Singh's campaign against Bijapur. Their first operations were directed against Bajaji Naik Nimbalkar of Phaltan who was completely overthrown, and the town of Phaltan fell into the hands of the invaders. The chief of Phaltan, though a relation of Shivaji, had never been on friendly terms with him and took greater pride in his unswerving allegiance to the Adil-shahi house. The fort of Tattora (Tathavda), another of Nimbalkar's

13. *Vide*, Parasnisi MSS. No. 8; Rajwade VIII, 14. The chauth and sirdeshmukhi are not mentioned in Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji. Aurangzeb apparently assigned to Shivaji the prospective conquests of the Adil Shahi Baleghat districts, with an annual revenue of four lakhs of pagodas, provided that Shivaji recovered them before Bijapur fell into the hands of the oguls and provided he actively co-operated with Jay Singh in the invasion upon Bijapur territory.

strongholds was escalated by Shivaji's Mavalis.¹⁴ All other fortified places on the line of march fell before the invading army.

Ali Adil Shaha II had prepared his troops, but at the same time endeavoured to avert the storm by promises to concede the Mogul demands. In this he had no success. Jay Singh and Diler Khan continued to advance and carry fort after fort. At length the rival powers confronted one another on the field of Mangalwedhe and a desperate battle ensued. The Bijapur army was composed to a large extent of the Maratha light cavalry and many distinguished Maratha nobles could be counted in their ranks. Distinguished among the rest was Shivaji's half-brother the Raja Vyankoji, whose gallantry in the field attracted general attention. On the Mogul side the Maratha arms were represented by Shivaji's contingent, ably led by Shivaji himself and Netaji Palkar. The valour and strategy evinced by the Maratha commanders evoked the ungrudging admiration of Jay Singh and the Mogul officers. Every detail of military duty entrusted to them was discharged with conspicuous success. The Bijapur forces, as was to be expected, were defeated.

Jay Singh spared no compliments in acknowledging the services of Shivaji in this battle. Courage, bravery, skill seemed to be splendidly united in his actions. He made special mention of these services in his despatches to Aurangzeb about the event, upon which the emperor addressed a second letter to Shivaji extolling his prowess and services and sent him a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger as a mark of his appreciation.¹⁵

In this manner the allied forces of Jay Singh and Shivaji advanced to within ten miles of the fort of Bijapur. Here their further advance was stopped. The Maratha and Mahomedan nobles of the Adil Shahi state hastened to the rescue of their capital. They laid waste the country all around and forced the invading hosts to retire for want of fodder and water. The Moguls fell back upon Perinda. Shivaji asked permission to make a diversion against Panhala, a fort of which he knew all the ins and outs. But here his

14. Shivaji's wife Sayibai is said to have been a sister of Bajaji Nimbalkar and his daughter Sakhubai was married to his son Mahadaji. After the capture of Sambhaji by the Moguls, Mahadaji Nimbalkar and Sakhubai were, according to Khafi Khan, taken prisoners and confined in Gwalior Fort. Mr. Sardesai, (Marathi Riyasat, P. 490) following the Phaltan *daftar* and an article in the *Itihas Sangraha*, tells the traditional story that on account of family feuds Bajaji was taken a prisoner to the Adil Shahi court and forced to become a Mahomedan to save his life, and that in about 1657, with the active encouragement of Jijabai, Shivaji's mother, he was purified at the temple of Shingnapur and reconverted to Hinduism, and to set all doubts at rest Shivaji's daughter was given in marriage to the son of Bajaji.

15. *Vide* Parasnis MSS. No. 9 and Rajwade, VIII, 15.

usual good luck forsook him, chiefly on account of the unexpected defection of Netaji Palkar, who was won over by the Adil Shahi officers to their side by the offer of a heavy bribe.¹⁶ Jay Singh, however, was not the man to lose the services of such an excellent cavalry officer to the imperial cause. He made still more tempting promises, offered him a mansab of 5000 horses, and a substantial jahgir. So Netaji Palkar followed the Mogul flag again and soon came back to his old allegiance.¹⁷

The growing difficulties of the siege of Bijapur again roused the suspicion of Diler Khan that these difficulties were of Shivaji's making. Jay Singh saw the injustice of this suspicion on the part of Diler Khan. It is said that Diler Khan constantly asked him to put Shivaji to death and undertook to murder him without any impairment to the Mirza Raja's reputation. But Jay Singh had given the most solemn assurances of safety to Shivaji when he made his submission and refused to be a party to such a dishonest proposal. It may be it was partly due to this motive that he had sanctioned the diversion upon Panhala. Shivaji now retired to Khelna (Vishalgad) and in spite of the failure of the attack on Panhala was courteously treated by Jay Singh.¹⁸ From Khelna he sent an army under a Mahomedan officer to attack Phonda.¹⁹ This town underwent a long siege, on account of the collusion of Rustom Jeman, the Adil Shahi governor in those parts. Rustom Jeman in the end being taunted by his sultan for his remissness sent one of his lieutenants to relieve the town. Rustom Jeman endeavoured to reinstate himself in his king's favour by capturing Kudal, Bande, Sankhali, Dicholi, and other minor stations,

16. Khafi Khan (Elliot VII, 278).

17. When Shivaji went to Agra, Netaji Palkar continued to serve under Jay Singh but was evidently considered a member of Shivaji's contingent. Khafi Khan tells us that upon the escape of Shivaji from Agra, Jay Singh acting under the emperor's order arrested Netaji Palkar and his son and sent them to court (i. e. Agra). Here in order to save himself Palkar became a Mahomedan and was given a small mansab. But afterwards in 1676 he escaped to Shivaji in the south and re-canted (Elliot VII, 280). He underwent a purification ceremony and was readmitted to Hinduism (Jedhe Chronology). We have already seen how Jijabai had interested herself in the re-admission to Hindu caste of Bajaji Nimbalkar.

18. *Vide* Khafi Khan, (Elliot VII, 278). As to Diler Khan's suspicion and proposal to put Shivaji to death see Manucci, *Storia*, II, 137. The Jedhe Chronology p. 187, says Shivaji took leave of Jay Singh and went to Raigad.

19. First siege of Phonda 1666. Shivaji's Mahomedan officer was defeated by stratagem by the Adil Shahi officer. *Vide* Factory Records, Surat 104, referred to by Prof. Sarkar in his Shivaji, p. 313, foot-note.

forming the barrier territory between Sawantwadi and the Portuguese domains of Goa.²⁰

Soon afterwards, Aurangzeb, at the suggestion of Jay Singh, again wrote to Shivaji and invited him to the imperial court, promising to confer on him a great rank and honour with permission to return to the Deccan. At the same time Aurangzeb sent immediate orders to Jay Singh in his capacity as the subhedar of Aurangabad to pay a lakh of rupees from the imperial treasury to Shivaji for his travelling expenses and send him to Delhi without loss of time. Upon receipt of these orders, Jay Singh advised Shivaji to proceed to Agra without any anxiety, promising that his son Ram Singh would look after his comfort and safety. Upon these assurances Shivaji resolved to visit Agra.²¹

20. Prof. Sarkar makes wild guesses in trying to trace Sankhali and Dicholi on the atlas. These village towns form part of the Bardesh district of Goa.

21. Shivaji visited the emperor actually at Agra, not at Delhi.