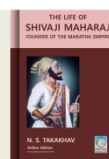




THE LIFE OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJ FOUNDER OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

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Chapter 31

Shivaji's Fortunes and Possessions

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The life story of Shivaji has been told in the preceding chapters. It is proposed in the present chapter to make an attempt to estimate the extent of his power, possessions and wealth at the time of his death. Nor should it be quite an uninteresting subject to make such an audit of his wealth and possessions, seeing that it furnishes an index to the measure of his success in his ceaseless toils of over thirty-six years, in that war of redemption which he had embarked upon against the despotism of the Mahomedan rulers of the country. At the time when the Rajah Shahaji transferred his allegiance from the fallen house of the Naizam Shahi sultans to that of the still prosperous Adil Shahi dynasty and in the service of that government entered upon the sphere of his proconsular authority in the Karnatic, he had left his Maharashtra jaghirs, as we have seen, under the able administration of the loyal Dadaji Kondadev. These jaghir estates comprised the districts of Poona, Supa, Indapur, Daramati and a portion of the Maval country. This was the sole patrimony derived by Shivaji from his illustrious father at the time he embarked upon his political career. Even these districts were held on the sufferance of the Bijapur government and were saddled with feudal burdens. That government was in a position to have cancelled or annexed these jaghirs at any time. To what extent, on entering personally upon the possession of these jaghirs, as a representative of his father, - jaghirs which had originally

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been conferred as rewards of service and pledges of the gracious favour of the reigning sultans, - Shivaji turned them into the nucleus of an independent kingdom, and what final proportions that kingdom had assumed at the time of his death, this is briefly the survey we enter upon in this chapter. It is necessary to acknowledge the fact that anything like an exact survey is impossible. However the different chronicles about Shivaji furnish us with most valuable material for such a survey, in the shape of the lists and inventories they have compiled of forts and territories, of specie and jewellery, and the family and state fortunes of Shivaji's kingdom. And there is reason to surmise that these inventories had been practically prepared during the life of Shivaji. For young Sambhaji had proved a scapegrace, had already committed treason and joined his father's enemies, and it was feared that sooner or later he would wreck his father's estates. Shivaji had, therefore, these lists compiled, so as to facilitate, when it should be deemed necessary, a partition of all his estates and possessions between Rajaram and Sambhaji, and it appears from some of the chronicles that he had been thinking of such a plan¹.

Taking the account in Chitnis's bakhar as our guide, we may make fourteen divisions of Shivaji's territorial possessions. Chitnis describes at full length the number and names of the forts comprised in each division. The full lists of these names are reproduced in the original Maratha text by Mr. Keluskar, but in this English version it has seemed advisable to abstain from a dreary catalogue of names, although it has its historical value, and to indicate only the most important positions falling in each territorial group or division. The territorial divisions² mentioned in the bakhar above referred to are as follows: -

(1) The Maval territory situated among the Sahyadri Mountains or the Western Ghats. This region comprised the modern talukas of Maval, Saswad, Junnar, and Khed. This territory included, in all, eighteen hill forts. The more famous among them, which have often been referred to in the foregoing narrative, were: - Rohida, Sinhagad (or Kondana), Kelna, Purandar, Lohagad, Rudramal, Rajgad, Rajmachi, Torna, Visapur, Wasota and Shivneri.

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1. Vide Sen's *Shiva Chhatrapati*, extract from *Sabhasad* page 132 and the lists from page 133 to page 149.
 2. Each of these territorial units constituted a prant, (or a subha according to the Mogul terminology), and was governed by a subhedar, who exercised the jurisdiction of a modern district collector and magistrate. As regards area some were almost as large a modern district, others only equal in size to a district sub-division, but in a military sense the latter would often constitute a more important charge than a Prant of a relatively larger area.

(2) The territory of Satara and Wai. This division comprised eleven forts, of which the following have played an important part in the preceding narrative, viz., Satara, Parali or Sajjangad, Pandavgad, Wandangad and Chandangad.

(3) The territory of Karhad, which comprehended four forts, viz., Vasantgad, Macchindragad, Bhushangad and Kasaba Karhad.

(4) The territory of Panhala, which comprised thirteen forts, conspicuous among which were Panhala, Khelna (Vishalgad), Pavangad, Rangna and Bavda.

(5) The territories of Konkan Bandhari and Naldurg. This extensive division included fifty-eight forts, of which the most noteworthy were the following: - Sindhudurg, Vijayadurg, Jayadurg, Ratnagiri, Suvarnadurg, Khanderi, Underi, Kolaba, Anjanwel, Revdanda, Raigad, Pratapgad, Prabalgaad, Mahuli and Lingana. Most of the forts mentioned in the beginning of this list were sea-forts.

(6) The territory of Trimbak, which comprehended twenty-five forts, among which those of Trimbak, Chandwad and Sindhgad may be mentioned.

(7) The territory of Baglan, which comprised seven forts, among which were included Saleri (Salheri), Muleri, and Nahava.

(8) The territory of Vangad etc., which included a great part of the modern district of Dharwar. This division comprised twenty-two forts, including Chitradurg, Kanchangad, etc.

(9) The territory of Phonda-Bednore, which comprised twelve forts, the chief of which were Phonda, Kalburga, Mangrol and Krishnagiri.

(10) The territory of Kolhar-Balapore, which comprised twenty-seven forts, among which the following may be mentioned, viz., Kolhar, Shriwardhangad and Bednorekot.

(11) The province of Shrirangapattan, which included twenty-two forts.

(12) The territory of the Karnatic and Jagdevgad. It comprised eighteen forts, among which Jagdevgad, Mallikarjungad and Ramgad may be mentioned.

(13) The territory of Vellore, which included the modern district of Arcot. It comprised twenty-five forts, chief among them being Arcot, Trimal, Trivady, Sajara, Gojara, etc.

(14) The territory of Chandi (Jinji) which included six forts.

As previously observed, Chitnis gives the whole catalogue of these forts, *seriatim*, classified under the fourteen territorial divisions. Besides these, a long list of other forts can be gleaned from the other chronicles, which Chitnis seems to have overlooked. Of all these forts and the total for the fourteen divisions in Chitnis's list alone exceeds two hundred and sixty one hundred and eleven are stated to have been erected by Shivaji himself, by one of his chroniclers, who also gives a full list of such forts ; but other authorities concur in restricting the number of such forts to eighty-four.

³The contents of Shivaji's treasury at the time of his death are described by the chronicle writers with overflowing details. Diverse kinds of gold and silver coins, representing the coinages and devices of distant nations, are mentioned in these lists. Of the gold coin, called gubbar, gumbar or gadar, we find an estimate of one lake; of gold mohurs, two lakhs; of putlis (worth about five rupees each), three lakhs; of imperial or padshahi pagodas, thirteen lakhs and a half. Then follow different kinds of pagodas viz.: Sangiri pagodas, twelve lakhs and three quarters; Achutraï pagodas, two lakhs and a half; Devrai pagodas, three lakhs; Ramchandrarai pagodas one lakh; Gooti pagodas, one lakh; Dharwad pagodas, twelve lakhs ; miscellaneous gold coins (consisting of pagodas of twelve other species), three lakhs; Satlam pagodas, one lakh; Ibrahim pagodas, one lakh; Shivrai pagodas, four lakhs; Cauveri pagodas, fifteen lakhs; Pralkhati pagodas, two lakhs; Pamnaik pagodas one lakh; Advani (Adoni) pagodas, three lakhs; Jadmal pagodas, five lakhs; Tadpatri pagodas, one lakh and forty thousand; Tuti (Tuticorin?) pagodas, one lakh; Vellore pagodas, half a lakh; Sailya Ghat pagodas, two lakhs; pagodas with the pennant device, five lakhs; and gold ingots, equal to twelve and a half

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3. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has published in the Modern Review (January 1910) under the heading "The Legacy of Shivaji", extracts from the Tarikh-i-Shivaji, a Persian manuscript. The extract under reference gives an inventory of the various kinds of property left behind by Shivaji. Prof. Sarkar thinks from the internal evidence that the Persian manuscript is a translation from Marathi sources and was composed about 1780.

Prof. Sarkar divides Shivaji's "Legacy" under the headings, treasure, wardrobe, specie, jewels, grain, rice, dal, armoury, stables and slaves. Under the heading treasury are described quantities of various metals, and specie. The number of hons or pagodas given in this list is about 381 lakhs only. There were besides gold ornaments and blocks of copper, silver, bronze, steel, ironware and lead vessels. Under the second heading are catalogued various kinds of kinkhabs, dupetas, silk shawls etc., also paper, running up to 6,500 quires. Under specie are also included various kinds of scented oils and perfumes and the quantities vary from one candy to 50,000 candies. Then some jewels, including all kinds of precious stones. Under the heading grain are also included ghee, mica, indigo, sulphur, etc. The list of armour is interesting and includes cotton, resin and wax. Under the heading of stables, we have a total of 37,000 horses of all sorts. Slaves are also mentioned.

candies in weight. Among the silver coins are mentioned rupees, five lakhs; *asarpadi* coins, ten lakhs; the mosque-inscribed silver currency of Dabul, of Cheul, of Busrah, twenty-five, ten, and five lakhs, respectively; of silver ingots and plate, ten lakhs of pieces, fifty candies in weight. As regards jewellery and precious stones, it is said to have been of the then value of two crores of pagodas. All kinds of precious stones are mentioned in these lists, viz.: rubies, emeralds, turquoises, sapphires, pearls, corals, topazes, and diamonds. Besides one crore of pagodas' worth of valuable cloth is reported to have been stored in the treasury.

As to the army, the private paga mastered a cavalry force of eighty thousand, and the shiledar or cavalier horse, twenty-five thousand. The infantry force of Mavalis and Hetkaries included one hundred thousand men. This number does not include the garrison soldiers detailed on duty at the various forts. Detailed lists of cavalry and infantry officers are to be found, which it is not convenient to reproduce *in extenso*. Among the cavalry officers may be mentioned Hambirrao sir-nobut, Anandrao Hapt hazari (*sapt hazari* or commander of seven thousand), Netaji Palker, Manaji (Man Sing) More, Swarupji (Rupaji) Bhonsle, Gondji Jagtap, Khandoji Jagtap, Santaji Jagtap, Dhanaji Jadhav, Netoji Katkar, Kankde, Kathe, Santaji Ghorpade, Telangrao Nimbalkar, Venkaji Jumledar, Gangaji Shirke, Maloji Nimbalkar, Krishnaji Powar, Bhalekar, Udaji Powar, Parsoji Bhonsle, Nemaji Shinde, Krishnaji Ghatge, Birje, Tambe, and many distinguished scions of the historic families of the Mohites, the Shirkes, the Bhonsles, the Nimbalkars, the Powars, the Angres, the Pansambals, the Mahadiks, the Thorats and other noble houses. Among the distinguished infantry officers may be mentioned, Yessaji Kunk sir-nobut, Suryaji Malusare, Mal Sawant, Vithoji Lad, Bhikaji Dalvi, Trimbakji Prabhu, Kondaji Farzand, Tanaji Malusare, Subhanji Naik, Bajirao Pasalkar, Baji Prabhu Deshpande (of the Hardas Maval country), Baji Murar Deshpande (of Mahad), Hiroji Farzand, Krishnaji Bhonsle, and many others. This list contains the names of many Prabhu officers. As to the naval-squadron of Shivaji, one or two chronicles mention a classified list, from which it would appear there were at least six hundred and forty of such vessels, smaller or larger, as could be fitly used for war. However other chronicles, without going into particulars, state that Shivaji had above a thousand vessels on the sea. Of the largest class, which the chronicles call⁴ *gurabas*, there were thirty; next after them of the *galbat*⁵ class, or ships of the line, one hundred; of *mahagirees*, or ship-castles, one hundred and fifty; of

4. These are the *grabs* of the English records.

5. Called galwets or gallivats in English records.

smaller gurabas, fifty; of transports, sixty, and of smaller craft, of various sizes and denominations⁶, two hundred and fifty. The sea-forts were, as we have seen, an important feature of Shivaji's naval policy, some of which have already been mentioned in the catalogue of the Konkan forts. But they may bear repetition here. The principal of these naval forts were Kolaba, Khanderi, Underi, Anjenwel, Ratnagiri, Padmadurg, Sarjakot, Vijayadurg, Gahandurg, Khakeri, Suvarndurg, Rajkot and Sindhudurg. Shivaji's naval forces generally lay anchored under cover of these fortresses of the sea. But the names only of a few of the naval commanders are mentioned in the bakhars. Among those mentioned are Darya Sarang, Mainaik Bhandari, Ibrahimkhan and Daulatkhan⁷. There is reason to believe, though the names are not extant, that many families of the Koli and Bhandari castes distinguished themselves by their naval service under Shivaji, as in the neighbourhood of these sea-forts, many distinguished families belonging to these two castes are found to have risen into prominence about that time.

Of the Brahman officers who rendered such conspicuous service to Shivaji, a few may here be mentioned, viz: Moro Trimal Pingle, Nilo Sondev, Apaji Sondev, Ramchandra Nilkant, Raghunath Narayan Panditrao, Annaji Datto, Balaji Raghunath, Narhar Ballal Sabnis, Ravji Somnath Subhe, Janardhanpant Hanmante, Dattajipant Waknis, Shamji Naik Punde Potdar, Shankraji Nilkant, Raghunath Ballal Korde, Krishna Joshi, Narhar Anandrao, Niraji Ravji, Pralhad Niraji, Dattaji Gopinath Bokil, Timaji Keshav Naik, Krishnajipant Mathure and others of the same family, and a host of others. One of the bakhars gives a list of Prabhu officers in Shivaji's service, mostly civilians. Among the prominent names in the list are Balaji Avji Chitnis, Chimnaji Avji Daftardar, Shamji Avji Karkhannis, Trimbak Vithal Khasnis, Chando Narayan, Ragho Ballal and Nilkant Yessaji Parasnvis⁸.

6. Such as pal, jug and machavas (i. e. munchwas of the English records).

7. Of these naval commanders some were Hindus and others Mahomedans. Sabhasad describes Daria Sarang as a Mahomedan and Mainaik as a Hindu of the Bhandari caste. Ibrahimkhan and Daulatkhan were evidently Mahomedans. Prof. Sarkar tries to show (*Shivaji* p. 337, foot-note) that the name of the Darya Sarang is a Hindu name, but it might as well be the name of a Konkani Mahomedan as the suffix "gee" or "ji" in *Ventgee* is used both by Hindus, Parsis, and Mahomedans on the Bombay Coast. Further, contemporary European authorities have mutilated Indian names to such an extent, that it is difficult exactly to say what Indian name the name "Ventgee" really stands for. For the bravery of Daulatkhan, see the end of Chapter XXVIII. Darya Sarang is Persian for "*admiral of the ocean*" if and *Mainaik* is mixed Arabic and Sanskrit for *captain of the water*. Mainaik is a common name among Kolis and Bhandaris.

8. Of course the names of many Prabhu officers in the cavalry and infantry are included in the preceding lists.

The lists in the bakhars, whether as regards the statistics of Shivaji's wealth or the names of his gallant officers, civil and military, cannot be regarded as final or exhaustive, nor have we attempted to quote them here *in extenso*, but only as specimens of what is to be found in the Marathi authorities upon this subject. Fuller lists can be found in the Marathi original of this biography, some of them having been patiently reconstructed from a careful study and comparison of the various bakhars. And in concluding this survey it is but fair to observe that the names of many a gallant commander of Shivaji's hill-forts have been lost to posterity.
