



# THE LIFE OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJ FOUNDER OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

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## Chapter 26

# The Karnatic Campaign, 1676-78

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While Shivaji was taking rest during his sickness at Satara, the Karbhari or administrator of the jahgir estates of Venkoji, Raghunath Narayan Hanmante by name, came to pay him a visit. This officer was the son of Shahaji's trusty minister, Naro Trimal Hanmante. Raghunath Hanmante had on his father's demise succeeded to his position in Shahaji's government. On the death of the Raja Shahaji, he was succeeded by his younger son, Raja Venkoji, and the estates were administered for him by Raghunathpant Hanmante. But some years later, the infatuated Venkoji took a fancy to hold the reins of his affairs in his own hands, to do very much as he liked in everything and not consult any of his father's veteran ministers and counsellors. From the time when Venkoji took over the administration into his own charge, Raghunathpant's influence became quite negligible in his jahagir. Venkoji governed as the vulgar satellites who surrounded him were pleased to advise and Raghunathpant was constantly treated with insults and abuse. The minister saw that to live any more with Venkoji had become impossible. He was answerable to Shivaji for the maintenance of his father's prestige. Helpless as he felt himself to avert the wreck and ruin of Shahaji's jahgir, he could not expect to shake off his moral responsibility in the eyes of his illustrious master's more illustrious son. To prevent that reproach he must completely sever his connection with Venkoji and devote the rest of his life to the observances of religion, in some secluded retreat or place of pilgrimage. Thus he thought in silence and even with that silent thought, a blush of shame

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overspread his features. His mind faltered. Was it right that he should stand an idle spectator of the waning fortunes of his young master and cover up his bitter disappointment under the specious pretence of retirement? Was it not due to his loyalty to continue his service with a view to the greater glory of Shahaji and the Bhonsle name? Yes, to bear with patience the slings and arrows of his present misfortune and the more outrageous shafts of his prince's ingratitude? He would serve the prince and in spite of the prince steer his course to safety, to the best of his abilities.

Thus fortified in his mind, he once more made bold to expostulate with Venkoji. "Your Highness knows," said he, "I am a hereditary servant of the family, and I know no other standard of service than my patron's welfare. Ah! woe is me, that my dutiful offices are distasteful to Your Highness! My heart bleeds to see you misled by the counsels of fickle and mean-spirited creatures. Bethink you, sir, of the glory and valour of your father, bethink you of the world-wide fame and the noble triumphs earned by your brother Shivaji! Follow in their wake, I pray, and earn the same laurels. Shivaji will look to me to lead you to the path of noble emulation trodden before by himself and by Shahaji. Rightly does Shivaji expect it of me and sorely will he blame me if he finds it otherwise. Be it yours to command and mine to obey. Men and money Your Highness has in abundance, but they are both rusting together, and your false friends help you only to squander away your treasure. It is only by adding to the ample glory of your ancestors that Your Highness can repay the obligations of high birth." But these discourses were lost upon Venkoji. He shrank from them as from poison. He was quite tired of his company and did not hesitate openly to express his contempt.

Disgusted with the growing insolence of Venkoji, Raghunathpant wrote a letter of warning to his brother. Upon this the letter wrote to Venkoji, giving him friendly advice. The purport of the letter was somewhat as follows. Shivaji wrote that it had come to his ears that Venkoji was indifferent to the duties of administration and was a tool in the hands of vile and unworthy men; that the parasite and the pander thrived at his expense, while men of worth who deserved well of his family and had given their lives to its service were languishing in utter neglect. This was not as it ought to be. Shivaji hoped his brother would turn over a new leaf, and hearkening to the advice of Raghunathpant and other experienced and capable counsellors, would consult his own welfare and the expansion of the family fortunes. But even this letter did not serve to open Venkoji's eyes. He continued his usual course of life, such was the strength of his infatuation and the ascendancy of evil company upon his feeble mind. He was, if anything, even more incensed with Raghunathpant as having had the temerity to complain of him to his elder brother. Raghunathpant had now drained the cup of loyal self-abasement to its

very dregs and his patience was exhausted. He resolved to proceed to the court of Shivaji, and leaving his family behind, he started upon his journey.

Raghunathpant knew well Shivaji's ambition to expand his dominions and in order to further these aims of expansion he concluded alliances to that effect with the local chiefs before leaving the Karnatic, his object being to invite Shivaji to that province that he might bring Venkoji to his senses. To facilitate these plans, knowing that Shivaji might have to march through the Golconda territories, Raghunathpant took steps to bring about a harmonious alliance between the Maratha and the Kutub Shahi governments, so that no delay or distraction might hinder Shivaji's movements.

The leading ministers of the Kutub Shahi government about this time were Akanna and Madanna, who were not only both Hindus, but sons of the same Hindu family. These two men had the control of all Kutub Shahi affairs in their hands. Raghunathpant determined to visit the distinguished ministers, but instead of interviewing them abruptly in his own person and setting forth his diplomatic objects, he thought of making his first acquaintance with them in the disguise of a pandit. For the ministers had a fair repute for piety, and hospitality and religious benefactions. Raghunathpant left his retinue behind him at an obscure village and entered the capital alone, presenting himself as a pandit at the residence of the ministers about the hour they usually devoted to their purificatory bath and morning worship. It was their rule when a pandit appeared at their house to welcome him with every mark of respect and bestow upon him such patronage as became his learning and position. True to their principles they received Raghunathpant with open hospitality. Other pandits were already in the house and debate had started among them on the relative superiority of Shaivism and Vaishnavism. Raghunathpant also took part in the debate. Being himself a staunch Vaishnavite, he proceeded first to argue for the superiority of Shiv, refuting every objection. Having established the strength of the Shaivite creed, he turned the tables upon his antagonists by suddenly espousing the cause of Vaishnavism and demonstrating its truth with a display of dialectical skill equally unanswerable. Madanna was impressed with this exhibition of argumentative talent and was convinced that he must be a person of extraordinary learning and attainments. Accosting him, he said he was glad to have come across a person of such learning and sanctity, and asked him where he had come from and with what object. Raghunathpant replied that he had not at all come with the expectation of gold or land, but as his hosts were persons of such wisdom and piety, he would feel himself much flattered to have a private audience with them. Upon this the two brothers took him apart for the interview he desired. Raghunathpant declared that he was no itinerant mendicant pandit, but an officer in Shivaji's service, proceeding to wait upon his royal master with certain delicate questions of

Karnatic politics, questions which might bring down Shivaji's hosts into these parts. But Shivaji required, continued Raghunathpant, the sympathetic aid of the Golconda ministers, during this campaign, and now he had come at Shivaji's orders to intercede with them and their sovereign with a view to an alliance of mutual support and amity between Golconda and Shivaji. Raghunathpant then addressed himself to their religious instincts, pointing out the labours of Shivaji for the advancement of the Hindu religion, which made it a sort of obligation on their sense of piety and religion to advance Shivaji's great purposes, the more so as it involved no treason and no detriment whatever to the interests of their own sovereign.<sup>1</sup> The ministers were pleased with the proposal thus introduced, being already prepossessed in favour of Shivaji by the loud and repeated acclaims with which the Deccan people had greeted his incomparable triumphs. They had been, as has been already described in Chapter XX, instrumental in bringing about a happy compromise between Shivaji and their government, by which the latter had engaged to pay an annual tribute to the Maratha power. They gave their full assent to the proposal for further strengthening the friendly relations with Shivaji and introduced Raghunathpant to an interview with their sultan, when the terms of the alliance were settled and ratified. Shivaji was to proceed upon his Karnatic campaign, for so it was arranged, by way of the Kutub Shahi capital, Bhaganagar, the modern Hyderabad (Deccan), and there the two kings were to have a conference for a further discussion of their relation and the perpetuation of their existing alliance. Raghunathpant was given an enthusiastic reception, banqueted by the minister brothers, and presented with suits of honour and personal decorations at the time of his departure. He was also charged with the delivery of a personal epistle from the sultan addressed to Shivaji.

From the successful diplomatic mission to Bhaganagar, Raghunathpant came to Satara, where, as stated at the commencement of this chapter, he met Shivaji. The latter went forth to welcome the loyal veteran who had rendered such invaluable services to his father and led him to the palace with a display of cordiality and ceremonial splendour that was but rarely witnessed at Shivaji's court.<sup>2</sup> Raghunathpant laid at Shivaji's feet the many curious specimens of Karnatic art and precious jewellery that he had brought with

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1. Shivdigvijay, 290-93.

2. The Rairi bakhar states that on his way from the Karnatic, Raghunathpant went to Bijapur, where the sultan offered to him the post of grand vizier. When Shivaji learnt about this offer, he wrote to Raghunathpant that, as long as he lived, it would not do for a trusty servant of his family to serve a Mahomedan prince. He should come to him without any fear, where he would be welcomed with all the honour due to his position and services.

him, which gave immense satisfaction to Shivaji as the evidence of that profound loyalty towards his family which had become hereditary with the veteran minister. Shivaji congratulated himself upon the accession to his cause of one who had gained such distinction in Shahaji's service. He heaped upon him all the honours at his command and proposed to confer on him the office of Amatya or Muzumdar. It is said that the incumbent of that office, a certain Ramchandrapant, was made to vacate his place in favour of Raghunathpant.<sup>3</sup>

As observed in the last chapter Shivaji was at this time chafing against the restraints of an enforced idleness occasioned by his ill health. To this was added the season of the rains, which extended the period of rest by four months. During these months of leisure Raghunathpant related to Shivaji in full detail the story of Venkoji's mismanagement and urged upon him the duty and necessity of a campaign in the Karnatic to place his father's fortunes on a basis of security. He laid bare before Shivaji the alliances he had already formed with the local naiks of the Karnatic to promote the plan of the prospective campaign and the results he had achieved in his self-imposed mission to the court of Golconda. He told Shivaji that he could claim his right to a moiety of Shahaji's estates, under the Hindu law of inheritance and that by embarking on this campaign on the plea of vindicating his rights, he could save the wreck of Venkoji's heritage and put together Shahaji's dismembered fortunes, and in addition to this acquire new territories and provinces which the chances of war might throw in his way.

The times were favourable for such a campaign. There was no objection to his marching through the Golconda kingdom into the Karnatic. Golconda paid tribute and the two ministers were favourably disposed towards Shivaji. Their friendship had been further strengthened to a more permanent alliance by Raghunathpant. The recent friendly overtures between the Mogul and the Adil Shahi state had thrown Golconda into ill-humour with both those powers. That peace had been arranged between Diler Khan and the

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3. Chitnis says that Raghunathpant made a request that the honoured post of Muzumdar which he had held in the Bhonsle family in hereditary succession, should be conferred upon him and that upon this request Shivaji appointed him to that high office. But the Rairi bakhar states that Nilo Sondev the Muzumdar had just then died, and the place left vacant by his death was conferred upon Raghunathpant.

Nilo Sondev was Amatya or Muzumdar from 1647 to his death in 1672. He was the brother of Abaji Sondev the conqueror of Kalayan from Mullana. Like the Hanmantes, the family of Nilo Sondev had a hereditary connection with the Bhonsles.

The Jedhe Chronology states that Raghunath Narayan was made Muzumdar in Ashwin, Shaka 1599 i.e. October 1677, or after the Karnatic campaign was half completed.

Adil Shahi premier Abdul Karim,<sup>4</sup> who happened to be drawn to each other by some family relationship. But Diler Khan was a sworn enemy to Golconda and to Shivaji alike. Thus the alliance between these latter powers was alike inevitable and enduring.

It only remained to take the usual precautions against a surprise attack by the Moguls upon his territories. With this view, the judicial minister, Nirajipant, was deputed on a special embassy to Khan Jehan, the Mogul subhedar. Having experience of his venality, the one great weakness of that otherwise great proconsul, Shivaji loaded him with presents of gold and jewellery and extracted a promise not to interfere with his territories. To make assurance doubly sure, Shivaji paid a large sum as tribute to the Mogul emperor, thus admitting a relation of feudal dependence. It is said that on this occasion he undertook to pay a tribute of four lakhs of pagodas to the emperor and to serve him in war with five thousand horses, remarking that it was but an oil-cake thrown to the milch-cow. Aurangzeb approved of the treaty. The emperor was engaged in a campaign against the rebel Afgan tribes on this side of the Indus. He sent word to his heir-apparent that it was not the time for war with Shivaji, a peace was most expedient and such a peace as would not injure Mogul prestige.<sup>5</sup>

Thus profiting by the venality of the Mogul subhedar Shivaji had secured his dominions from Mogul attacks. On the southern frontier he had by this time completed a chain of barrier forts, well-manned and equipped, to ward off the spasmodic forays of the Ghatges, the Nimbalkars and the other Maratha barons of the Adil Shahi kingdom. The Konkan was the weak spot in Shivaji's system, exposed as it was to the inextinguishable enmity of the seafaring Abyssinians. To guard against this menace and nip in the bud the first signs of active hostilities on the part of these sea adventurers, Annaji Datto, Pant Sachiv, was detached with a large force to take general charge of the sea-board forts from Kalyan to Phonda and the territories surrounding them. These forts were equipped and re-inforced in such a splendid style that in case any of them became the object of an assault on the part of the enemy help poured in instantly from all quarters, and the garrison could defend themselves without the thought of a parley, secure of ultimate deliverance. With these precautions taken for immunity from foreign attack, the whole

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4. At any rate both were Afgan nobles. Abdul Karim was the leader of the Pathan party at Bijapur and had to hold his own against the Abyssinian and Deccani party. He had got Khawas Khan, the leader of the Abyssinian party and former prime minister, out of the way by assassination. Khawas Khan had been on friendly terms with Khan Jehan Bahadur, the Mogul governor of the Deccan.

5. Sabhasad, 85.

kingdom was committed to the safe management of Moropant, the Peshwa, and other ministers and commanders were ordered to defer to him in everything.

It was about the end of 1676 that Shivaji with a force of 40,000 foot and 30,000 horses started upon his Karnatic campaign.<sup>6</sup> To lead such a numerous army over such distant parts was a very expensive operation and Shivaji's aim naturally was to draw upon the streams of supply from without his treasury. He proposed to levy fresh contributions upon Golconda, a country which already paid him tribute and which was not, therefore, to be treated with violence. The ministers Madanna and Akanna had already been sounded previously by Raghunathpant and were prepared for the sacrifice. Shivaji, therefore, wrote to his envoy at that court, Pralhad Niraji,<sup>7</sup> that as he was about to commence his Karnatic campaign, he expected the Sultan Tan Shaha to contribute towards the expenses and to arrange for a personal interview at his capital, when he came there on his march. This communication caused much agitation at the Golconda capital. The sultan was overcome with fear. The presence of Shivaji with his army at his capital seemed to strike him as a contingency fraught with grave peril. He consented to the contributions demanded of him in money, and in order to avert the danger that threatened his capital, he consented to the demand with excessive alacrity, professing to the Maratha envoy that his king might command anything without putting himself to any trouble and deviating from his route merely for the purpose of a formal interview. Pralhad Niraji communicated this offer to Shivaji.

But Shivaji, pursuant to the arrangement made by Raghunathpant with the Golconda ministers had already started for that town at the head of his army, having despatched Raghunathpant and Pralhad Niraji before him to inform the sultan of his near approach for the favour of a personal conference. The near presence of Shivaji and his warrior bands alarmed the sultan. The town was in a panic. But Raghunathpant and Pralhad Niraji assured the court on oath that Shivaji's arrival had nothing hostile about it and that he was only taking the opportunity, being near at hand, for a friendly interview. Madanna and Akanna felt the sincerity of these assurances and endeavoured to persuade the sultan that the proposed interview was likely to lead to possibilities of

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6. The total force is variously given in the chronicles of Sabhasad, Chitnis, and the Shivdigvijay. The East India Company's representatives calculated it at 20,000 horses and 40,000 foot.

7. He was the son of Niraji Ravji, the sir-nyayadhish. In the reign of Rajaram, the title of Pratinidhi was conferred upon him. At the time of this campaign he was the resident ambassador at Golconda.

infinite advantage to his state. With difficulty did the timid monarch allow the bold persuasion of his ministers to outweigh his fear and tried to nerve himself to face the inevitable ordeal.

On entering the Golconda frontiers Shivaji passed strict orders to his soldiers to abstain from every act of hostility towards the people and not to harass them in any way. At every halt they were to procure food, fodder, and fuel by free purchase. No booty, no violence; anyone committing a breach of these orders was to receive exemplary punishment. When in a few cases these orders were found to have been transgressed, the culprits had their hands or fingers cut off, and in a few cases, were actually executed. This stringency of discipline gave perfect security of life and property to the subjects of Golconda, and even the sultan was so far reassured as to revive his drooping spirits.<sup>8</sup> On Shivaji's arrival within easy reach of the capital, Madanna and Akanna went forth with a suitable retinue to receive him and escorted him into the royal city with great pomp and eclat. The next day was fixed for Shivaji's audience with the sultan.<sup>9</sup> Shivaji started in a procession with a chosen retinue, arrayed in robes of state and mounted on horses and elephants, specially decorated for the occasion. The town had, under the sultan's express orders, put on its gala aspect. The streets were adorned with flags and festoons of flowers, gay *toran* decorations were to be seen at every turn, and musical instruments discoursed liquid melodies. Amid such pomp and splendour the procession slowly wended its way to the royal palace, the Hindu subjects of the sultan in particular turning out in great crowds into the streets, fired with an intense desire to catch a glimpse of the great Hindu raja. Loud acclamations greeted him on the way, the people enthusiastically showering flowers upon him from windows and balconies. The king had been bountiful of his alms among the poor and the fakirs of the town that morning. To the citizens greeting him on the way with floral decorations and the like Shivaji paid his thanks by presentations of select articles of dress or jewellery as tokens of his good will.

The royal conference took place at the Dadmahal, (the Palace of Justice) where sumptuous arrangements had been made for a grand reception. On Shivaji's arrival within the precincts of the palace, the retinue halted outside, and the king with a few chosen officers entered the gates. As the sultan prepared to descend the grand staircase to receive him, Shivaji sent him word that he might spare himself that trouble. On reaching the upper floor the two monarchs joined in a mutual embrace and took their seats on the same

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8. Sabhasad, 86; Chitnis 136.

9. The Jedhe Chronology gives the date of this interview as March 1677.



couch. Madanna and Akanna seated themselves next to them, while the rest of the omrahs remained standing. The officers accompanying Shivaji, the most conspicuous among whom were Baburao Dhamdhere, the sirmobut of the guard, Raghunathpant, Pralhad Niraji, Dattopant the Waknis and Balaji Avji, the private secretary, were desired to be seated.<sup>10</sup>

Then followed a friendly conversation between the two rulers. The great officers accompanying Shivaji were introduced to the sultan and received suitable compliments from their royal host, each according to his rank. The sultan was pleased with the smart appearance and accoutrements of Shivaji's body-guard. Distribution of pan, attar and flowers duly followed, together with the offerings of nazar, the sultan bestowing valuable presents of jewellery, horses, and elephants upon Shivaji. It is said that at this reception the sultan presented attar and pan to his distinguished guest with his own hands, a circumstance that the chronicle-writers have thought it worthwhile to record. Thus the reception lasted for two or three hours, at the termination of which, Shivaji bade farewell to his host and returned to his tent.

It is said that Shivaji made a halt for a month at Bhaganagar, during which many questions of foreign policy were discussed with the sultan through the medium of Madanna. There was a round of feasting and banqueting, Madanna inviting Shivaji and his courtiers to a grand dinner, when the usual offerings of nazars took place; and Shivaji returning the compliment with a sumptuous banquet in honour of the minister brothers, with gifts to them and their officers. Shivaji also entertained the sultan and his omrahs on a magnificent scale, when valuable presents of wearing apparel and jewellery were bestowed upon the guests according to their positions in the state. Shivaji also cultivated friendly intercourse with the leading citizens and mansabdars of the state.

An amusing incident in connection with this visit is related in one of the bakhar chronicles.<sup>11</sup> On one occasion in the course of his conversation with Raghunathpant, the sultan of Golconda remarked to him that he had heard so much in praise of the prowess of Shivaji's soldiers, that he was eager to see a proof of their prowess with his own eyes. Upon this Raghunathpant is reported to have answered that there were soldiers in Shivaji's army each one of whom was equal in strength to an elephant. "If so," exclaimed the sultan, "will they fight with an elephant?" "Why not?" quoth Raghunathpant, "what is there impossible about it? They don't fear an elephant." "How could they

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10. Sabhasad adds to this list of officers present at the Dadmahal reception the names of Somji Naik Vasanagar and Janardanpant.

11. The Shivdigvijaya.

fight with an elephant?” asked the Sultan, “Well! I should like to witness such a fight. Do you bring one of these veteran soldiers of Shivaji!” Raghunathpant informed Shivaji of the conversation he had with the sultan, and it was arranged that Yessaji Kank should select ten of his stalwarts to undergo the test in presence of the sultan. The soldiers were introduced by Raghunathpant to the sultan, who received them with the usual honours and presents and forthwith ordered an infuriated elephant to be freed and let loose upon them. The tusked monster came straight upon Yessaji who did not falter for a moment but drawing his sword smote the charging beast with such a tremendous force that he severed his trunk from the tusks downwards. The sultan was filled with admiration at this exhibition of physical strength and inviting Yessaji into his presence, he praised him for his valour and presented him with a set of a soldier’s armlets and necklaces. Not only that, but he was going to confer upon him an inam estate of five thousand rupees, but Yessaji, informed of the sultan’s royal pleasure, made a respectful salute and declined the proffered lands, replying, with marvellous firmness of mind, that he considered the bread he ate, of Shivaji’s giving, to be no less of the Sultan’s bounty. By Shivaji’s order he had shown the valour of his arm to the sultan; it was not, therefore, becoming in him as a loyal servant to accept of inam lands at the sultan’s hands, for did he not receive enough and to spare at the hands of Shivaji? Were he to accept of the present offer, he might become incapable of true and loyal service to his king. The sultan might signalize his favour by presenting what he wished to his patron. His duty was only to serve and obey. It is unnecessary to say what a profound impression the disinterested loyalty of this veteran officer must have made upon the sultan.

At the end of this long sojourn at Bhaganagar, in the midst of this gay pomp and hospitality, Shivaji communicated to the sultan his intention to depart and asked leave to do so. A farewell durbar was held in honour of the event and a fresh bestowal of presents followed. The two parties undertook on oath to aid one another on all occasions, defensive or offensive.<sup>12</sup> The sultan paid the pecuniary contributions required by Shivaji for the campaign.<sup>13</sup> Among the articles of the treaty that was now finally concluded was one by which Shivaji undertook to cede to Golconda a moiety of all the territory which he should conquer in the prospective campaign exclusive of the jahgir

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12. At this interview, according to the Rairi bakhar, Shivaji declared to the sultan, that if Golconda and Bijapur would co-operate with him he would conquer the whole of India for them. Kutub Shaha had to pay a subsidy at the rate of 3000 pagodas a day. Part of it was taken in advance.

13. According to Wilks, the sultan presented to Shivaji the sum of ten lakhs of pagodas in cash and some jewellery besides. The Rairi bakhar mentions five lakhs of pagodas only.

estate of Shahaji. The sultan was to send the Golconda artillery to co-operate with Shivaji. The sultan even offered to place a portion of his army at Shivaji's disposal, but this was not accepted. It is said that there was also an additional article in the treaty by which it was provided that Shivaji should have the authority to restore any Karnatic territories which he should have wrested from the Bijapur government in the forthcoming campaign, on condition that government should discharge its present prime minister Abdul Karim and appoint Akanna of Bhaganagar in his place.<sup>14</sup>

With a plentiful supply of money and an efficient artillery Shivaji continued his march in the direction of the Karnatic. On the way, Shivaji came to a small principality, namely that of Karnul-Kudappa, on the banks of the Tungabhadra, the chief of which<sup>15</sup> promised to pay a tribute of five lakhs of pagodas to Shivaji. From Karnul at a distance of some twenty-five miles there is the confluence of the Krishna with a tributary stream, the Bhavnashi, called the Nivritti-Sangam. Here Shivaji bathed in the sacred waters and crossed the Krishna. While the main body of his army advanced slowly by the route of Kudappa, Shivaji, with a body of cavalry, struck off to the eastward, for the purpose of performing his devotions at a celebrated pilgrim resort, the shrine of Shail Mallikarjun.<sup>16</sup> Leaving his troops behind at the inner town, Shivaji proceeded with a few companions to the river-bank. Here the scenery is most rich and sublime, — the mountain towering high into the air, with its perpetual dower of dark woods and forests, and the silver sheet of the Krishna rolling seawards down the eastern slopes. The lovely scene thrilled Shivaji with a feeling of spiritual calm and exaltation. It seemed to him like, a *Kailas* on earth, the Olympus of the god Shiv. It stirred into a wild commotion the spiritual impulses of his heart. It kindled a frenzy of divine love, a desire to lay down and sacrifice all earthly and evanescent things at the foot-stool of the Eternal. Under the elation of that enthusiasm he drew his sword to sacrifice himself. But the enthusiasm reacting into a convulsive fit, he fell into a stupor and, as the chronicle-writers piously relate, he was possessed of the spirit of his tutelary deity, Bhawani, who made fresh prophecies to the effect that was not the way for final salvation, as many more duties were waiting for fulfillment; his life was dedicated to the defence of the faith; it was not for him to run such hazards. On reviving from this paroxysm, his officers communicated to him the bidding of Bhawani, and Shivaji gave up the

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14. *Vide* the Shivdigvijaya, 302.

15. Wilks gives his name as Anandrao Deshmukh.

16. Grant Duff and Wilks call it Parvatam (the mountain Shrine): Sabhasad calls the place Shail Parvat.

thought of committing this act of self-slaughter. However the holy calm of the place operated so powerfully upon his high-strung emotions that he resolved to spend the rest of his life as a recluse in these sacred haunts, and addressing his officers he said to them, "By the grace of Bhawani, we have well-nigh achieved the wildest of our ambitions; now do we will and resolve to leave the cares of this temporal world and devote ourselves to holy and pious thoughts and the realization of eternal life. Do ye now put an end to this campaign already at this stage and, installing our son on the throne conduct the government in his name," This was very embarrassing to the king's officers. They tried their best to dissuade Shivaji and represented that true self-realization lay in following the lines laid down by Bhawani. But all their efforts failed. Shivaji put on the dress of an anchorite and smeared himself with ashes. He gave himself to meditation and solitude, spending his days like a sanyasi, oblivious of everything but meditation on the Supreme. The companions of Shivaji were filled with anxiety and kept a constant watch upon his actions. When he was free from meditation and had intervals of calm reasoning, Raghunathpant used to argue with him, quoting authorities from the Hindu scriptures, to prove that such a life was not meant for Kshatriyas, or men of the warrior class, like Shivaji. This aversion to material things and estrangement from the worldly life lasted for nine days.<sup>17</sup> Then Raghunathpant's persuasions began to prevail and Shivaji became convinced of the futility of this life of penance and prayer and meditation. Shivaji now scattered alms and feasted Brahmans, had a ghat or embankment erected on the river, called the Shri Gangesh Ghat, and built many cells for devout hermits to dwell in and practise their penances. Having thus spent eight or nine days more in these religious and charitable purposes, Shivaji proceeded upon his march.

Shivaji's infantry had already entered the Karnatic, descending the Pain Ghat by the Pass of Vyankatramangiri.<sup>18</sup> Overtaking the main body of his army, he left the infantry and the heavy baggage behind to come up by easy stages, while he pushed forward with the cavalry and a body of Mavalis. Passing by the route towards Madras,<sup>19</sup> he reached Chandī<sup>20</sup> (Jinji) and

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17. *Vide* Wilks, History of Mysore.

18. Col. Wilks calls it the Damulcherry pass.

19. The English Records at Madras mention that Shivaji passed Madras in the first week of May. (Records, Fort St. George 1677, pp.112-15) The Madras Council seat presents to Shivaji.

20. Chandī or Chanji of the Marathi bakhars, called Jinji or Ginji by Grant Duff and other historians.

proceeded to plant batteries for a regular siege. The fort belonged to the Bijapur government and was in charge of Rauf Khan and Nazar Khan, the sons of Amber Khan,<sup>21</sup> with whom Raghunathpant had made one of his secret agreements before coming to Satara.

The capture of the fort, therefore, occasioned no difficulty.<sup>22</sup> The fort was placed under the governorship of Ramji Nalage, one of Shivaji's loyal Mavali commanders, with Timaji Keshav as sabnis and Rudraji Salvi as karkhannis, or superintendent of stores. This distant fort was subjected to the same regulations and discipline as the forts in Maharashtra. The adjoining territory was reduced to subjection and Vithal Pildev Goradkar<sup>23</sup> appointed as subheddar over all these districts, with orders to introduce the revenue system already adopted in Maharashtra. Rauf Khan and Nazar Mahomed had grants of land or revenue settled upon them.

At the commencement of the Karnatic expedition Shivaji gave it out that the campaign was conducted under the auspices of Golconda, having drawn so largely upon that government for money, and hoping to draw more

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21. Some Marathi bakhars call him Khan. Khan i.e. Khan Khanan, and Prof. Sarkar thinks it was Khawas Khan, late premier of Bijapur.

22. The Rairi bakhar has the following story about the conquest of this fort: - Shivaji informed the governor Amber Khan that he had come down after making treaties with Bijapur and Golconda. He should, therefore, come to see him. The governor of the fort believed this and came out to see Shivaji with his eight sons, when they were all arrested and the fort captured. The Shivdigvijaya says that Amber Khan came with a nazar to Shivaji, who told him to surrender Jinji, if he cared for the tranquillity of his district, or as an alternative to stay in his camp and not return to Jinji, so that the Marathas might capture the fort in any manner they pleased. Upon this he promised to surrender the fort and made a deed of surrender, thinking that his safety lay in keeping good relations with Shivaji. But his eight sons who were in the fort refused to relinquish it and prepared for resistance. However Raghunathpant had intrigued with the garrison and the governor's sons found that very few people were on their side; upon which they got terrified and consented to surrender the fort. Shivaji assigned to them some villages for their maintenance and in return they were to serve Shivaji with their vassals.

Wilks says that on his march to Jinji, Shivaji did not molest the people and gave it out that he was marching southwards as a friend and ally of Bijapur. When Amberkhan sent his envoy to Shivaji, the latter told him that he had made his peace with Bijapur and declared himself to have accepted the supremacy of that state. Under this pretence he induced the old governor and his sons to visit him in his camp, put them into arrest and captured the fort. The bakhars speak of Rauf Khan as Rup Khan. Prof. Sarkar is of the opinion that Rauf Khan and Nazar Khan were the sons of Khawas Khan of Bijapur. He disbelieves the story of the fort having been taken by treachery; and quotes a Jesuit priest of Madura (La Mission du Madure), to prove that Shivaji carried the fort as the first assault.

23. The Shivdigvijaya gives Garud as the surname of Vithal Pildev.

in future. Shortly after he threw this pretence to the winds and administered in his own name, by the agency of his officers, the provinces he had captured. When the sultan of Golconda came to know of this conduct, he stopped all contributions. Shivaji had, therefore, to depend on the plunder of the country under occupation for the expenses of the campaign. The depredations thus begun caused great consternation, an idea of which can be formed by the fears recorded by the English merchants of Madras at the time. They have recorded that when Shivaji came into the Dravid country, the people in all parts were seized with panic. He had the reputation of being a very dreadful man, who carried fire and sword over the provinces of western India, and whom the people dreaded on that account. Everyone was afraid lest he should fall into Shivaji's hands. He had a knack of discovering where wealth was hidden and whom to attack in order to obtain it. The people believed that he learnt this by some supernatural power and that this was the cause of his universal success.

After the reduction of Jinji, Shivaji moved his forces to Trinomali,<sup>24</sup> a district which was then in charge of Sher Khan, a commander of 5000 horses. He was a loyal veteran of Bijapur and marched upon Shivaji, the moment the Maratha forces entered his district. But in the battle that followed he was outnumbered and completely surrounded on all sides. The gallant commander was wounded and a good deal of booty and horses and elephants fell into the hands of Shivaji.

At this stage Shivaji was joined by the Raja Santaji, a natural son of Shahaji. He had hitherto lived under the protection of Venkoji, but disgusted with his conduct he now came to throw himself on Shivaji's protection. Shivaji gave him a cordial welcome and enrolled him in his service, where distinguishing himself ere long by his bravery, loyalty and abilities, he was appointed in course of time to the governorship of Chandi (Jinji).

In the meantime the remaining part of Shivaji's army which had been left in the rear had invested the fortress of Vellore.<sup>25</sup> This fort was very

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24. Chitnis gives Trimaili as the name of this district. Sabhasad calls it Trivadi (Trivady).

Trivadi (Tirvady) was, however, an important fort in the Trinomali district as also was Vellore, Jedhe, as also some of the bakhars, call the fort Tripati. For the wounding and capture of Sher Khan *Vide* Jedhe p.193. Prof. Sarkar following the Factory Records, Fort St. George, 87 gives a graphic account of the event. Sher Khan escaped on a dark night to a neighbouring town, but was pursued and surrounded by a Maratha column. The East India Company's Brahman agent, Nellore Ramana, was in Shivaji's camp.

25. This fort is also called Vellur and Yellur by other authors. It lay in the Trinomali district. The Shedgavkar bakhari, pp. 88, calls it Yesur instead of Yelur, the letter 's' having evidently crept in instead of 'l'.

strongly fortified and defended by a moat so wide as to enable large crocodiles to move about freely in the water. The width of the fortification walls was so great that a pair of waggons could pass each other on the ridge of the ramparts. The siege was conducted by Narhari Ballal with considerable skill and ability. He erected his batteries on two little adjacent hillocks, which he playfully named Sajara and Gojara, the *pretty* hill and the *tender* hill, and concentrated his fire on the principal citadel. The cannonade did such an execution that in the end the garrison were compelled to surrender.<sup>26</sup>

While the main body of his army was engaged in the siege of Vellore, Shivaji halted his cavalry at Tirumalvadi, on the banks of the Cauvery (the Coleroon), whence with a view to open overtures with the Raja Venkoji, he sent a message that, in order to bring about a peaceful accommodation, Venkoji should send down to his brother's camp three of his ministers, named in the letter, Govind Bhat Gosavi, Kakajipant and Nilo Naik.<sup>27</sup> These officers were accordingly sent to wait upon Shivaji. On their arrival, Shivaji made a feeling speech, the purport of which was as follows: "It is now thirteen years since the demise of our father. All the fortunes of Shahaji were handed over by Raghunathpant to the Raja Venkoji and he entered upon the heritage as the sole inheritor. But all the same it is our patrimony and we claim our moiety. This moiety, which we ought to have claimed long ago, we have suffered Venkoji to enjoy alone. The great distance at which we lived did not permit of our coming over here to claim it. We said to ourselves 'Venkoji is Shahaji's son. He has a vested right in his fortune. He may enjoy it for the present. We may make our demand at our leisure.' So we thought and waited these thirteen years. Affairs of state took us recently to Golconda, and being there we resolved to come over here into the Karnatic. What provinces have fallen to our sword since our coming hither, is already well known to you. We, therefore, ask Venkoji to inform us without loss of time whether he is prepared to yield to us the moiety of our patrimony without a protest. It will be a great shame for the world to see us at war. For after all, though our father be no more, we are children of the same flesh and blood. United should we stand, sharing mutually in each other's good fortune and ill fortune. Nobody ever profited by senseless discord." Addressing Venkoji's ministers in this

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26. The Basatin-i-Salatin asserts that Shivaji took the fort by paying a bribe of 50,000 pagodas to Abdulla Khan, the governor of the fort. As a matter of fact the siege lasted till the middle of August 1678, i.e. for fourteen months and the fort was ultimately captured by Raghunathpant and Anandrao (*Vide* Jedhe p. 194). From the Records of Fort St. George *Diary and Consultations*, 1678-79, page 105, quoted by Sarkar it appears that Abdulla Khan held out the fort as long as he could, but when he could no more postpone his surrender, he stipulated for a personal payment of 30,000 pagodas.

27. The Shivdigvijaya adds the names of Rango Naik and Timaji Naik.

strain, Shivaji gave them leave to depart sending some of his own ministers to accompany them to Venkoji's court. These people communicated Shivaji's wishes to Venkoji.

But the evil advisers of Venkoji misled the prince, urging that he should not yield tamely to Shivaji's demand for partition. He should show that he was a man and could put forth a manly fight. Venkoji was also instigated by the chief of Madura and the Raja of Mysore to defy Shivaji, they assuring him of their support. He, therefore, turned a deaf ear to these demands and dismissed Shivaji's men without an answer. Venkoji attempted to move his forces and put them in readiness for a battle. But the allies on whose assurance he had counted began to draw back at the last moment. Unaided he did not feel himself equal to a contest with Shivaji. Raghunathpant entangled the Naik of Madura in the meshes of his diplomacy and induced him to give up his partisanship with Venkoji.<sup>28</sup>

The Naik left Venkoji in the lurch at a critical point. Venkoji was at the end of his resources. He had to consent to an interview with Shivaji.<sup>29</sup>

Shivaji received him with great affection. Venkoji was accompanied by three natural sons of Shahaji, Raja Bhivji, Raja Pratapji and Raja Rayabhan. They were also received with fitting honour. Venkoji enjoyed the hospitality of Shivaji's camp for fifteen to twenty days, but daring this time he did not care of his own accord to broach the subject of the partition of Shahaji's estates. Shivaji saw he must open the discussion, and, calling him to a private chamber, made a very feeling appeal to his obstinate brother. Shivaji reminded him of the brotherly affection that must always subsist between them and said that, for thirteen years since the death of Shahaji, Venkoji had enjoyed the whole paternal estate, knowing well the equal share he had in that patrimony. He did not demand a share of any personal acquisitions of Venkoji, much as he would like to see him make acquisitions of his own and much as he prayed to Heaven to grant him such thoughts. But to administer the estates of Shahaji, — he could not do so without his brother's consent. He was prepared to show to Venkoji any concession, if only he showed him the papers concerning the estates. He would help him in times of stress and

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28. It appears from the Factory Correspondence and the letter of the East India Company's Brahman agent, Nellore Ramana, to the Madras Council that Shivaji opened the negotiations with the Naik of Madura, who was in the end induced by Raghunathpant to pay a tribute of six lakhs of pagodas (*Vide* Sarkar's Shivaji pp. 389).

29. The Rairi bakhar states that Shivaji sent a message to Venkoji to the effect that they had not met for many years, and that he had come thus far for a meeting, wherefore he would be greatly delighted if he would come to see him. Upon this Venkoji came with his army for an interview. The two brothers met in a temple of Mahadev and dined out of one dish.



difficulty. Venkoji might rest assured upon this head. Such was the substance of Shivaji's exhortation, but for all the persuasion he used with his brother, no impression seemed to have been produced. Venkoji merely ejaculated a monosyllabic "Yes" now and then, as Shivaji went on speaking. But he made no decisive reply to the proposition placed before him.

Shivaji made many attempts to draw him out, but at every attempt Venkoji evaded an answer. He would not give the least inkling of his decision either to Shivaji or to any one else in his camp. On one occasion, however, Venkoji is said to have observed to some of the ministers that if Shivaji cared to give him a moiety of his conquests, he would find his way to give him a moiety of the territory in his power. On Shivaji's side the answer was, and naturally there could be no other answer, that the territory in his possession was all of his own acquisition, while that held by Venkoji was all earned by Shahaji, and no addition whatever had been made thereto by Venkoji. Under the circumstances the demand for a moiety of Shahaji's estate was perfectly justified by the rules for the devolution of ancestral property according to the principles of the Hindu Law.<sup>30</sup>

Thus all this time was lost in vain. Nothing would move Venkoji to a peaceful settlement. At this continued obstinacy Shivaji's first impulse was to put him under arrest and take his own share of the inheritance by force. But calmer thoughts prevailed. Shivaji reflected on the impropriety of any form of violence towards one who was his younger brother. It would be a disgrace to his family and to his reputation as a king. He would exhaust first all the arts of conciliation at his command. But Venkoji took fright and fled from Shivaji's camp in the darkness of the night, with only five attendants.<sup>31</sup> Next morning Shivaji learnt of his brother's flight. He could hardly restrain his indignation at the pusillanimous conduct of his brother, which meant distrust in his promise of safety. His first impulse was to arrest a few of Venkoji's officers who were left behind. But he presently set them at liberty and sent them back to Tanjore<sup>32</sup> with presents and robes of honour usual on such occasions. Shivaji once more sent messengers to Venkoji with a fresh proposal by which Shivaji demanded that his brother should give up to him half of Tanjore and

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30. Prof. Sarkar relying on the Factory Records, Fort St. George and Nellore Ramana's letter to the Madras Council, states that Shivaji claimed three quarters of Shahaji's possessions and treasures to himself and offered to Venkoji only the remaining quarter (Sarkar: Shivaji pp. 390-91).

31. In the text we follow Sabhasad's version. It is corroborated by the Jedhe Chronology, p. 13. Other bakhars state that Shivaji permitted Venkoji to return to Tanjore and gave him an escort. The Shedgavkar bakhar, p. 87, says that Venkoji's officers induced him to escape.

32. This place is also called Chandawar and Chanjawar by the bakhar writers.

one or two of Shahaji's forts as his share, promising that he would be quite satisfied with this and desiring him to maintain a friendly attitude. But Venkoji was governed by the advice of his short-sighted friends, and among these were a few Mahomedan dependents of Bijapur. These advisers said: "What though Shivaji be your elder brother? Is he not a rebel to your liege lord, the sultan of Bijapur? Reflect on the distress which your brother's rebellion brought on your father; how on one occasion his life stood in the greatest jeopardy on his account. It is due to your loyalty and obedience to your father, that the sultan has permitted the jahgirs to continue, or else he would surely have annexed all the territory. What right then has this rebel to demand as a patrimony, what you merely enjoy by an exercise of grace on the part of Bijapur? Moreover these jahgirs are the guerdon of loyal service done to your feudal sovereign and it is as a vassal of Bijapur that you enjoy them. What part could this rebel, this foe of Bijapur, pretend to have in them?" Thus did these short-sighted, brainless creatures continue to mislead Venkoji, who finally sent word through Shivaji's officers, whom otherwise he treated with every mark of honour, that he was willing to hand over to Shivaji a moiety of all the *movables*, — horses, elephants, jewellery etc. — from among the possessions of Shahaji, to be assessed by Raghunathpant as falling rightfully to Shivaji's share, in accordance with certain lists and inventories, about which that minister had the best knowledge and which he might explain to him; and that, if for so many days he had not spoken frankly on the subject, it was because he did not wish to appear immodest in his answer to his elder brother.

It is even said that on this occasion Venkoji wrote to the Bijapur government informing them of Shivaji's demand of an equal share in the paternal estate which, he contended, was the reward of Shahaji's loyal services, and applying for that government's orders as to whether he should comply with this demand. The Bijapur government is reported to have made answer to this effect: — "The Raja Shahaji was a loyal officer of this government, and in appreciation of his loyal services the jahgir lands were conferred upon him, to have and to hold and to transmit in hereditary succession; it was on this sanad that Shivaji's demand was based. For his acts of rebellion, the government was responsible to call him to account, but it was not for Venkoji to deny his brother's right, cause a family feud and refer it to the arbitration of the government. Were the government to decide against Shivaji's claim, they would incur the utmost bitterness of his hostilities and expose their territory to his incursions. Hence they laid it down that in case Shivaji should make his claim to the jahgir inheritance, the tenure of military service, the same should be made over to him. Shivaji was indeed at present at war with their government, but were he to offer to enter into an alliance with

them, they would be prepared to welcome it. At any rate Shivaji was the elder son and had a right of priority to the inheritance.” This *rescriptum Caesaris* carried little weight with Venkoji, whose mind had been poisoned by his designing satellites, in particular by the Mahomedan chiefs in his service, and they represented to him that “Shivaji was a rebel and a traitor, and the sultan, their suzerain, spoke under fear and constraint. But what of that? Venkoji held the territories in his hands and was master of his own will. He should not hesitate to draw the sword in defence. He must try the chances of war. While they lived, they would not permit him to cry for mercy and to surrender. What was it Venkoji feared? Had Shivaji only sucked a true mother’s milk?”

The obstinate reply from Venkoji and the knowledge that he was governed entirely by the interested counsels of the factious Mahomedan nobility kindled Shivaji’s wrath and he prepared to invade Venkoji’s territory and carry on a vigorous campaign. On second thought, however, Shivaji saw that such a campaign between brothers of the same flesh and blood was nothing if not ridiculous and would in the long run bring little profit and less honour, especially when such a multitude of towns and territories lay all around him, owing allegiance to alien chiefs, whom it would be both a gain and a glory to conquer.

From Trivadi (Tiruvadi), where the fruitless interview had taken place with Venkoji, Shivaji broke camp and moved to Vellore, and making it the base of his operations he proceeded to reduce the different forts in the neighbourhood, among which Maharajgad, Jagdevgad and Karnatakgad are mentioned.<sup>33</sup> Shivaji then proceeded to ascend the ghats in those parts, and poured his armies into the distant, outlying districts of Shahaji’s jahgir. Among the districts thus overrun could be counted Kolhar, Balapore, Bangalore Shirta (Sera),<sup>34</sup> and Vaskot, all forming parts of the jahgir dominions of Shahaji. Many smaller forts and citadels fell before Shivaji’s sword, and new defence works and fortifications were raised in places of advantage. The lawless polygar barons scattered over many a straggling castle and stronghold in the surrounding country were for the first time cowed into humble submission. A few of these irregular chiefs consented to make terms, binding themselves to pay an annual tribute. Those who refused to submit had to face a relentless war, were chased from stronghold to stronghold, and were finally extirpated. The fort of Arni had been entrusted by Shahaji to the charge of a trusty Brahman, Vedo Bhaskar, and was at this time in the charge of his

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33. The Jedhe Chronology mentions Jagdevgad and other districts.

34. The ancient Chera Vaskot is also called Uskotta, and by similar fanciful names in the bakhars.

two sons. These two youths now came to Shivaji's camp to present the keys of Arni. Shivaji was pleased with their loyalty and good offices and confirmed them in command of the place, with an adjoining territory yielding an annual revenue of three lakhs of pagodas. Mansingh More and Ranganath Kelkar were detached with a small force to restore order and discipline to these parts. Shivaji then advanced through Shrirangapatam and other districts, exacting tribute.

While Shivaji was winning these laurels in the south and exacting tribute from fort and town, his agent at Delhi (Agra) wrote that a storm was gathering in the north and the news was confirmed by Shivaji's scouts. This was nothing less than a plan for launching the imperial armies upon the Deccan under the leadership of the emperor in person. Upon the receipt of this startling news, Shivaji prepared to (leave the Karnatic in great trepidation. The fortress of Jinji (Chandi) and the outlying territory which had previously been placed under the viceroyalty of Santaji was reinforced by a reserve contingent under Raghunathpant and Hambirrao, the commander-in-chief, and with the rest of his forces, Shivaji gave orders for a general retreat. His resolve to bring under his victorious arms the whole of the south down to the ridge of Rameshwaram had, at a time when every moment was drawing him nearer to the goal of his wishes, to be abandoned on account of the sudden alarm that required his immediate presence in the midst of his affectionate people of Maharashtra, the starting point of his fortunes, ambitions and projects.<sup>35</sup>

The real facts about politics in the north were, however, materially different from what had been reported to Shivaji. Aurangzeb's suspicions about Khan Jehan Bahadur's venality had come to a head and he expressed his disapproval of the peace made with Shivaji. Diler Khan had submitted certain proposals, which seemed to recommend themselves to the emperor. Diler Khan's suggestion was that the Mogul government should join hands with the Bijapur government, dominated as it then was by the personality of its chief minister, Abdul Karim Balhol Khan, and making united war on Golconda, overthrow that monarchy before Shivaji's return from the south. This arrangement received the imperial sanction, and Khan Jehan Bahadur was recalled.

The pretext for this combination against Golconda was naturally the treaty which that government had recently made with Shivaji. The growing

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35. On retreating to Maharashtra Shivaji left word to the Maratha commanders left behind to raid and capture the Dutch and British settlements at Paliacot, Sadras and Madras, but to leave the French at Pondichery unmolested.

amity between Shivaji and Golconda was viewed by both the Mogul and Adil Shahi powers with anxious eyes as a sinister conjunction against their future expansion. Madanna watched the signs of the times, was informed of the changed aspect of the political powers, and prepared for the worst. When the storm burst, Madanna was able to put a sufficient army into the field and after a hard-fought battle repelled the invaders.<sup>36</sup> The rout had destructive effects on the Bijapur army. It was quite disorganized. With their defective arrangements for supply and transport, the soldiers began to starve and die. Those that remained clamoured for arrears of pay or for want of it deserted and fled. The soldiers defied their officers, the officers, their government. To aggravate the whole situation, Abdul Karim himself fell ill and died. The court was now in a state of complete demoralization. Diler Khan took upon himself the cleansing of these Augean stables. He met and interviewed the omrahs and forced them to put a stop to the growing anarchy. He chose one of the wealthiest of the nobles, Masaood Khan, to be chief minister.<sup>37</sup> This Masaood Khan was a son-in-law of Sidi Johar, and his wealth was the principal factor that guided Diler Khan in selecting him for the premiership. For he undertook to carry out Diler Khan's terms, which were to restore peace and order at Bijapur, liquidate his government's liabilities to the Moguls, make up the arrears of pay in the army, and have no intercourse whatsoever with Shivaji. The minister's personal wealth appeared a sort of guarantee that he would carry out these engagements. He did carry them out to the best of his powers, excepting the one relating to the arrears in the army. The state of the finances of his government obliged him to give their discharge to many of his cavalymen. These shiledars or adventurous cavalymen, suddenly thrown out of employment in large numbers, scoured the country, scaring and plundering the hapless inhabitants. Many of them, however, were taken by Moropant Pingle into Shivaji's service, to the great relief of their former government.

Now Shivaji kept himself duly informed about these changes in the politics of the Deccan kingdoms. When the combined armies of Bijapur and Diler Khan invaded the Golconda frontiers, Shivaji accelerated his march so as to be at home in time to parry a possible attack upon his own dominions. Shivaji's van reached the barriers of Gadag-Lakshmeshwar. There was some

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36. But Jedhe (p. 193) says that Masaood Khan and Golconda combined to fight with Diler Khan, who had to retire to Naldurg.

37. Prof. Sarkar quotes a letter of the Rajapur factors to Surat (Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 107) showing that Masaood Khan seized possession of Bijapur by a *coup d' etas* at a time when a traitor minister was negotiating to hand over the capital and sultan to Shivaji's protection. Jedhe, p. 194 says that Bijapur came under Masaood Khan, who became minister.

execution here, two forts falling before Shivaji's arms. The ruling chief Khan Gouda Desai took fright and fled. The province was easily added to Shivaji's spoils.<sup>38</sup>

While his forces were thus rapidly hastening, a party of foragers were attacked on the line of march by the garrison soldiers from the fort of Belwadi<sup>39</sup> which was then in charge of a woman named Malvai,<sup>40</sup> the widow of the original Desai, or revenue-lord of the fort. Shivaji erected batteries and prepared for a siege. The lady of the fort maintained the defence for a period of twenty seven days. But at last she found herself at the end of her resources and was obliged to surrender. The lady was brought a prisoner of war before Shivaji. But she experienced the same clemency and forbearance which the chivalrous instincts of Shivaji had trained him to observe towards all woman-kind. She was, dismissed with the usual presentations and ceremony, and two villages from the fort domains were sequestered and conferred upon her, as a grant of inam for her maintenance. From Belwadi Shivaji proceeded home by forced marches and coming up to Kopal, a fort of considerable strength, besieged and captured it in about a fortnight. The country within range of that fort was quickly reduced, the neighbouring fort of Lakshmeshwar<sup>41</sup> captured, and the irregular polygars of the district compelled to acknowledge his sovereignty. To bring this part of the country under permanent control,

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38. For the itinerary of Shivaji's return journey we follow Chitnis who differs slightly from Sabhasad. The latter makes Shivaji reach Kopal before coming to Lakshmeshwar. According to the bakhar accounts (e.g. Shedgavkar, p. 88). Khan Gauda seems to be the name of a man, not of a place, as imagined by Prof. Sarkar, who complains that he cannot trace it in the maps (*Shivaji*, p. 400, foot-note). The Desai fled to Sampgaum, which the Shedgavkar bakhar calls Satgaum. Sampgaum is in the Belgaum district.

39. Other names used in the bakhars, are Balwed, Belwada. Belwadi means a grove of Bel tree, the leaves of which are sacred to the God Shiv. Grant Duff confounds it with Bellary in Madras Presidency.

40. The name of this lady is given as Lalbi by Sabhasad. The Shivdigvijaya gives the lady's name as Savitribai. Her husband Yesrabhu had been killed in a previous encounter. Shivaji's commander on the occasion was also a Prabhu officer, viz: Dadji Raghunath Prabhu Mahadkar. Her story and Shivaji's subsequent chivalry towards her will remind the reader of the bravery of another heroine, Rai Bagin, described in chapter XXL. But Sabhasad and the Shedgavkar bakhars say that she was captured and punished, while the Tarikh-i-Shivaji says that she was captured and dishonoured by Sakhuji Gaekwad, whom Shivaji punished with imprisonment, when he heard of his misconduct towards the lady.

41. It would seem from Chitnis that the operations around Lakshmeshwar in the Gadag district were resumed or were being still carried forward simultaneously with the operations at Belwadi and Kopal, after the first success gained over the local Desai. In short there were more than one campaign round about Gadag and presumably also Kopal, which accounts for the different versions.

Janardanpant Sumant, one of the ministers, was kept behind with a detachment of forces. Shivaji hastened onward clearing stage after stage, when two commanders of the Bijapur government, Hussain Khan Maina and Lodi Khan threw themselves upon him with a force of ten thousand horses.<sup>42</sup> These were repulsed, and forces were detached under Niloji Katkar<sup>43</sup> against a third commander, Bavli Khan Pathan, who was attempting diversions at Kolhapur, Tarala, and certain other districts that had recently fallen before Shivaji's sword. Katkar overtook the Pathan at Turumba and routed him. The victors received the usual acknowledgments from Shivaji, special embroidered robes and the soldier's decorations of gold and pearls, along with an elephant and a pair of horses, which were bestowed upon Katkar.

Shivaji made a halt on arriving at Torgal, when despatches from Raghunathpant were placed in his hands. From these Shivaji learnt that Venkoji had created a diversion in the newly conquered territories, taking advantage of his absence. The news was alarming enough to induce Shivaji to suspend his march for the present and put up a stationary camp at Torgal. For Shivaji learned that the moment Venkoji came to know that he had withdrawn from the Karnatic, he, with his Mahomedan friends, had marched down upon Santaji Bhonsle, Raghunathpant and Hambirrao, whom Shivaji had left behind as his representatives,<sup>44</sup> with the object of bringing under his complete sway the conquests recently made by him. Shivaji's commanders, apprised in time of Venkoji's invasion, put their forces in battle order. Overtaking the invader at Balgodapur, Raghunathpant made fruitless attempts to persuade Venkoji to come to terms, but the latter would not recede an inch from his position, and the bravado of his Mahomedan instigators being kindled into a blaze, by the attempts of Shivaji's people to make peaceful overtures, a battle

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42. The Shivdigvijaya gives a long account of the battle which took place in the valley of the Tungabhadra at its junction with the Krishna. In the Shivdigvijaya the Adil Shahi commander is called Yusuf Maina. The Jedhe Chronology (p. 192) says that already as early as January 1677. Hambirrao defeated Hussain Khan Maina (or Miana) near Yalgedla and captured some elephants and 2000 horses. The same chronology later on states that about May or June 1677 Shivaji conquered Gadag and returned to Raigad and finally in March 1679, the Peshwa Moropant gained possession of the fort of Kopal (about a hundred miles due south of Bijapur) through the son of Hussain Maina, whereupon the latter was released from captivity and took service under Shivaji. All this would go to show that there were two or three campaigns in the Tungabhadra region and explain why some chronicles like Sabhasad and the Basatin-i-Salatin describe the conquest of the district before the invasion of the Karnatic, while Chitnis and the Shivdigvijaya date it after that event.

43. Instead of Katkar the name Kate or Kothe is also found.

44. According to the Rairi bakhar, Venkoji did not make the attack in person but sent his minister Jagannathpant and other officers to attack Raghunathpant and the sir-nobut. The scene of the battle was Balgodapur or Waligondapuram.

ensued, in which Venkoji's party was completely overthrown.<sup>45</sup> In this battle Shahaji's natural sons, Pratapji and Bhivji, were wounded and taken prisoners. Venkoji saved himself by a headlong flight with one or two hundred fugitives. It would have been possible to press the pursuit and capture the fugitive band, but the feeling that Venkoji had once been his patron and Shivaji himself might not be overpleased with any sort of insult or harm done to his brother prevented Raghunathpant from keeping up the pursuit. Thus Venkoji, with a handful of followers, was enabled to make good his escape.

Such were the grave contents of Raghunathpant's letter in answer to which Shivaji's brief reply ran as follows: "Venkoji is our younger brother. He may act like a naughty boy, but for all that he is our brother. It is our duty to take care of him. You must not harm his principality." A longer letter was addressed to Venkoji expressing his vexation and disappointment, the drift of which was to this effect: "We regret to learn," wrote Shivaji, "that, misled by Turkish knaves, you made war upon our people, a war in which you have lost much, in which our half-brothers Pratapji and Bhivji were taken prisoners, and several of your chiefs wounded. You being our brother, your losses are our losses, your reputation is our reputation. It was not well done — by this foolish act to have thus published your ill fame to the world! What you have thus done was not done of the free motion of your mind. The men whose wicked counsels have led you to this act have already received condign punishment by the decree of Heaven. The prejudices instilled in your mind against us have led to this step. Had you relied on us, instead of giving yourself to your Mahomedan advisers, it would have been to your own advantage. Now you will have to render us our share and bear this disgrace into the bargain. Our father's fortunes were of his own earning. That you should have entertained a doubt, on what title to yield us our share, was not fair to us. On your restoring to us our share, it is for us and the Bijapur government to discuss this question. They will not care to make you a reference. That being so, you are acting like a naughty boy. Hereafter follow the precedents laid down by our father. Leave not virtue, leave vice, with reason for your guide. Make war upon the wicked, pour blessings on your subjects. Forget not that you are the son of Shahaji, forget not the debt of *noblesse oblige*. And yet the thought of discriminating between sin and righteousness does not enter your mind. But this will surely bring you to

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45. Col. Wilks states that in the first encounter Santaji Bhonsle was repulsed, at which he was so much vexed, that he gathered his men at night and led them to a second attack, resolved to conquer or perish in the attempt. The sudden raid of Santaji against Venkoji's forces, at a time when they were off their guard in the exultation of the day's victory, threw them into a complete rout.



misery. Without a sharer thus far have you alone enjoyed the common estate. Now at length yield to us our share. Live in peace and prosperity, yielding us our dues. By the grace of the Bhawani of Tuljapur, victory shall always crown our arms, and remembering this you ought not to have rashly embarked on war with us, infatuated by the advice of your Mahomedan counsellors. You should not have acted, as Duryodhan of the Mahabharata acted, so as to dig the grave of your own people. By tasting defeat at the hands of a servant of your family, you have only disgraced yourself in the eyes of the world. The losses in the war we consider as our own. Hereafter at least don't allow a repetition of such scenes. Court not new acquaintance by disregarding the old. Those who have grown gray in the service of our father, you must respect as elders and family friends. The bitter fruit of spurning such old friends and conducting yourself according to your own caprice, you are now tasting and shall have to taste in future. Think not that, by Raghunathpant's coming over to us, this mischief is done. The claiming or yielding of the family partition must always have come sooner or later. There was no escape from it. There is no need that you should be taught this by someone else. Advice given to you in good part you took in evil part. This has brought upon you this misfortune. Regard old servants of the family as family elders. Keep them in service and victory will smile upon you and your fortunes will prosper. Remember this and play your part in the future. Arni, Bangalore, Kolhar, Vaskot,<sup>46</sup> Shirta and other districts are already ours. Chandawar<sup>47</sup> likewise shall you cede to our men. Of cash and jewellery inherited from our father you shall grant us half. Act honestly by us and we shall grant you, on the other side of the Tungabhadra, territory worth three lakhs of pagodas, in the Panhala district, of our own acquisition. Or in lieu thereof, we shall procure for you, from the Golconda Kingdom, territory worth the same amount. There is no profit in kindling a family feud. That would only mean misery to you and to us. Hereafter at least let us remain as friends. What we tell you, as an elder brother, if you hearken, to in good part, you will bless yourself for the rest of your life. Act in opposition to us, and you will work your woe without a cause."<sup>48</sup>

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46. Vaskot is elsewhere called Iskot or Haskot.

47. The same as Tanjore.

48. We follow the Shivdigvijaya chronicle which practically quotes the greater part of Shivaji's letter. The original letter, which was in the hand-writing of Balaji Avji Chitnis was examined by Grant Duff. It was recovered from the Hanmante family, in whose possession it was, by a descendant of the Chitnis family at Satara and it was published by Rao Bahadur Parasnis in the *Itihas-Sangraha* (Volume I, 1912, p. 36).

After this letter to Venkoji, Shivaji wrote again to Raghunathpant, not to protract war with Venkoji and widen the gulf between them. Nothing was to be done that would injure Venkoji's self-respect. Being after all the son of Shahaji, it mattered not, if he monopolised the whole heritage to himself. Nothing should be left undone for a restoration of peace and amity. Upon these despatches of Shivaji, Raghunathpant called back the army that was sent after Venkoji. Meanwhile Venkoji was plunged into sad reflections at Shivaji's epistle. He felt he had merited the fraternal rebuke. He reflected on the rout of his forces, the capture of his horses and elephants the men slain, the orphans and widows who came down to curse him at the doors, the shiledars clamouring for new horses in exchange for beasts slain in war, the wounded and disabled starving for food. How was he to please or console them all? On the other hand there was his elder brother who would not renounce his just rights by any means. There was Raghunathpant to give the claimant Shivaji a full inventory of Shahaji's fortunes. What was he now to do? Carry on war to the end? It would bring misery, ignominy and ruin. All his pride of wealth would go and only the bitter recollection of hostility would remain behind. He had acted madly from beginning to end! Had he behaved humbly and listened to the reasonable wishes of his elder brother when called to the interview, these depths of ignominy would have been spared! Good fortune had always attended on his career. But he had given ear to evil counsellors and made war with such a brother!

Venkoji was now filled with remorse. He could not think of food or sleep. For hours together he sat moodily buried in thought. At last his wife, Dipabai, began to inquire what acute anxieties distracted him so much? Venkoji replied, "Shivaji's generals have remained in these parts; they have reduced the polygars and brought the sultan's forts under their power. They fight every day. They know no defeat! Where the sultan himself has retreated before them, what could we do with our slender forces? Where is the good of such a fight? And yet we did fight, to bur infinite loss!" Upon this his wife spoke in very feeling terms. "After the death of the Maharaja," (meaning her father-in-law), said she, "Shivaji is to you in the place of a father. You have been deceived by the advice of evil-wishers. When it was time to think soberly, yon failed to care about it. Shivaji is a righteous man and a hero. Behave well with him, and he will not reject your wishes. What does Shivaji care for your fortunes? He has won his own independent kingdom and made the fortunes of so many followers. What would you have lost if you had submitted to him? Is it your own possessions he claims to share? What additions have you made to the family fortunes? And what do you accuse him of? When he made no estrangement of his affections, how strange that you should have taken up arms against him and widened the breach!

Raghunathpant, an old servant of the family who should be cherished as a relation and an elder, was humiliated and despised! The only man who could have kept things going and assured your joy and happiness, was driven from your presence! Knaves and impostors were invited to help to fritter away your estates. Even yet, bury your hatred, yield to Raghunathpant, and obey his advice, and he will free you from the obstacles in your way. Persevere in your false pride and you will add only to your dishonour. Or if you would not submit to Raghunathpant, and vanity stands in your way, go, throw yourself upon your brother's mercy. Learn humility, even at this hour, and he is sure to protect you. That is the best you can do. There is no help without it."

This advice made a great impression upon Venkoji and he resolved to act upon it. He invited Raghunathpant to settle the terms of a treaty between himself and Shivaji. But Raghunathpant wrote in reply that he was awaiting orders from Shivaji and would act according to those orders, without which he could not come to see him. On receipt of Shivaji's orders, he proceeded to meet Venkoji, informing him previously that as he was an officer and representative of Shivaji, and Shivaji was his elder brother, the conference must take place on something more than a basis of equality. This was agreed to by Venkoji. The place for the conference was then determined, and pavilions were erected at the chosen spot. The two proceeded on elephant-back from their respective camps to the spacious pavilion.<sup>49</sup> On Venkoji's dismounting from his howdah, Raghunathpant got down, and the two entered the pavilion hand in hand. Two chairs of state had been installed within, and the two chiefs approached them together on a footing of equality, when Raghunathpant folding his hands in a respectful attitude exclaimed that he was a servant of that throne, and Venkoji only was competent to be seated upon it. So saying, he helped Venkoji to his seat, made a humble salutation to the occupant of the chair, and seated himself a little apart. Raghunathpant then continued as follows: "You are to me the same as Shivaji. When I quitted your service, I declared to you I was quite as good a man to occupy your seat, and I had to do all this to demonstrate to you the truth of my words. Not being like the general run of servants, my services were welcomed by Shivaji. You are free to employ me again, if you please. I would freely give up my life rather than do anything to injure you. But if my patron goes astray, I shall not cease to try to bring him round. You listened to the advice of narrow-minded

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49. The Shivdigvijaya says that the meeting took place at Chandawar (i.e. at Jinji, or Tanjore). At the urgent request of Venkoji and Dipabai, Raghunathpant proceeded to Chandawar without waiting for Shivaji's order, when he had a private audience with them, whereat both husband and wife prostrated themselves at his feet, exclaiming that he had the knife, he had the head, he might slay or save! When Raghunathpant saw this proof of humble repentance, he made a treaty with them.

fools and heaped insult and ignominy upon my head. I had, therefore, to appeal to Shivaji and suggest to him the occupation of the Karnatic. He is a true soul of valour and has vowed to bring about the restoration of free religion and government and the expulsion of Mahomedan tyrants from the country. He endorsed my views and brought his squadrons from such a great distance to the Karnatic, and in a short space of time he has made conquests worth three to four crores a year. And yet he has a great love for you. His love is boundless. He shows it in his epistles to us. Hereafter do you behave sincerely with him. Think of the devotion of Lakshman towards Ramchandra, in the epic poem, and hold it up before yourself as the mirror of brotherly respect and affection. Let this be your study, your emulation. Do this and you shall prosper. Whatever peril may menace you at any time, do but send me word and I shall come flying to your rescue and deliverance. That you may achieve at least a fraction of Shivaji's valour and glory is all the desire that now remains to me." With such exhortations, Raghunathpant proceeded to state the terms of the compromise. Venkoji was to remit to his brother half the annual revenue of Shahaji's jahgir domains, divide the family jewels and make a cash contribution towards the expenses of the campaign. On Venkoji's acceptance of these conditions, Shivaji was to allow him to retain Tanjore and restore the other jahgir districts that he had conquered.<sup>50</sup>

On receipt of the documents concerning the treaty, Shivaji wrote a lengthy letter to Raghunathpant, the purport of which was as follows: -

"It is well," wrote Shivaji, "that Dipabai has brought round her husband, and that with your help a treaty has been made. This was what we had been seeking from the first, but Venkoji would not listen. It is good that now at length he has seen through his false friends and the scales have fallen from his eyes. Now you have only to see that Venkoji carries out the terms of the treaty. Should you so prefer it, it is open to you to reside there and conduct the administration on behalf of Venkoji. Janardanpant, the Sumant,<sup>51</sup> might be given charge of Chandi (Jinji) and the adjoining districts, and you might, keep your eye on important matters from time to time. On the assumption that you would choose to reside with Venkoji, we specify below certain particulars of administrative details, to which we invite your special attention. These articles are as follows: -

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50. The Rairi bakhar states that Venkoji ceded on this occasion the forts or districts of Kolhar. Balapore, Maharajgad, Jagdevgad and Karnatakgad to Shivaji. These places, as already stated, had been captured by Shivaji during this campaign.

51. He was a brother of Raghunathpant Hanmante.

- Art.1: The privileges etc. of the relations of the royal family and the titled nobility (mankaris) to be preserved; their degrees of precedence etc. to be respected. No onerous duties to be assigned to them.
- Art.2: The officers and commanders to be consulted in important matters. Loyal and competent officers only to be appointed to positions of trust. Promotions to be made according to merit, and strife among state officials to be discouraged by all possible means.
- Art.3: The private suite of Raja Venkoji to consist of good, loyal and upright servants who shall give sureties for their good behaviour; no favourites; all to be under equal rule.
- Art.4: Agents and envoys to be stationed at surrounding courts, whether friendly or hostile; and arrangements to be made for prompt and secret intelligence about all changes.
- Art.5: Cavalry, both paga and shiledars, to be properly organized. Horses and men to be both in readiness. The shiledar force as much as possible to be converted into paga. Artillery and cavalry to be both in readiness to meet a sudden invasion.
- Art.6: Professional thieves, rowdy and riotous people, drunkards, lawless tribes, assassins etc. to be expelled from the kingdom, or if allowed to stay, under proper security, both in cash and by sureties. Such people to be properly watched.
- Art.7: Quarrels among high and low, concerning boundary rights, contracts, treaties, etc. to be discouraged. The poor and the needy to be succoured in difficulty and saved from the oppression of the rich and the powerful.
- Art.8: Religious grants from the state, benefactions etc. to temples and holy places to be continued and on no account to be violated.
- Art.9: Suits of creditor and debtor relations, partitions and successions to inheritances to be decided by specially constituted panchayats, and the administration of civil justice to be conducted in the best interests of the people. Corruption of justice by bribery to be prevented, and justice to be free and gratuitous to all. As regards justice the state is to consider the poor as being under its special patronage.
- Art.10: Promises of pardon and reprieves to be strictly adhered to. The contrary has never taken place in our family.
- Art.11: The fort of Arni, with the adjoining district, having been granted by Shahaji to Vedo Bhaskar, to be confirmed in the possession of his

eight sons and heirs, without any molestation, whether they take service under Venkoji or not.

- Art.12: The jahgir and other lands held under sanad from the Bijapur government by Shahaji; as also those acquired from the Daulatabad authorities (Nizam Shahi state) when he came over to the Bijapur service; and thirdly the territory privately acquired by him by conquest of the polygars, to be investigated, classified, and separately accounted for. Secondly, under the tenure of feudal service, Shahaji was under obligation to serve the Bijapur government with a force of five thousand strong; which tradition must continue with this modification that by the treaties made by us (i. e. Shivaji) with that government, the feudal covenant of service has been commuted into an engagement to render occasional aid, and this modification having been made in the lifetime of Shahaji, Venkoji would now be under no obligation to campaign for Bijapur except under special circumstances, being released from a perpetual covenant of service by our treaty, and he would be responsible to us for the fulfilment of this occasional obligation; in default of which, should we (i.e. Shivaji) have to campaign under the auspices of Bijapur, Venkoji shall be held liable to pay us the expenses of the campaign.
- Art.13: As to the hereditary patilships and deshmukh rights over Varghati Hingni, Beradi, Devulgaum and other places, descended in the family, we would exercise them unchallenged, by right of primogeniture.
- Art.14: Officers or members of our court proceeding on duty or for personal reasons to Venkoji's court, and *vice versa*, to be treated in a spirit of mutual hospitality and enabled to return to their respective places, on the transaction of their business.
- Art.15: Of the territory ceded back to Venkoji, the districts of Bangalore, Vaskot and Silekot yield an annual revenue of three lakhs of pagodas, which may be improved to five. These districts are hereby assigned in perpetual grant by us to Dipabai as a pin-money allowance, indefeasible by any right or claim on the part of Venkoji or his heirs. After Dipabai the revenues to descend to her daughters as pin-money, and so on in the female line, from generation to generation. Venkoji's government only to administer the districts and revenues *in commendam*.
- Art. 16: Of the territory ceded around the fort of Chandi, districts to the value of seven lakhs of pagodas are hereby assigned in perpetual grant to Raja Venkoji as a personal appanage, to be transmitted from

generation to generation. A schedule of these districts to be submitted to us for sanction and for grants of sanads.

Art.17: Raghunathpant, being a tried and loyal veteran and hereditary servant in our family, and himself of no mean lineage, shall have an inam ceded from the Tanjore territory to the value of one lakh of pagodas, to hold and to transmit from generation to generation.

Art.18: There is to be a right of extradition as between our kingdom and the court of Venkoji, for the arrest and conviction of thieves, robbers and other run-away criminals.

Art.19: Venkoji to make monthly grants or assignments for the proper maintenance of music, clerks, soldiers, horses and other equipments and honours at the tomb of Shahaji.

We shall be happy to hear that the Raja Venkoji approves and promises to abide by these nineteen articles, in token whereof a due acknowledgment of the same should be submitted to us.<sup>52</sup>

Raghunathpant presented this letter with the nineteen articles to Venkoji, to whom also Shivaji had written a personal epistle, giving him further assurances. It was finally settled that Raghunathpant should remain behind to administer Venkoji's jahgirs, as also to supervise the administration of the districts recently conquered by Shivaji. On the ratification of these last arrangements, Shivaji broke up his camp at Torgal and continued his march to the north, and sent orders to Hambirrao to follow with his army.

Meanwhile Ghatge and Nimbalkar had overrun the barrier province of Panhala, and laying waste the country, went plundering the people up to Karhad. When Shivaji received intelligence of these events, he was still encamped at Torgal. He despatched Niloji Katkar with a small detachment to repel the invaders. Katkar overtook the foe at Koorli and attacked him with such force that he was completely routed. Katkar was able to recover from the fugitives a great part of their plundered spoils, which, as being the property of the king's own subjects, was scrupulously restored to the ascertained owners, not a farthing of it being permitted to find its way into the royal exchequer.

On the conquest of Kopal, Janardanpant had been left behind in command of that fort; and news having been received that there was

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52. The Shivdigvijaya gives a detailed account of this treaty, from which this account is taken. This treaty is an unimpeachable proof of the high statesmanship of Shivaji. The articles on extradition and feudal service to Bijapur show how delicately he attempted to deliver Venkoji from his subservience to Bijapur and bring him under the hegemony of Maharashtra.

likelihood of a threatened attack by Bijapur in that quarter, some troops were detached to reinforce that commander; and shortly afterwards, with a small force to escort him, Shivaji himself reached Raigad in safety.

It will be remembered that on the conclusion of the treaty with Venkoji, Hambirrao, who till then had co-operated with Raghunathpant, had received orders to retire to Maharashtra. Janardanpant, apprised of his approach, projected a combined attack upon the Bijapur forces, and Hambirrao entering heartily into the plan, a concerted attack was made on the Bijapur militia in the basin of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. The attack succeeded most admirably. The Bijapur forces were put to utter rout, five hundred horses, five elephants and the commander of the enemy falling into the hands of the victors. The whole of the country was overrun and subdued. The refractory deshmukhs in the neighbourhood of Kopal and Belvadi who had for a long time shirked payment of their feudal dues to Bijapur and made themselves undisputed lords of their holdings, were brought to book by Janardanpant and compelled to submit to the feudal suzerainty of Shivaji. The Bijapur government never attempted thereafter to recover these districts from Shivaji. The exhaustion of that state in the wars with the Moguls and with Golconda and the practical annihilation of their cavalry by war and desertion made a show of arms almost impossible, and had there been any such disposition on the part of that government, the flooded condition of the country, on account of the rains that set in soon afterwards, precluded all hopes of an effectual campaign. Janardanpant and Raghunathpant turned the enemy's delay to the best account and brought the whole country under their permanent control.

Hambirrao continued his march to the north, attacking the fort of Devur which lay on his line of march. The Bijapur government sent a force of ten thousand under Hussain Khan to repel the attack. But Hambirrao defeated this force and captured the fort. Another force was then sent under Lodi Khan, but he too was defeated and taken prisoner.<sup>53</sup> The forts of Gondal and Bahadurbanda were attacked and captured with the like success. Thus capturing fort after fort, he reached home in triumph and was received by his sovereign with many acknowledgments of gratitude for his conspicuous services throughout the campaign. Among his lieutenants, who had likewise covered themselves with glory by their distinguished bravery and valour in the field, were Dhanaji Jadhav and Bayaji Ghorpade. Shivaji expressed his warm congratulations to these young officers and conferred upon them inams and military decorations in recognition of their gallant services. All other officers who had

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53. These generals had already been defeated once by Shivaji's retreating columns. An entry in the Jedhe Chronology under date Chaitra (April-May) shaka year 1601 (1679 A.D.) would go to show that Moropant had something to do with these conquests.



distinguished themselves in the campaign came in for a proper share of the royal bounty and acknowledgments. Thus was this great campaign finally concluded, having covered a period of eighteen months from the start to the finish.

Some days thereafter a letter was received from Raghunathpant about affairs in the Karnatic. "The Raja Venkoji," wrote that trusty administrator, "has given himself to a settled gloom and melancholy. He closes his eyes, avoids conversation, has grown indifferent to food and drink, sulks by himself in solitude, gives curt answers or none when I approach, and gives anything in alms that the Brahmans require. We have waited and watched for six months, in the fond hope that there might be some alteration. But there has been no improvement at all during all this time, and now I think it necessary to inform you about it, hoping to be excused for keeping you uninformed so long. It is for Your Majesty to decide what is to be done." Upon this Shivaji wrote to Venkoji as follows: "Raghunathpant has returned from a visit to you. The particulars he has given in his letter about you have filled us with sadness. We are sad to think that you should give yourself to melancholy. Reflect that you and I are brothers of the same flesh and blood, prepared to stand by one another in every misfortune. If you would be pleased to let us know the fears that have driven you to this sadness we will at least endeavour to eradicate the cause. Do not be deterred by any sense of reserve from confiding in us. Whatever your wishes, they shall be readily fulfilled. Be assured that we will spare no pains to gratify your wishes. Do inform us, by all means, of the cause of your mental malady. Do not be so disconsolate in future, or else we shall have to bring you here under our immediate protection, and in that case you will not be able to return thither again. Please bear this in mind and act fairly by us. Be governed by Raghunathpant's advice, for that means your welfare; beyond that as you please."

This letter had much effect upon Venkoji, who began, again to take an interest in his affairs.

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