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CLASSICS OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

MAHADEO GOVIND RANADE

RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

Acclaimed as a model for historians, *Rise of the Maratha Power* is a pioneering work by Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade. One of the builders of modern India and a champion of social reform, Justice Ranade applied his powerful intellect to the study of the history of the Marathas because their rise exemplified "the first beginnings of what one may well call the process of nation-making".

The book has influenced all later study of Maratha history, as well as the approach to the understanding of the history of India as a whole. It is therefore rightly considered a classic.

Justice Ranade had intended the work to be presented in two parts. The first volume was published in 1900, but the author died within a few months, before he could complete his work on the second volume.

The present volume is a faithful reproduction of the first edition of the work.

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**RISE OF THE
MARATHA POWER**



Mahadeo Govind Ranade

CLASSICS OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER

By

MAHADEO GOVIND RANADE

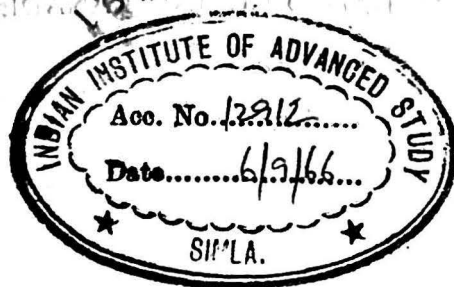


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INTRODUCING THE BOOK

JUSTICE RANADE was a pioneer in many fields. His immense intellect took upon itself the task of exploring the sources and underlying principles of national power. His championship of social reform and his studies in history and political economy were aspects of his many-sided talent. The history of the Marathas interested this nation-builder mainly because their rise exemplified "the first beginnings of what one may well call the process of nation-making".

He had intended the work to be presented in two parts. The first volume was published in 1900. The manuscript notes of the second part were also nearly ready when new documents were made available to the public by the Government, necessitating scholarly scrutiny. But before he could do this, death supervened.

The book is a gem of its kind though Justice Ranade has modestly referred to this volume as "these stray chapters". Its wide sweep and remarkable grasp of the salient points of Maratha history show a vision and a command which indicate that he would have been a great historian if he had not taken up work in other fields. No other book has summarised in such a small compass the vivid outline of the rise of the Maratha power in so brilliant a fashion. It is a model for historians and students. The book has wielded such an influence on later study of Maratha history as well as on the approach to the understanding of the history of India as a whole that it is rightly considered a classic. It is being published in the series *Classics of Indian History and Economics* as it has become rare. The present volume is a faithful reproduction of the first edition of the work, published a few months before the author's death in 1901.

B. V. KESKAR

PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR

IT WAS IN the first quarter of the seventeenth century that two apparently insignificant events occurred on the Western Coast of India—the establishment of an English Factory at Surat in 1612, and the birth in 1627 at Shivner, near Junnar, of a son to a petty Maratha Jahagirdar of the Ahmednagar Nizam Shahi kingdom. Though neither of these events attracted much notice at the time, they heralded the birth of two mighty powers, which were brought into strange contact with one another during the next two centuries, now as allies, and again as foes, they competed for supremacy in India, till at last the more organized foreign power prevailed in the struggle, and displaced the disorganized native power from its position as supreme ruler. The object of the following narrative is to present to the English and Indian reader a bird's eye view of the history of the rise and progress of the latter power—the power of the Maratha Confederacy, which, for one hundred years at least, occupied the foremost place among the native rulers of the country, and whose orders were obeyed at one and the same time far off in the west at Dwarka, in the east at Jagannath, at Haridwar in the north, and Rameshwar in the south of the Indian Continent. It is not intended to go over the beaten tracks of the detailed story, which has been so elaborately treated in our native Bakhars, and authoritatively described by Mr. Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas. Materials for a fuller account of the detailed narrative are being made available by the labours of our native scholars, and they will have in time to be worked up systematically, but the limits assigned to these stray chapters on Maratha History would of themselves preclude any such ambition. My aim is rather to present a clear view of the salient features of the history from the Indian standpoint, to remove many misapprehensions which detract much from the moral interest and the political lessons of the story, and, above all, to enlist the sympathy of the representatives of the conquering British power in the fortunes of its worsted rival. Now that all jealousies are laid at rest, the tribute of justice may well be paid to the departed great, whose names are cherished by millions in India as the sweet memories of an irrevocable past.

The writer of these chapters claims no other merit for his work. He would not have undertaken the responsibility connected with it but for the fact that it has been handed over to him as a legacy by a revered friend, since deceased, who had, jointly with him, undertaken the work from a feeling of true patriotism, and

who would, if he had been spared, have worthily completed, what he no doubt intended to be, *magnum opus* of his brilliant career.

The twelve chapters which are now published relate to the rise of the Maratha Power. The second volume will treat about the progress of the *Confederacy*. The manuscript notes are nearly ready; but as, since these notes were first written, the Government of Bombay has made available to the public the records in the *Poona Daftar*, it has been deemed advisable to delay the publication of these succeeding chapters for the present. When such fresh materials have been made available, it would not be proper to write on this part of the subject without a careful study of these hitherto-neglected sources of information. At the desire of appreciative friends, a contribution from the pen of the late Mr. Justice Telang is added at the end as a fitting conclusion to this volume. Mr. Telang's paper, "Gleanings from the Maratha Chronicles," represents the true spirit in which native historians should treat the past history of their country. As this work presupposes a general acquaintance with the facts of Maratha History, and only seeks to suggest and enforce its lessons, it has not been deemed necessary to overload the book by references to English and native authorities. The lessons it seeks to illustrate are : (1) that the rise of the Maratha Power was not a mere accident due to any chance combination, but was a genuine effort on the part of a Hindu nationality, not merely to assert its independence, but to achieve what had not been attempted before—the formation of a Confederacy of States animated by a common patriotism, and (2) that the success it achieved was due to a general upheaval—social, religious, and political—of all classes of the population. The attempt failed; but even the failure was itself an education in the highest virtues, and possibly intended to be a preparatory discipline to cement the union of the Indian races under British guidance.

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CHAPTER I

THE IMPORTANCE OF MARATHA HISTORY

IT MAY BE well to state at the outset in a concise form what is the moral import of the story we have to narrate, and why such a prominent place is claimed for the history of the Maratha Confederacy above all other similar narratives of many native dynasties and powers with a longer pedigree and a more chequered career. There are many who think that there can be no particular moral significance in the story of the rise and fall of a freebooting power, which thrived by plunder and adventure, and succeeded only because it was the most cunning and adventurous among all those who helped to dismember the great Moghul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. This is a very common feeling with the readers, who derive their knowledge of these events solely from the works of English historians. Even Mr. Grant Duff has given his support to the view that "the turbulent predatory spirit of the Hindus of Maharashtra, though smothered for a time, had its latent embers stirred by the contentions of their Mahomedan conquerors, till, like the parched grass kindled amid the forests of the Sahyadri mountains, they burst forth in spreading flame, and men afar off wondered at the conflagration". If this view of the historian be correct, it may fairly be urged that there is nothing in the narrative which can be described as having a moral significance useful for all time. The sequel of this narrative will, however, it is hoped, furnish grounds which will lead the historical student of Modern India to the conclusion that such a view is inconsistent with facts, and that the mistake is of a sort which renders the whole story unintelligible. Any one who sees no distinction between the great leaders who helped in the work of building up the Maratha Confederacy and the careers of Hyder and Tipu in Mysore, of Nizam-ul-Mulk at Hyderabad, Suja-ud-oula in Oudh, Alivardikhan in Bengal, Ranjitsingh in the Punjab and Surajmall in Bharatpur, will never be able to occupy the correct stand-point of vision from which this history must be studied, and he will fail to understand its real import as signally as any native student, who tried to account for the British ascendancy in India by crediting the whole success to the adventurous spirit of Clive or the diplomacy of Hastings, forgetting all the while that this adventure and diplomacy only achieved success because they were backed up by the resolution and persistence and resources of the great British nation. Freebooters and adventurers never succeed in building up empires, which last for generations and permanently alter the poli-

tical map of a great Continent. Unlike the great *Subhedars* of Provinces, who became independent after the death of Aurangzeb, the founder of the Maratha Power and his successors for two generations bore the brunt of the attack of the Moghul Empire at the zenith of its splendour. The military adventurers named above were not backed up by any national force behind them, and their power perished with the individuals who founded it. In the case of the Maratha Confederacy, however, it was far otherwise. For ten generations a succession of great leaders sprang up to fill up the place of those who died in the struggle, and the Confederacy not only outlived opposition but derived greater strength from the reverses it sustained from time to time, rising Phoenix-like in greater splendour from the very ashes of its apparent ruin. This tenacity shewed clearly that the underlying principles had stronger vitality than can be explained by the standard theory of adventure and freebooting, or the illustration of a sudden conflagration. We shall attempt in this chapter to state briefly these distinguishing features, which lend to the story all the moral and permanent interest it possesses for the student of history.

I

In the first place, it should be noted that the immediate predecessors of the British rulers of India were not the Mahomedans, as is too often taken for granted but they were the native rulers of the country, who had successfully thrown off the Mahomedan yoke. Mr. Grant Duff, indeed, claims for Maratha history this particular feature of interest, and describes the Marathas as "our predecessors in conquest in India, whose power was gradually gaining strength, before it found a head, in the far-famed adventurer, Shivaji Bhonsale". Except in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast, the powers displaced by the English conquest were not Mahomedan *Subhedars*, but native Hindu rulers who had successfully asserted their independence. Among these native powers, the first place must be assigned to the members of the Maratha Confederacy. The Maratha Power took its rise in Western Maharashtra, and the sphere of its influence soon extended to the Central Deccan, Karnatik, and Southern India as far south as Tanjore, including Mysore. On the north it embraced Gujarat including Kathiawad, Berars, Central Provinces up to Cuttack, Malwa in Central India, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Northern India including Delhi, Agra, the Doab and Rohilkhand. Bengal and Oudh were invaded, but were protected from conquest solely by the interposition of the British armies. For fifty years the Emperors at Delhi were made or unmade by the agents of this Power. In

these limits, the power was in the hands of native chiefs, who were either members of the Confederacy or old rulers in subordinate alliances with the Confederacy. The two buffer Mahomedan States at Hyderabad and Mysore were completely under the same influence. The secret of a combination which extended its sway over such a vast territory cannot but be a matter of absorbing interest to the British rulers of India. The recognized head of the Confederacy was the Peshwa, who was not only the chief military leader in his own country, but was also the deputy to the Delhi Emperors kept prisoners in the Moghul Palace. For all practical purposes, therefore, it may be safely stated that, except in Bengal and on the Madras Coast, the chief power in the country was in the hands of the native Hindu rulers controlled by the Confederacy. The Mahomedan influence had spent itself, and the Hindus had asserted their position and become independent rulers of the country, with whom alone the British Power had to contend for supremacy.

II

The secret of this combination cannot be properly understood without a full recognition of the fact that it was not the work of one man, or of a succession of gifted men. The foundation was laid broad and deep in the hearts of the whole people. Unlike the *Subhedarships* of Bengal, Karnatik, Oudh, and Hyderabad, the rise of Maratha Power was due to the first beginnings of what one may well call the process of nation-making. It was not the outcome of the successful enterprise of any individual adventurer. It was the upheaval of the whole population, strongly bound together by the common affinities of language, race, religion and literature, and seeking further solidarity by a common independent political existence. This was the first experiment of the kind attempted in India after the disastrous period of foreign Musalman invasions. As a first effort, it was wanting in that solidity of structure which has characterized the great European nations, but there can be no mistake about this being its essential and distinguishing feature. It was a national movement or upheaval in which all classes co-operated. The strength of the organization did not depend on a temporary elevation of the higher classes, but it had deeper hold on the vast mass of the rural population. Cowherds and shepherds, brahmans and non-brahmans, even Musalmans felt its influence and acknowledged its power. European writers, who have condemned the Indian races for their want of a national feeling, have themselves been forced to admit exceptions in the case of the Marathas, Rajputs, and Sikhs. With the Rajputs, the ascendancy was confined to a few particular clans of noble families. With

the Sikhs, the ascendancy was limited to the Khalsa army, who constituted a small minority of the population of the Punjab. The case was far otherwise with the Marathas, among whom there were, no doubt, class ascendancies and clannish feelings, but these were kept under by the political sense of the population generally, who joined the national armies for six months in the year, and returned to their homes, and cultivated their family lands, and enjoyed their *Vatans* during the remaining period. This regard for the *Vatans* in the old country has been a marked feature of Maratha character, and even the commanders of great armies prided themselves more upon their being *Patils* and *Deshmukhs* in their old villages in Maharashtra than on their extensive *Jahagirs* in distant lands. This feeling of patriotism illustrates most forcibly the characteristic result of the formation of a Nation in the best sense of the word, and constitutes another reason why the history of the Marathas deserves special study. It is the history of the formation of a true Indian Nationality, raising its head high above the troubled waters of Mahomedan confusion. It was this force behind, which supported the efforts of the leaders, and enabled them to dream as a possibility the establishment of a central Hindu *Padshahi* or Empire at Delhi, uniting and controlling all other native powers. The histories of Hyder and Tipu, and of the Mahomedan rulers of Hyderabad, Karnatik, Bengal and Oudh, present nothing parallel to it. They are personal histories, while the history of the Power associated with the name of Shivaji is very properly called the History of the Marathas.

III

One more feature of the history has entirely escaped the observation of European writers, though it constitutes perhaps the strongest ground why the study possesses peculiar moral interest to the historical student. It was not a mere Political Revolution that stirred Maharashtra towards the close of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth century. The political revolution was preceded, and in fact to some extent caused, by a religious and social upheaval which moved the entire population. The popular idea that it was religious persecution which agitated Maharashtra and strengthened the hands of Shivaji and his comrades, is not wholly wrong, but it represents only a partial truth. The Mahomedan rulers of the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not bigoted fanatics. Aurangzeb was, no doubt, a fanatic, but his fanaticism could not explain the rise of a Power which struggled with him on equal terms and secured victory in the end. The fact was that, like the Protestant Reformation in

Europe in the sixteenth century, there was a religious, social and literary revival and reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This religious revival was not brahmanical in its orthodoxy; it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of a pure heart, and of the law of love, to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society—tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shop-keepers, barbers, and even *mahars*—more often than Brahmans. The names of Tukaram, of Ramdas, of Vaman Pandit and Eknath were names to conjure with, and after a lapse of two hundred years, they still retain their ascendancy over the minds of the people of Maharashtra. The political leaders acted in concert with these religious leaders of the people. Shivaji's chief adviser was Ramdas, who gave the colour to the national flag and introduced a new form of salutation, which displayed at once the religious character of the movement and the independence of the spirit which prompted it. The first Bajirao Peshwa derived his inspiration from the Swami of Dhavadshi. Vithal Shivdev, the founder of the Vinchurkar family, was similarly inspired by his preceptor. Shivaji's character and his motive-springs of action have been more correctly delineated by Colonel Medows Taylor in his novel than by the historian of the Marathas. Shivaji felt that he had a direct inspiration from the goddess Bhawani, and in the great crises of his life, he always guided himself by what this inspiration suggested to him in moments of intense possession. These influences deserve special study, because they have left their mark up to the present day on the aspirations and faith of the people. What Protestantism did for Western Europe in the matter of civil liberty was accomplished on a smaller scale in Western India. The impulse was felt in art, in religion, in the growth of vernacular literature, in communal freedom of life, in increase of self-reliance and toleration; and the interest of the study is on this account greatly heightened both to the native student and the foreign inquirer.

IV

One other feature may be noticed, which was at once the strength and the weakness of the Maratha Power. The history of the Marathas is a history of confederated states. The central power was always weak after the death of its great founder. Even Shivaji was influenced in his arrangements by his national tendency. He

had a Council of eight Ministers who were more than councillors, being themselves both civil and military leaders. Even in his lifetime, when he was a captive at Delhi, and his country and its forts were in Mahomedan hands, this distribution of power enabled him to raise his head soon after escaping from captivity. When his son, later on, was captured by Aurangzeb's general, the confederate leaders retired to the south, and, again on a suitable occasion, returned and wreaked their vengeance on Aurangzeb. Under the Peshwas, the system was developed still further by the establishment of the great camps of Maratha captains at Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Dewas, Baroda, and Nagpur; and the Bundelkhand chiefs in Central India, the Patwardhan chiefs in the South, the Satara Jahagirdars, the Bhaves, the Rastes, the Dhulaps, the Angres, Mankars, Mahadiks, the Ghorpades and many others who might be enumerated, had their smaller camps all along the eastern and southern boundaries of the Empire. These were so many centres of power and vitality, and as long as they were animated by a common purpose and a central idea—and they continued to be so animated for nearly a century—their power was irresistible and even the disciplined British army had to dismember the Confederacy before success could be achieved. For a hundred years there was not an expedition to the south or to the north, to the east or to the west, against the Rajputs or the Delhi Emperors, in Rohilkhand, or Oudh or Bengal, against Hyder, or Tipu, or the Nizam, against the Portuguese, or the English, in which the confederate chiefs did not act together. The ascendancy of the Peshwas was like the ascendancy of the Prussian Monarchy in the German Empire. The central authority represented more the idea than the force of the Confederacy. While the old traditions lasted, it enabled the ministers at Raigad, Satara, Vishalgad, Gingi, or Poona to carry on the government and direct the national force without the advantage always of having any strong personal ruler at the head. The Peswa's Government under Nana Fadnavis was actually nicknamed in the courts at Hyderabad and Shrirangapatan as the *Bar-bhai* Government, or the Government of the Confederacy of Twelve Leaders. When the idea ceased to be respected, the Confederacy proved a source of weakness rather than strength. The English rulers knew this weakness, and took advantage of it by appealing to the selfish vanity of each member of the Confederacy separately, and thus loosened its joint force. There was no such experiment of federal government on such a large scale undertaken in this country under either Hindu or Mahomedan sovereigns. The experiment was doomed to ultimate failure, for it presupposed virtues which are not hereditary, but as long as these

virtues had the ascendancy, it had redeeming features of its own which enhance the value of the study to the native and foreign historian.

V

The moral interest of the story is further heightened by the fact that the Confederacy arrangements enabled the Maratha nation to outlive and grow stronger from the very reverses it sustained during the critical periods of its history. There were four such critical periods :

- (i) When Shivaji became a prisoner at Delhi.
- (ii) When Sambhaji was taken captive, and his brother Rajaram had to retreat to the south.
- (iii) When the battle of Panipat apparently destroyed all hopes of Maratha ascendancy.
- (iv) When Narayanrao Peshwa was murdered, and the Ministers had to set aside Raghoba and carry on the administration with a house divided against itself, and with the whole force of the British Power to oppose.

A nation that could stand four such reverses and catastrophes, and rise superior to them, possesses an interest for the historical student which cannot be adequately measured by the length of time that the Empire lasted.

VI

Lastly, even at the present day, though the British rulers of India occupy the place of the Peshwas and of the Moghul Emperors as suzerain power, to which all other States are subject, the remnants of the Confederacy that are still in the enjoyment of subordinate independence at Gwalior, Indore, Baroda, Kolhapur, Dhar and Dewas, the Southern Maratha Chiefs, and the Maratha population of about thirty millions included in the Bombay Presidency and the Native States, as also in the Central Provinces, Berars, and the Nizam's country, represent a power which is second to none among the native communities and States, which enjoy the protection of, and owe allegiance to, the British Rule. This element of present influence cannot also fail to have a deep interest to those who can see far into the future of the possibilities open to a Federated India, distributed according to nationalities, and subjected to a common bond of connection with the Imperial Power of the Queen-Empress of India.

These are the principal features in which centres the permanent moral interest of the story of the rise and fall of the Maratha Confederacy, which we propose to narrate in the sequel.

HOW THE GROUND WAS PREPARED

ONE OF THE most ordinary misconceptions on the part both of native and European writers on Maratha history is to attribute the rise of the Maratha Power solely to fortuitous circumstances. Mr. Grant Duff himself in his narrative has compared the rise of the Maratha Power to a sudden conflagration like those which occur in the forests in Sahyadri. This is, however, not his matured opinion, for he has devoted the first three chapters of his history to trace the foundation of the Power in events which long preceded the birth of the great Shivaji in the early part of the seventeenth century. The fact appears to be that fortuitous circumstances had very little part to play in the early foundation of the Maratha Power. If we would understand the matter correctly, we must trace these causes to a period long anterior to that of the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan. The ancient history of Maharashtra, as gathered from inscriptions on copper-plates and rock-temples, has been laboriously compiled by Indian antiquarians, and these materials have been made available to ordinary readers by Dr. Bhandarkar's compilations on the subject. The questions we have to consider are, (1) why the first successful attempt to throw off the Mahomedan yoke on a large scale was made in Western India, and (2) what were the circumstances in the nature of the country, in the habits and the institutions of the people inhabiting it, which favoured such an attempt, and rewarded it with success.

In this connection, the first point we have to notice is the fact that the country of Maharashtra enjoys natural advantages of position and climate which are denied to the people of the lowlands and the valleys of the Ganges, the Indus and the other great rivers which flow into the Arabian Sea or the Indian Ocean. The characteristic features of the Maharashtra country are the great mountain ranges which enclose it on two sides—the Sahyadri range running from north to south, and the Satpura and the Vindhya ranges running from east to west. The minor ranges, which break out in rugged outline from these mountain chains and form the watersheds of many rivers which fall ultimately into the Godavari and into the Krishna, give the whole country an appearance of ruggedness and unevenness not to be met with in other parts of India on such a scale. Geographically, Maharashtra includes the Konkan—the strip between the Sahyadri and the sea, the Ghatmatha being the country on the top of the ranges, and the

Desh, which includes the valleys lower down the river.* The hill-forts on the top of these ranges typify and protect the naturally defensible position of the country and they have played an important part in its political history. These characteristic features of the country secure for it the advantages of a good and bracing climate, which distinguishes it from the dry and moist extremes of heat and cold of the temperature of the plains in North India and the lowlands. At the same time, owing to its hilly character, the soil is poor, and the country is sparsely inhabited by a hardy and abstemious people. It is the old story of the Highlands and the Lowlands, the gifts of nature being evenly distributed to all alike on the principle of compensation. The country thus defined forms a sort of a triangle of which the Sahyadri range and the sea, from Daman to Karwar, form the base; the Satpura range forms the perpendicular side, reaching to the east beyond Nagpur as far as the watershed of the Godavari and its tributaries extend, and the hypotenuse which joins these two ranges has been determined not so much by natural features as by the test of language. The area thus marked out exceeds one lac of square miles, and its population comes to about thirty million. The natural features mentioned above, and its position on the high road between Northern India and the Southern Peninsula, give it commanding advantages denied to the other tablelands of Mysore and Malwa, which alone can be compared with it.

Next to these natural features, the history of the country has been dominated by the character of the people. In Northern India, the element of the Aryan race has predominated to an extent which dwarfed the aboriginal races, and drove them into the hilly parts of the country. In the Southern Peninsula, the Dravidian races have retained their predominant position, the Aryan element being not powerful enough to impress its stamp upon the population generally. By reason of its position between the two divisions now mentioned, the tableland of Maharashtra has been inhabited by a population in which the Aryans and the Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion, so as to retain the good points of both without exaggerating their defects. This mixture of the two elements is best illustrated by the peculiarities of the language, whose base is Dravidian, but whose growth and structure have been entirely fashioned by Aryan influences. In their physiognomy the people are not as fair, soft or well proportioned, as the people in Northern India are; neither are they as black and hard-featured as the Southern Dravidian races. The Aryan element itself includes in Maharashtra a due mixture of the first settlers, as also of the subsequent Scythian invaders. The non-Aryans similarly

include the aboriginals, *Bhils*, *Kolis* and *Ramoshis* and other low classes, as also the higher Dravidian elements.

Owing to this due proportion of the different ethnic elements in the population, the institution and the religion of the country have maintained an equilibrium which is rarely found in other parts of India. Among these institutions the system of village communities is most characteristic, and has been developed to a point which has enabled it to survive all foreign interference that has proved so fatal elsewhere. The village community with the Panchayat system has been maintained up to the present day in a manner to subserve the highest aims of government, and has become an integral part of the present system of administration, which has found it so useful as to introduce it in a modified form both in Sind and Gujarat, in which provinces the Mahomedan influence was so predominant as to destroy village autonomy. Along with the village and Panchayat systems, the *Ryot-wari mirasi* tenure of land, held in full ownership by small peasant proprietors directly responsible to the State, has given a stability and a sense of independence to the ryots which is rarely met with in other provinces. While the village organization has thus been kept up intact, the system of higher revenue management by means of hereditary *Deshmukhs* and *Deshpandes* has not outlived the purpose for which it was originally instituted. The *Deshmukhs* and the *Desais* in other parts of the country have developed into Bengal Zamindars and Oudh Talukdars, who made themselves directly responsible to the State, and became in the end owners of village lands. The village communities in North and North-Western India similarly are distinguished from the village organization in Maharashtra by those communities retaining joint responsibility and ownership, which have given place to individual property in Maharashtra. The tenure of land is thus of a more equal and almost democratic character than in other parts of the country. Owing to these peculiarities, the people have retained habits of mutual helpfulness and independence which have stood them in good account in past times.

Along with these civil institutions, the popular religion of the country has avoided the extremes of sectarianism which disfigure and disunite the Dravidian portion of the peninsula, and the minute sub-divisions of caste which obtain in North India. The Smartas and the Vaishnavas, the orthodox and the heterodox, do not present in Maharashtra those exaggerated differences which strike one as soon as he crosses the Tungabhadra river. If not blended together, they show tolerance of a sort amounting almost to indifference, which is characteristic of the country. The

Brahmans and the non-Brahman Shudras are brought into contact on more equal terms than elsewhere. There are neither *Goswamis* or *Mahants* or *Gurus* whose influence runs side by side with Brahmans elsewhere. The fact is that the so-called Shudras have, under the influence of the Vaishnav saints, emancipated themselves from the low social position assigned to them in the old writings, and have risen to be either Kshatriyas or Vaishyas, according as they followed the professions of war or of peace. The Shudras and even the Pariahs—*Mahars*—have produced saints and poets whose names are revered by the whole country, Brahmans included. Even the Mahomedans lose their bigoted character under these same moderating influences. The Hindus make common cause with Mahomedans in their great festivals, and this feeling is reciprocated by the Musalmans, except where influences from North India intervene. Some Mahomedan Fakirs have been ranked with the Hindu saints in general veneration, and there are some saints who are venerated by both communities alike. These features of tolerance and moderation have been developed in the course of centuries and they constitute some of the most stable elements of the national character.

Owing to the nature of the country, and the character of its people and their institutions as described above, the sense of local autonomy and independence has been developed to an extent which prevented the country from being retained under one political control for a long time, both under Hindu and Mahomedan rulers. We hear of great empires in Northern and Eastern India, as also in the Southern Peninsula, but the essential feature of political arrangements in Maharashtra has been separatistic, and in conflict with the long continuation of centralized power. This separatist tendency has not prevented the people from joining together to repel attacks from the northern invaders. Ancient traditions credit Shaliwahan or Shatawahan with having repelled one such attack of Scythian invaders about the commencement of the Christian era. Another such attack was repelled six hundred years later by another native Maharashtra ruler, the great Pulkeshi of the first Chalukya dynasty. The country was parcelled out into small principalities and kingdoms, and its early history, so far as it has been preserved in inscriptions and tablets and coins, shows a perpetual flux of power from one centre to another. Tagara, Paithan, Badami, Malkhed, Goa, Kolhapur, Kalyani, Devgiri or Daulatabad and other places were successively seats of the earlier and later Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas and the Yadav kings; and the Chalukyas, the Nalawades, and Kadmbas, the Mores, Shilhars, the Ahirs, the Yadavs, and other clans fought for supremacy with

one another. This state of things continued till the advent of the Mahomedan power, which was established for two hundred years in Northern India before it invaded the Deccan about the commencement of the fourteenth century. It took the Mahomedans nearly thirty years before the Hindu powers in the open plains were subdued. The subjugation was never completed so far as Western Maharashtra and Konkan are concerned. Konkan was not conquered till the middle of the fifteenth century and the Ghatmatha, or the Mavals were never conquered in the sense in which the Desh country was brought under Mahomedan yoke.

The Mahomedan influence, as measured by the change in the habits and the language of the people, was scarcely perceptible in these hilly parts of the western country, which were ruled by Hindu commanders of hill-forts. Measured by numbers, the same influence appears to have been least perceptible in these parts, for the Mahomedan population even now shows the smallest percentages in Western Maharashtra. The Mahomedan domination never acquired any strong or permanent hold over the country in these parts. In Northern and Eastern India, while mosques and mausoleums towered high, the Hindu temples were scarcely tolerated in the largest centres of the population, and were huddled into street corners, and the worship had to be performed in stealth and secrecy. In North India the Mahomedan language and letters impressed themselves upon the country till they penetrated into every home and bazaar, and gave rise to the modern Urdu; no such changes took place in Maharashtra, and the language and religion of the people continued to thrive and develop even under Moslem rule.

It would be interesting in this place to note the successive steps by which the Mahomedan power in the Deccan was gradually subverted by, and subordinated to, Hindu influences.

In the first place, the Deccan Mahomedans, being separated by great distances from their base beyond the North-West frontier, were not recruited by fresh invaders, as was the case at Delhi, where Afghans, Gilchis, Turks, Usbegs, and Moghuls succeeded one another, keeping up the Mahomedan tradition intact with every fresh invasion. In the Deccan this influence was wanting; and the Turks and the Persians and the Abyssinian adventurers were not regularly recruited from time to time.

Secondly, the founder of the Bahamani Kingdom was a slave of a Brahman named Gangu at Delhi, who foretold the good fortune that was in store for him. Hassan, the slave, gratefully recognised his obligation when he rose to power, and he called his empire, the "Bahamani Kingdom," and himself Hassan Gangu

Bahamani. This in itself was an homage paid to Hindu influences, which distinguished the Deccan Mahomedans from those of the north, and which practically bore fruit, when Gangu was brought over from Delhi, and placed in charge of the Finance Department.

Thirdly, in consequence of this arrangement, the revenue management and the charge of the treasury remained all along in Hindu hands,—Brahmans and Khattris from Delhi, and these, in due course of time, made way for the Deccan Brahmans and Prabhus.

Fourthly, not only was the revenue management in native hands, but later on, when the Bahamani made away for the five separated kingdoms of Bijapur, Berars, Ahmednagar, Bedar, and Golconda, the revenue accounts of villages and mahals were kept in the vernacular in place of the foreign Persian or Urdu language.

Fifthly, there was another way in which the Hindu influence operated upon the Mahomedan kingdom in the Deccan. The revolt in 1347 against the Delhi Emperor, Mahomed Taghlak, though a conspiracy of Mahomedan nobles, became successful chiefly by reason of the alliance of the Hindu kings of Telangana and Vijaynagar with the rebels. The Hindu kingdom in Telangana was subsequently subverted by the Bahamani kings, but the kingdom of Vijaynagar continued to be a strong power for nearly two centuries, till it was finally conquered by the alliance of the five Mahomedan rulers in the battle of Talikot in 1564. This Hindu power thus exerted, both in peace and in war, considerable influence on the fortunes of the Mahomedan kings, and at times it proved itself too strong even for the united armies of Golconda and Ahmednagar. The third Bahamani king was forced to enter into an agreement with the Vijaynagar king, by which the indiscriminate slaughter of unarmed people, after a pitched battle, was prohibited on both sides, and the prohibition was enforced for a hundred years without any violation of the compact.

Sixthly, in consequence of this balance of power between Hindus and Musalmans, the latter seldom indulged in those excesses which distinguished their rule in Northern India, and the former never suffered the depressions they felt elsewhere as an incidence of foreign conquest. Mahomedan troops entered the Vijaynagar service when dissatisfied with their own masters, and the Maratha *Siledars* and *Bargirs* freely enrolled themselves first as auxiliaries, and latterly as the most powerful contingent in the contending armies. The second Bahamani king had a bodyguard of two hundred *Siledars*. This training in arms brought education, power, and wealth with it, and in the sixteenth century we meet with Ghadges and Ghorpades, Jadhavs and Nimbalkars, Mores and

Sindes, Dafles and Manes, as generals in charge of ten or twenty thousand horse, and in the enjoyment of proportionate Jahagirs. The foreign mercenaries—Turks, Persians, Abyssians, and Moghuls—proved more troublesome than useful, and gradually reliance came to be placed chiefly upon the country *Bargirs* and *Siledar* troops.

Seventhly, another influence was also operating in the same direction. The Mahomedan rulers in the Deccan took Hindu wives in their harems. The seventh Bahamani king allied himself with the Vijaynagar family, and the ninth Bahamani king married the daughter of the Raja of Sonkhed. The first Bijapur king, Yusaf Adilshah, took for his wife the sister of one Mukundrao, a Brahman, and this lady became his chief queen, being known by the name of Bubuji Khanum, and her sons ascended the throne after Yusaf's death. The first ruler of the Barid dynasty at Bedar got his son married to the daughter of one Sabaji Maratha, who was a nobleman of some note in the service of the Bahamani kings.

Eighthly, in the same category must be placed the influence of Hindu converts. The first Ahmednagar king was the son of a converted Brahman Kulkarni of Patri in Berar, whose family had entered the service of the Vijaynagar kings. The Brahman surname Bhairav became Behri, the distinguishing title of these kings, and they so faithfully remembered their origin that they conquered Patri and gave it in *inam* to the Brahman Kulkarnis after a long struggle with the Berar rulers. The first founder of the Imadshahi dynasty in Berar was also the son of a Brahman in the service of Vijaynagar, who was taken captive and became a convert. In a similar way the first Bedar king of the Barid dynasty was so loved by his Maratha soldiery that four hundred Marathas became Mahomedans, and were his most trusted soldiers.

Ninthly, these influences exerted a power which made it impossible for the Mahomedan powers to retain their bigotry and fanatic cruelty in the Deccan, and although there were irruptions of violence now and then, on the whole great toleration was shown towards their Hindu subjects by these Mahomedan kings, and gradually both civil and military power came into Hindu hands. As a consequence, the Mahomedan kings gave *inam* land to Hindu temple endowmentts, and Hindu physicians were employed in hospitals, and in some cases, even grants were given and continued to Brahman communities. One Murarrao was chief minister at Golconda about the middle of the sixteenth century, and one Madan Pandit was similarly a minister in the reign of the last Golconda ruler, and he effected an alliance between Shivaji and the Golconda kings against the Moghuls. The Raj-rai family was

also of considerable importance in Golconda. Brahman *Deshpandes* and Maratha *Deshmukhs* or *Desais* were placed in charge of district collections, and the names of Dadopant, Narso Kale, and Yesu Pandit are distinguished for the great reforms they introduced in Bijapur revenue management. Brahman ambassadors were employed by Ahmednagar kings as envoys in the Courts of Gujarat and Malwa, and a Brahman minister of Peshwa, named Kamalsen, had chief power at Ahmednagar in the times of the first Buranshah. Yesu Pandit also became *Mustapha* in the Bijapur kingdom about the same time. Two Brahman brothers, Akanna and Makanna, were similarly raised to power in Golconda, and their services were deemed to be so valuable that the Bijapur kings sought their help when pressed by the Moghul invaders.

Tenthly, in the Military Department this predominance of the Hindus more and more manifested itself as years rolled on. The names of Kamraje, Ghadge, and Harnaik are noted by *Ferista* as being the first Maratha *Mansubdars* employed by the Bahamani kings. The second Bahamani king had a body-guard of two hundred *Siledars*. The famous Waghoji Jagdevrao Naik played in the first quarter of the sixteenth century a most prominent part in the Courts of Golconda, Berar, and Vijaynagar. He made and unmade kings, was in charge of all the Naikwadi Hindu forces in the Karnatik, and was a king all but in name. The famous Murarrao Jagdev served the Bijapur kings with great distinction in the early part of the seventeenth century. He resisted the Moghul invasions, and he and Shahaji Bhonsle were the chief supports of the power of Bijapur and Ahmednagar respectively. In the intrigues which brought about Murarrao's downfall, three other Marathas—Raghopant, a Brahman, one Bhonsle Sardar, and one Ghadge—figured prominently. Under Murarrao, Chandrarao More and Rajarao rose to distinction in the wars of the Konkan. The families of the Manes of Mhaswad, the Savants of Wadi, and the Dafles, and finally the Ghorpades, similarly rose to great power in these times.

Mr. Grant Duff mentioned the names of eight Maratha families who rose to power and influence long before Shivaji was born, or before Shahaji's father Maloji rose to any distinction. The most powerful among the families was that of the Jadhav's of Sindkhed in the Berars, who were supposed to be connected with the Devgiri Jadhavs whom Ala-ud-din had conquered. Lakhoji Jadhav was a person of such importance that his support was sought by the Moghul Emperors when they first invaded the Deccan. The Nimbalkars of Faltan were similarly distinguished. The Ghadge Zunjarrao of Malawdi belonged to a family of great

note in the Bijapur service. The Mores, the Shirkes, the Mahadiks in the Konkan and Ghatmatha and the Gujars, and the Mohites in the lower Mavals were great commanders, some of them being in charge of ten to twenty thousand horse. The family of Bhonsles was one of those Maratha families who came to prominence in the beginning of the seventeenth century, being connected with the Jadhavs and Nimbalkars. Shahaji's mother was a daughter of the Jadhavs, and Shahaji's wife a daughter of the Nimbalkars. The founder of the family was Maloji Bhonsle and his son Shahaji secured a position of the first rank. Shahaji indeed was a king-maker, and on behalf of the Nizamshahi kings of Ahmednagar kept up the fight with the Moghuls after the second conquest of Ahmednagar.

In consequence of the influences and changes noted above about the commencement of the seventeenth century, the nominal Mahomedan rulers of Golconda, Bijapur, Nagar and Bedar were virtually controlled both in the civil and military departments by Maratha statesmen and Maratha warriors, and the hill-forts near the *Ghats* and the country there about were in the hands of Maratha Jahagirdars, who were only nominally dependent upon these Mahomedan sovereigns. It was when this slow process of national emancipation was being peacefully worked out that a new danger threatened the country in the attempts made by the Delhi Emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, to extend the Mahomedan power again to the south of the Narmada and the Tapti rivers. If successful, it would have thrown back the country for another period of three hundred years, which had been the time that the Hindus had taken to re-assert their independence after the first conquest. This new danger was much more formidable as it was backed up by all the resources of the Delhi Empire. This danger was felt to be formidable alike by the Mahomedan rulers of the Deccan and their Maratha nobles. The separatist tendencies among the Marathas disabled them from facing the Moghuls in the open field, and the hide-and-seek guerilla system of warfare adopted by the Maratha armies as their characteristic tactics was under the circumstances unavoidable. The first shock of the Mahomedan invasion had been borne and surmounted, and the country had during the last three hundred years shown a considerable rallying power. The old system of playing the waiting game and allowing the Mahomedan rulers to dissolve themselves in luxury would not have served the purpose. The new danger required new tactics, but above all tactics, what was wanted was a new spirit, a common feeling of interest, a common patriotism born of a liberal religious fervour. The scattered power of the Maratha chiefs had to be united in a

confederacy, animated by a common purpose, and sanctified by a common devotion to the country. Shivaji's great merit was that he realized this danger, kept the separatist tendency under control, brought the common forces together in the name of a common religion, and he thus represented in himself, not only the power of the age, but the soul-stirring idea, the highest need and the highest purpose, that could animate the Marathas in a common cause. He did not create the Maratha power; that power had been already created, though scattered in small centres all over the country. He sought to unite it for a higher purpose by directing it against the common danger. This was his chief merit and his chief service to the country, and in this consists his chief claim upon the grateful remembrance of his people. It was not for nothing that the people looked up to him as their inspired leader. He felt the inspiration himself, and communicated it to those about him, not only in one generation, but for generations more to come after him, till the idea of re-establishing Hindu power throughout the country was realized at once in the great centres or camps which the Marathas established in all parts of the Indian Continent. Thus was the ground prepared partly by nature, partly by the ancient history of the country, partly by the religious revival, but chiefly by the long discipline in arms which the country had undergone under Mahomedan rule for three hundred years.

CHAPTER III

HOW THE SEED WAS SOWN

THE FIRST QUARTER of the seventeenth century was a period when men's minds were in an eager state of expectation in the Deccan, and the seed was sown for which the ground had been prepared for more than three centuries in the way described in the last chapter. It may be of use to note the chief features of the political situation about the time when Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Confederacy, was born at Shivaner. The Ahmednagar kingdom of the Nizamshahi dynasty had ceased to exist. After a brave defence of the city, in which Chandbibí distinguished herself, the Moghuls had to withdraw their forces in 1596, but internal factions soon re-asserted themselves, and Chandbibí was murdered in 1599, and the fort was taken by the Moghul armies and the king was sent a prisoner to Barhanpur. The adherents of the dynasty did not, however, yield without a struggle. The seat of authority was removed south to Paranda, and later on to Junnar, and a new ruler, descended from the old Nizamshahi stock, was placed on the throne, and in his name, Malikambar governed the kingdom and led the Deccan armies and retook Ahmednagar, and kept at bay the Moghuls and their allies, the Bijapur Adilshahi kings for twenty years and more.

In the long and arduous struggle, which Malikambar waged with the Moghuls, Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, the Nimbalkar Naiks of Faltan, and the great Lakhojí Jadhavrao, fought on the side of the Ahmednagar kings, and though defeated in 1620, the defeat was due to the misconduct of the Mohammedan nobles while the Maratha soldiers and leaders fought with distinction. Lakhojí Jadhavrao, indeed, went over to the Moghuls, who in 1621 conferred upon him command of 15,000 horse and 2,000 foot, and Malikambar himself was compelled soon after to give up Ahmednagar, and surrender the new ruler he had set up twenty years before. He rallied his forces even after this great blow, but his premature death in 1626 removed the only man who could gather round him the resisting power of the country, and lead it to success. Even Shahaji Bhonsle, at one time, broke off his connection with the hopeless Nizamshahi ruler, and he received a command of 5,000 horse from the Moghul Emperor. The Nizam was murdered by his minister, the son of Malikambar, in 1631. Just when the condition of affairs looked most desperate, Shahaji Bhonsle again came to the rescue of his old masters, and proclaimed another successor to the throne of the Nizamshahis. He established

his authority over the Konkan and over the Desh from the Nira river to the Chandore hills, and the Moghul Emperor had to send an army of 25,000 men to dislodge Shahaji from place to place. The struggle was maintained for four years, 1632-1636, but the odds were too great, and Shahaji had to yield at last before the superior forces of Shahajahan, and with the Emperor's consent, entered into the service of the Bijapur kings in 1637.

The Ahmednagar territories thus conquered were formed into a new *Subha* of Aurangabad, and embraced parts of Nasik and Khandesh, the whole of the Berars, and a part of Northern Konkan. The remaining portions of the kingdoms especially the country between the Bhima and the Nira fell to the share of the Bijapur kings. The Moghuls now turned their arms against the Adilshahi rulers of Bijapur who had helped them in the destruction of Ahmednagar. The first formal treaty between the two powers was formed in 1601, and the friendship was cemented by a marriage alliance. These were only temporary obstacles in the way. Ibrahim Adilshah, the greatest of the Bijapur monarchs, died in 1626, and his successor Mahmed Adilshah had to defend his city against the armies of the Moghuls, who laid seige in 1631, and again in 1636, till at last he had to make peace with the Moghuls. He agreed to pay twenty lacs as tribute to the Delhi Emperor and to give up Shahaji, who was still supporting the desperate cause of the Nizamshahi kings. Shahaji soon after entered the Bijapur service and was sent to the Karnatik, where he made important conquests and carved out a kingdom in the Kaveri valley for one of his sons. The Mahomedan principalities of Berar and Bedar had already been dismembered and their territories absorbed in the kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmednagar. Golconda alone remained nominally independent, but it saved itself this time by consenting to pay tribute to Shahajahan. The Moghuls levied a heavy war-tribute which the ruler was wholly unable to pay, but he had to submit to it, as his capital, Hyderabad, had been taken by surprise by Shahajahan's son, Aurangzeb, and he was shut up in the fort of Golconda.

The Portuguese power also, which was so formidable in the sixteenth century, had spent itself, and was now acting on the defensive on the coast line of the Konkan, while the English Company had just established a factory at Surat and commanded no political importance.

The predominant factor in the political situation about the time that Shivaji was born and during the period of his boyhood was thus the advance of the Moghul arms in the South. The Deccan powers had been unable to make head against the overwhelming

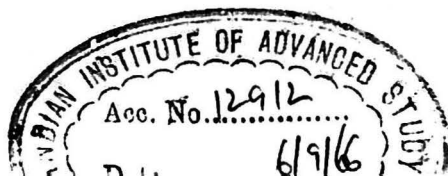
force which came with all the prestige which had helped the Emperors to cement together a vast empire spreading from Kabul to the Bay of Bengal and the hills of Kamul to the heart of the Deccan. The conditions of Ala-ud-din's invasion of 1216 were thus repeating themselves after three hundred years with a momentum which made resistance hopeless. The Hindus had then yielded to the avalanche which swept over the land. They had, however, learned wisdom under the hard discipline of subjection to their foreign Afghan and Turkish masters. They had been able to turn aside the edge of foreign conquest and had even succeeded in taming the violence of the foreigners. Their own vernacular had become the language of the Court and the Darbar.

The revenue management of the country was entirely in their own hands. Their military commanders had distinguished themselves on the battle-fields, and their Ministers in the Council Chambers. Murarrao and Shahaji Bhonsle had become the chief supports of the authority of the Bijapur rulers. Madan Pandit was in power at Golconda. The western *ghats* and hillforts and the Mavals were in the hands of their great nobles. Chandrarao More was in charge of the Ghatmatha from the sources of the Krishna to the Warna. The Savants were in charge of Southern Konkan, the Nimbalkars were in power in Faltan and the Dafles and Manes in the Eastern Satara regions. The Bhonsles were in charge of the Poona Mavals and their Jahagir extended as far east as Baramati and Indapur. The Ghorpades and Ghadges, the Mahadiks, the Mohites, and Mamulkars were similarly in the command of considerable horse and foot. The most reliable, if not the chief fighting men, in the Golconda, Bijapur and Ahmednagar armies had been men of the Maratha race who had measured strength with the heavily armed soldiers of the North, and had realized their strength and weakness. Under these circumstances when the new Moghul invasion threatened the land, it was but natural that new thoughts should surge up in the minds of many, the like of which had not troubled their ancestors three centuries before. Those three centuries had left lasting memories of past horrors, and justified apprehensions of the renewal of the fanatical intolerance and cruelty which the Mahomedan conquerors, left to themselves, were so prone to exhibit in their dealings with the people of the country. Those three centuries had also witnessed a revival of the religious spirit among the Hindu population. Colonel Wilkes in his "History of Mysore" speaks of a prophecy which he found recorded in a Hindu manuscript of 1646 in the Mackenzie collection, in which the prophet after describing "the ruin of all virtue and religion, and the humiliation

which the noblest in the land had been made to suffer", concludes with a hope that "the time for deliverance will come at last, and the virgins will announce it with songs of joy, and the skies will shower their flowers". This prophecy was written in Southern India at a time when Shivaji's name was not known beyond his Jahagir in Poona, but Colonel Wilkes testifies that the application of it was by universal agreement made to the deliverance which Raja Shivaji was the instrument of effecting by his genius and his arms before the century had far advanced.

While the Musalman chroniclers denounced Shivaji as a *galim* or freebooter, the writers of native *Bakhars* or chronicles, true to the ancient Puranic ideal, ascribed this deliverance to the Earth in form of a cow supplicating help from above, and the god of gods promising to come to the relief of his oppressed worshippers in the shape of a new incarnation. It is in the spirit of the same fond superstition that native historians trace for Shivaji a fabled descent from the royal house of Udepur. Shivaji was neither a robber nor an incarnation, nor did he derive his strength from his supposed Rajput descent. He was nobly born in being Shahaji's and Jijai's son, and nobly connected in that his mother was a daughter of Lakhoji Jadhavrao, and his wife, daughter of the famous Jagdevrao Naik Nimbalkar. To be born of such a father and mother was a privilege of greater value than any that legend or fable could confer on young Shivaji. He was a man whose strength lay in his realizing in his person the best aspirations of the age and the race to which he belonged. Such men are not born without long preparation nor out of their time or in a country where the popular mind has not been educated to appreciate and support them.

The impulse which animated men to take a more hopeful view of the situation was not the result of mere secular or calculating prudence; such prudence was well personified in the old tutor to whom Shivaji's education and training had been consigned by his father. He represented the past while the heart of the young boy under his charge was bursting with the hopes of a brighter future. Prudence was well represented in his grandfather Lakhoji Jadhavrao and his father Shahaji, who transferred their services from state to state and turned their faces from the setting to the rising sun and felt no higher faith in them. All accounts agree in describing Shivaji from his early youth as being intensely fond of hearing the old epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata. He would walk many miles to attend a *Katha* or recital of them by specially noted preachers. Shivaji's mind was cast in an intensely religious mould, and he continued to be, above all, religious throughout his



chequered career. This revived feeling of confidence in other possibilities than those which his prudent teacher and his near relation realized for him sprung from this religious source. Shivaji felt in him what religious enthusiasm alone can inspire, the feeling that he had a commission which required him to think little of his own interests and advancement. Of course, he did not himself realize the full force of this enthusiasm in his earlier years. There was a good deal of the wild-oats sowing in his earlier exploits, but the sense that he had a mission to achieve grew with him every day of his life. It is recorded that on three memorable occasions he was determined to give up all his possessions and retire from worldly life to seek salvation, and on all these occasions it was with great difficulty that his teachers and ministers prevailed on him to entertain more correct notions of his duty in life. Throughout his career on all occasions of great trial, when the times were so critical that a single false step would prove the ruin of all his hopes, he resigned himself to prayer and asked for a sign and awaited in expectation the manifestation of a higher voice speaking through him when he was beside himself in a fit of possession. The ministers were made to write down the reply so vouchsafed for their master's information, and Shivaji acted upon it with implicit faith, whether that voice told him to make his peace with Aurangzeb and go to Delhi to be a prisoner of his enemies or to meet Afzulkhan single-handed in a possibly mortal combat. These stories of self-resignation and self-possession distinctly point out and emphasize the fact that it was not merely secular consideration or deep policy which governed his motions. The impulse came from a higher part of our common or rather uncommon nature.

Foreign writers of Indian history have not been able to understand this feature in Shivaji's character, although more than his hardihood and enterprise, it was this mental characteristic which made him a representative man of the age. The only motive power which is strong enough to move the masses in this country is an appeal to their religious faith. During the past three hundred years the whole of India had been visibly moved by the new contact with the Mahomedan militant creed, and there had been action and reaction of a very marked kind. The rise of the Vaishnava sects represented by the followers of Ramanuja, Ramanand, and other Puritan teachers had made men feel that salvation was a concern for all, and that before God's throne there was no difference between the high-born and the low. This teaching is the most distinct mark of the doctrines of Ramanand, of Kabir, of Ramdas, Rohidas, Surdas, Nanak, and Chaitanya, who

flourished in different parts of Northern and Eastern India. The severity of the monotheistic creed of the Mahomedans was distinctly impressed upon the minds of some of these prophets. The worshippers of Dattatraya or the incarnation of the Hindu Trinity, often clothed their God in the garb of a Mahomedan Fakir. This same influence was at work with greater effect on the popular mind in Maharashtra, where preachers, both Brahmans and non-Brahmans, were calling on people to identify Ram with Rahim, and ensure their freedom from the bonds of formal ritualism and caste distinctions and unite in common love of man and faith in one God. Contemporaneously with the political leaders, Tukaram, Ramdas, Eknath, and Jayaramswami were the religious leaders of this movement, which was, moreover, not confined to the higher castes, but claimed representatives from all classes, high and low. The cult of Vithoba, the traditions of Pandharpur, the heaven on earth, attracted thousands every year, and the extempore recitals or *Kathas* drew thousands more in every town and village. The effect of these lectures was best exemplified in the counsel which Raja Sawai Jayasingh gave to his master Aurangzeb in 1678, when the *Jezziah* or Hindu poll-tax, abolished by Akbar, was re-imposed. He reminded his master that "God was not the God of Mahomedans alone, but he was the God of all mankind. The Pagan and the Moslem stand alike before Him. To nullify the religious customs of Hindus is to set at naught the will of the Almighty." This was a new feeling, and it yet represented the general consensus of the people. The Mahomedans themselves had learned to feel the force of this higher teaching. Abul Fazil and Faizi had translated Mahabharata and Ramayana in the same spirit. Akbar strived with a singular devotion to amalgamate the two religions in a new dispensation which was intended to abolish all religious differences. Prince Darasheko, the eldest son of Shahjahan, translated the Upanishads and the Gita, and represented these aspirations of enlightened Mahomedans, and it was on this account, as much as for his birthright, that Aurangzeb made war on him, and hunted him to death. Mahomedan saints like Kabir in the north and Shaik Mahomed in Maharashtra preached the same higher law to Hindus and Mahomedans, alike, and though worshipped after death by both communities, they were disregarded by bigots of both creeds in their lifetime.

This then was the situation. Religious revival and a puritan enthusiasm were at work in the land, and it was clear to men's minds that the old bigotry must cease. This religious enlightenment was the principal point of departure from the earlier traditions of

submission to brute force, and it made itself manifest in the form of a determination that Mahomedan intolerance should not again overspread the land. None felt this influence more strongly than the worshippers, who placed their faith in the shrines of Bhawani at Tuljapur and Kolhapur. They caught this fire, and communicated it to others through their bards, the *Gondhli*s and the *Bhats*.

Shivaji, who mixed on equal terms with Tukaram, Ramdas, and other religious teachers of his time, represented these new aspirations in an intensified form in his own proper person. This was one chief source of his strength and his hold on the people, and it represented a strength which no prudent calculations of chances could ever confer.

Another influence which operated on Shivaji's mind with a force not realized by his father or teacher was the feeling that the threatened invasion of the foreign Moslem conquerors could only be adequately met by an united opposition. Shivaji's teacher Ramdas tersely put this conception of Shivaji's aims and policy in his verses of advice, communicated to his unfortunate son Sambhaji, to unite all who were Marathas, and propagate the duty on *dharma* of a great *rashtra* or united nation. This was the whole end and aim of Shivaji's policy, and it explains some of his more questionable acts. He felt that the Moghul would surely prevail, just as the Afghan had done three hundred years before, if the nobles of the land quarrelled among themselves and fought with each other—each striving only to keep or increase his own little Jahagir or *Vatan* intact at the cost of his neighbour. The times dictated a policy of union and mutual trust for a common purpose. Everybody, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, who came in the way of the realization of this idea, had to be put down, whether he was a friend or foe, a relation or a stranger.

This weakness of internal dissensions is an ever-present danger in all times and phases of Indian history. It has been happily described as the tendency to be unorganized and centrifugal, to resent discipline and subordination. No wonder that such unorganized power cannot maintain itself against organised force or skill arrayed against, in the battle-field or in the Council Hall. In the smaller arrangements as well as in his larger schemes, Shivaji tried to interlace men's interests or ambitions in a way to make them feel pride in common success and shame in common defeat. The Ghadges, the Mores, and the Ghorpades represented this separatist tendency, and they had to be disposed of by superior force or skill, before the leading Maratha families accepted the higher trust Shivaji reposed in them. The Mahomedan powers

themselves had to be played one against the other in the pursuit of the same end and, though at times Shivaji had to yield to superior force, yet throughout his career, this desire of union against the foreigner remained a predominant factor in his mind. It is true, even Shivaji failed at times, and it is certain his attempts failed at last, but it was a noble failure which failed after the structure he had built up was able to sustain shocks of a kind which had toppled down more ambitious piles.

One other feature may be noticed here before we are done with this delineation of the way in which the seed of life was sown in a soil prepared by the hard discipline of centuries to receive it. Shivaji had the magnetic power which only true leaders of men possess, and which neither bandits nor mad fanatics can ever claim. He attracted towards himself all that was hopeful and aspiring in the land, without distinction of class or caste or creed or colour. His very councillors were selected from all the great communities which constituted the strength of the country. His touch made the very grossest of men feel a cleansing fire burning within them. The Mavils and the Hetkaris did not follow him solely for the booty they acquired, and when they could no longer help him to distant expeditions, Shivaji did not fail to employ Musalmans both on sea and land to carry out his designs. Tanaji Malusare and his brother Suryaji, Baji Fasalkar and Netaji Palkar, the Prabhus Baji Deshpande and Balaji Avaji, the Brahmans Moropant, Abaji Sondev, Raghunath Narayan, Annaji Datto, Janardanpant Hanmante, the Marathas Prataprao Gujar and Hambirrao Mohite, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav, the ancestors of Parsoji Bhonsle, and Udaji Pavar, and Khanderao Dabhade, all served under him in his armies and none proved faithless to him. This is the highest privilege of genius. These men stuck to their posts even when Shivaji was a captive at Delhi and helped him to establish his power without an effort when he escaped and returned back to his country. Later on, when after his death, his son Sambhaji misbehaved and was killed, and Shahu was led a captive from Raigad, these same men and their successors bore the brunt of the Moghul conquest, and though compelled to retire to the south, only did so, to return with renewed strength to complete the discomfiture of Aurangzeb at the total failure of his ambitious schemes.

Lastly, Shivaji's self-discipline was as great as his power of control and his military daring. This characteristic of his nature stands out in marked contrast with the looseness and ferocity of those times. In the worst excesses committed by his armies under the stress of war and need of money, cows, women, and cultivators

were never molested. Women especially were treated with a chivalry unknown to his enemies. When captured in the chances of war, they were sent back to their husbands with all honours. He saw the danger of making assignments in Jahagirs of conquered lands and set his face against the proposal made to him. His successors did not observe this caution of their master and accelerated the dismemberment of the Empire, whose foundation he had laid with such wisdom.

Religious fervour, almost at white heat, bordering on the verge of self-abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, the magnetism of superior genius, which binds men together and leads them to victory, a rare insight into the real needs of the times, and a steadfastness of purpose, which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian history, true patriotism, which was far in advance of the times and a sense of justice tempered with mercy,—these were the sources of the strength that enabled Shivaji to sow the seeds of a power which accomplished in the hands of his successors all that he had planned out, and enabled his race to write a chapter in Indian history to some purpose. With the thread furnished by this preliminary examination of the character of the founder of the Maratha Empire, we shall now be better able to follow the labyrinth of the story of his life, and sit in judgment upon the more particular events of his singularly noble career.

CHAPTER IV

HOW THE SEED THRIVED

SHIVAJI'S FELLOW-WORKERS

THE SHORT SKETCH we attempted to delineate in the preceding chapter will present to the reader's mind the leading characteristics of the great captain who gathered together the scattered forces of Maratha power, and under the protecting shadows of the strong hill-forts of Western India, bound them together into a great kingdom, with larger potentialities before it in the near future. It is however obvious that the work of liberation, on which Shivaji had set his heart, was a work in which he required co-operation. The seed sown by him could only sprout and thrive in a suitable soil. If the leading spirits of the times had not been prepared by a long and arduous discipline to co-operate with him, even Shivaji's towering genius would have failed to accomplish the great task he had undertaken. Both native and European writers of Maratha history have been so taken up with the absorbing interest of the history of Shivaji's life that they have often lost sight of the fact that he only represented in a higher degree the gifts of body and mind and the aspiring ambition of the men of his times, and that success became possible to him only because the seed he sowed was watered by capable men in all ranks of life, who accepted him as their captain and leader. He was eminently *primus in pares*, and never regarded himself in any other light. We propose in this chapter to give a running sketch of the fellow-workers of Shivaji, the soldiers and statesmen and the spiritual teachers, who rose about this time to eminence. The materials to hand for such life-sketches are but poor, but the moral of this story will be hardly understood till we reproduce even dimly on the canvas of history reflex of the features of those great and heroic men, whose influence shaped the story of Shivaji's life, and whose memories are still our best inheritance.

The first place in this historic picture of the past must be assigned to Jijabai, the mother of Shivaji. She claimed a descent from the ancient Yadav kings of Maharashtra and was the daughter of the proudest Maratha Jahagirdar of the times. The story of her romantic marriage with Shahaji, when they were both children, is eminently typical of the times. Her father in an unguarded moment expressed a wish that she should be Shahaji's wife and the pledge was enforced by Shahaji's father, Maloji Raje, by a sacrilege which at once showed that Maloji was a man who could hold his own against even the great Jadhavrao, commander

of twenty thousand horse. If Jadhavrao claimed his descent from the Yadav Kings of Devgiri, Shahaji traced his lineage back to the Rajput princes of Udepur. Well-born and well-connected as she was, Jijabai was greater still in the herosim which ennoble men and women in the humblest circumstances of life. Her father never excused the injury that had mortified his pride, and the turn of events, which made Shahaji king-maker at Ahmednagar and Daulatabad, only aggravated this enmity. Jadhavrao went over to the Moghul invaders, and Shahaji was forced to give up the defence of the Ahmednagar kings. He retired to Bijapur hotly pursued by his father-in-law, leaving his wife behind him, a fugitive and a captive in the hands of her father. In these adverse circumstances, Jijabai was left to her own resources, about the time that she gave birth to the great Shivaji in the fort of Shivaner. Jijabai, abandoned by her father and husband, had good reason to feel in her own person the indignity of foreign subjection. In her desolate condition young Shivaji was all in all to her, and she brought him up relying solely on the protection of the gods, especially the Goddess Bhawani, who had spared her and her child in the midst of such afflictions. Later on, with Shahaji's permission, she removed to his Jahagir at Poona, then managed by Dadoji Kondadev, Shahaji's trusted minister. The hill forts which surrounded the place were associated in Shivaji's memories as his only safe home, and no wonder that, with such a mother, and with such associations, he developed a character of hardihood and enterprise from his earliest days. The boy loved his mother with an affection which had no bounds. His father never lived with him but his mother was always at hand. Throughout his life, she was the guiding genius and protecting deity whose approbation rewarded all toil and filled him with a courage which nothing could daunt. The religious turn of mind, and the strong faith in his mission, so prominent in his character, Shivaji owed entirely to his mother, who literally fed him on the old Puranic legends of bravery and war. When on Shahaji's death, Jijabai desired to immolate herself, it was Shivaji's entreaties which reconciled her to live with him a little while longer. Shivaji left his kingdom in her charge when he went to Delhi, and in all the great crises of his life he first invoked her blessings, and she always charged him to attempt the most hazardous feats, trusting in divine protection. If ever great men owed their greatness to the inspiration of their mothers, the influence of Jijabai was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivaji's career, and the chief source of his strength.

Next only to Jijabai's influence over young Shivaji, must

rank the part played by Dadoji Kondadev who stood in Shahaji's place as guardian of the child and the administrator of his father's estates. Dadoji was born in Malthan in the Poona district, and had seen much service. All the care and affection which Shahaji, if he had been near, might have bestowed upon young child in his tender years, were ungrudgingly shown by Dadoji in the bringing up of his ward to fulfil his great destinies. By disposition, he was cautious to a degree which made it difficult for him at times to sympathise with the wild freedom with which Shivaji loved to roam over the hills, but his love for his charge was unstinted, and at last he was persuaded that Shivaji was not to be judged by the ordinary standards of men, and that the ideas over which the young man brooded were of a sort in which even failure was glorious. Shivaji's wildness needed the curb and the guidance of a strict disciplinarian like the old master under whose care he was brought up. He taught the young boy all the arts of peace and war which it was good for him to know; and he taught him what was more valuable still, the way to organize and control undisciplined forces. Dadoji was a masterhand in the art of civil government. Before he took over the charge of the Jahagir, it had been much devastated by the famine and border wars between the Moghuls and the Bijapur kings. Poona itself had been depopulated; packs of wolves, and bands of robbers, fiercer than wolves, made husbandry impossible. In the course of a few years, Dadoji destroyed the wolves by offering rewards and he destroyed the robber-bands by stern repression. Long and favourable leases were granted to the settlers who agreed to cultivate the soil, and before ten years had passed, Dadoji was able to show to his master that the estate was in a flourishing condition which enabled him to employ a large number of foot-soldiers and burghers, and keep the hill-forts repaired and garrisoned. Poona and Supa, Indapur and Baramati, with the Mavals, thus enjoyed the blessings of peace and well-ordered control. Plantations of fruit-trees smiled over the land, and still bear testimony at Shivapur to the wisdom of the great Brahman-minister. So strict was his discipline that once when he was tempted to pluck without leave a ripe mango of one of his master's trees, he ordered those about him to cut off his right hand by way of self-inflicted punishment. The entreaties of his followers were allowed to prevail and the hand was spared, but he ceased to wear the sleeve on the right side as a token of the unconscious wrong he had done, till Shahaji ordered him to discontinue the practice. Of course, Dadoji's ambition was of the old school, to make Shivaji a partisan leader like his father and grandfather. He could not, till his last moments, rise to the height of the thoughts over which Shivaji's

mind was brooding; to unite these partisan leaders, and effect their common liberation from the Moslem yoke. When, however, he was satisfied that his young charge had the capacity to realise this wild dream, the old man yielded and blessed him before he died. Shivaji's revenue system and his civil government were entirely modelled upon the practice of his teacher, Dadoji, and it is not too much to say, that, without such a guiding hand to regulate and curb his wildness, the success which attended Shivaji would not have been so certain and permanent as it proved in the end.

Dadoji's death occurred just when Shivaji first launched his fortunes upon a career of adventure and peril by seizing Torna, and fortifying Raigad. During the ten years that he had administered the estate, Dadoji had trained a number of Brahman *karkoons* in the service to supply his place, in the extended fields of operation upon which Shivaji had now entered. Abaji Sondev, Raghunath Ballal, Shamarajpant, and the elder Pingle, father of Moropant, and Naropant Hanmante, were all trained in this school both as civil officers and military commanders. These men sympathised with their young master's spirit of adventure, and they and other kindred spirits, Moropant Pingle, Annaji Datto, Niraji Pandit, Raoji Somnath, Dattaji Gopinath, Raghunathpant, and Gangaji Mangaji proved of eminent service to him in his ambitious plans. They represented the brain of the new movement. The iron hand and the heart of steel which alone could ensure its success were also ready to hand in the Mavli leaders who were Shivaji's chosen companions in boyhood. Three such are specially mentioned in the histories, Yesaji Kank, Tanaji Malusare, and Baji Fasalkar, who were all men brought up in the hard discipline of their mountain hill-forts. Firangoji Narasale, Sambaji Kawji, Mankoji Dahatonde, Gomaji Naik, Netaji Palkar, Suryaji Malusare, Hiroji Farjand, Devji Gadhwe, and others also belong to the same Mavli stock. They were soon joined by the great Prabhu leaders, Murar Baji Prabhu of Mahad, and Baji Prabhu of Hirdas Maval, and Balaji Avji Chitnis from the Habshi territories. The two Bajis had been in the service of Shivaji's enemies, and were taken over by him in his service for their gallantry. There was such a charm about Shivaji's personality that even those who were his enemies, and whom he had conquered on the battle-field, became his trusted followers. The Brahmans, the Prabhus, and the Mavli leaders were the chief sources of Shivaji's strength in these earlier years. The representatives of the great Maratha families in the service of Bijapur and Ahmednagar, so far from helping the movement, proved to be its most bitter foes. Baji Mohite, a relation of Shivaji,

had to be surprised at Supa and sent away to the Karnatik.

Baji Ghorpade or Mudhol was mean enough to entrap Shahaji at the bidding of the king of Bijapur, and Shivaji had to suppress him by terrible revenge. The Mores of Javli allowed a Brahman emissary from Bijapur to hide in their territory, with a view to assassinate Shivaji, and the Mores had to be disposed of in self-defence by arts which were inexcusable under any other circumstances. The Savants of Wadi and the Dalvis of the Konkan and the Shirkes and Surves of Shringarpur were similarly obstructive, and refused to join the new movement, and they had therefore to be suppressed, or, as in the case of Savants, subordinated to the new power. The Nimbalkars of Faltan, and Manes of Mhaswad and Zunjarrao Ghadge, all in the Bijapur service, continued to fight against the national movement which Shivaji had undertaken to organize, and remained true to their old allegiance. It will be thus seen that the strength of the new movement lay entirely in the middle-classes of the population, the old Maratha Jahagirdar families contributing little or no help till at a later stage. When, however, the first difficulties were overcome, the new generation of young men, belonging to the highest families entered Shivaji's service and became his most trusted leaders. Prataprao Gujar Hambirarao Mohite, Shidoji Nimbalkar, Sambhaji More, Suryarao Kakade, Santaji Gorpade, Dhanaji Jadhav, Khanderao Dabhade, Parsoji and Rupaji Bhonsle and Nemaji Shinde are all names which figured in the later history of Shivaji's life, and they soon succeeded in securing to the movement the support, not only of the middle and lower classes, but of the best and most aristocratic families in the country. This is a point of some importance to note, for it shows clearly that the movement was initiated by the people and by their natural leaders, who only joined it when the success became assured.

Even the Mahomedans felt the influence that was at work. Shivaji's chief admiral, Darya Surung, was a Mahomedan, and fought with the Siddi admirals of the Moghuls, so was Ibrahim-khan, a *pathan* leader, a Mahomedan. The disbanded Mahomedan soldiery and troopers from Bijapur and Golconda entered Shivaji's service, and were with some misgivings admitted into separate corps.

The relative importance of the Brahman and the Prabhu elements on one side, and the Mavli and Maratha elements on the other, will be fully realised from the fact, that in Grant Duff's history the names of twenty Brahman leaders and four Prabhus are mentioned as against twenty Mavli and Maratha leaders. These Mavlis and Marathas were opposed to about fourteen

Maratha partizan leaders in the Bijapur and Moghul service. All the Brahman Ministers, except the *Panditrao* and the *Nayadhisya*, had in those days of trouble to be military commanders as well as civil officers, and they discharged this double function with equal credit. The Native *Bakhars* make mention of twice as many names, but the relative proportions shown above are not much disturbed. There are about fifty Brahman and Prabhu leaders mentioned as against forty Mavli and Maratha leaders in the narrative of Chitnis's great *Bakhar*, though in the final list given at the end of the work forty-five Brahman and seventy-five Mavli and Maratha names are mentioned. Roughly speaking about a hundred men from all classes of society thus came to prominence, and were the chief supporters of the new Hindu dynasty that was established at Raigad, in opposition to the Moslem powers. We can only here select a few of these men whose deeds have been sung by national bards, or chronicled in the records of the time, but they will be typical of the rest who, in their own humbler places, performed feats of valour and devotion, which contributed equally to the success of the common cause.

Among the Brahman leaders, the Hanmantes, both father and sons, naturally occupied the first place. Naropant Hanmante was, like Dadoji Kondadev in Shahaji's service, having charge of his Karnatik possessions. His sons, Raghunath Narayan and Janardanapant, were worthy of their father. Raghunathpant helped to carve out for Shahaji's other son Venkoji a new kingdom at Tanjore, and when differences arose between him and his master, Raghunathpant retired to the fortress of Gingi, and held that station as also a portion of Arcot, and Vellore and several strong posts in Mysore, till Shivaji, at his request, made his final expedition into the Karnatik and the Dravida country. The importance of these possessions in the south was fully realised when Aurangzeb captured Sambhaji, and conquered the hill-forts one by one, and the Maratha leaders had to retreat to the south at Gingi, whence they returned in a few years back to their country, and forced Aurangzeb in his turn to admit his discomfiture. Raghunathpant's brother Janardanpant served under Shivaji in the later wars with the Moghuls. Such were these Hanmantes, men of iron courage, and at the same time great in the wisdom of their counsels.

Moropant Pingle may well be described as the chief pillar of Shivaji's power, and earned his Peshwaship by distinguished services in extending the conquests in Northern Konkan and Baglan. He was a great builder of forts, and a great organizer of Shivaji's armies. His father was in Shahaji's service in the Kar-

natik, but Moropant returned home when still a youth and joined Shivaji's army in 1653. The first Peshwa, Shamaraipan, failed to achieve success in the wars in the Konkan with the Siddhis and the Savants, and Moropant was sent by his master to retrieve the loss, and succeeded in his mission. He was constantly engaged in all the wars of those times, and outlived his master only a short time. The Peshwaship survived in his family till Shahu bestowed it upon Balaji Vishvanath in 1714. He was Shivaji's chief civil adviser, as also his principal military commander, and there was no man at the time who could be mentioned as more capable and more devoted to the national interest.

Abaji Sondev was trained in the same school with the Hanmantes and the Pingles. He was the first to go outside the Jahagir limits, and take the offensive by attacking Kalyan which, though retaken several times by the Moghuls, continued to be an advanced Maratha outpost in Abaji Sondev's charge, as *Subhedar* in the Konkan. He was also, like Moropant, a great builder of forts. When Shivaji went to Delhi, Abaji and Moropant were left in charge of the kingdom as advisers of Jijabai. He was first appointed *Mazumdar* and his son was appointed *Amatva* at the time of the coronation.

Ragho Ballal Atre distinguished himself in the wars with the Siddhis. He took prominent part in the suppression of Chandrarao More, and it was his chief distinction that the first *Pathan* soldiers employed by Shivaji were placed under his command.

Annaji Datto was another Brahman leader who rose to be *Surnis* and *Pantasachiv* in Shivaji's time. He took an active part in the conquest of Panhalā and Rangana, and in the Konkan wars, and led the first expedition in the Karnatik, when he plundered, Hubli. He had the charge of South Konkan just as Abaji Sondev and Moropant had the charge of North Konkan and Baglan. He was associated with these commanders in the charge of the Maratha territory, when Shivaji went to Delhi.

Dattaji Gopinath was *Waknis* and *Mantri* in charge of Shivaji's household affairs, and served Shivaji in the important mission to Afzulkhan. The famous Sakharam Bapu Bokil of later Maratha history was descended from this family.

Raoji Somnath was in charge of the Berar conquests, and served in the Konkan wars also. His father Somnath was *Dabir* and foreign minister, and was succeeded by Janardanpant Hanmante in those posts.

Niraji Raoji was *Nyayadhish* and his son Pralhad was ambassador at Golconda and in Rajaram's time became *Pratinidhi*, in consequence of his great talents in organizing the defence of Gingi.

Among the Prabhu Commanders and Councillors, the principal names are Murar Baji, Baji Prabhu, and Balaji Avji.

Murar Baji was in charge of Purandar fort, and defended it against the attacks of Dilerkhan with great heroism, and at the cost of his life.

Baji Prabhu, from being an enemy, was converted into a devoted follower. When Shivaji escaped from Panhala and went to Rangana, he posted himself with a thousand men in a narrow defile, where he contested every inch of ground with the Bijapur general, in command of overwhelming forces, till he heard the gun announcing Shivaji's safe arrival at Rangana, when at last he gave up breath, exhausted from the effects of the wounds he had received. This exploit and sacrifice have been compared by some with the heroic defence of the Pass at Thermopylae, so well known to the readers of Greek history.

Balaji Avji was descended from a noble family in the Habshi's service, and like Balaji Vishvanath later on, was forced to leave his native village to save his life. He attracted Shivaji's notice in 1648 by his cleverness, and continued to be the chief secretary throughout Shivaji's life. His son and grandson also played an important part in the two succeeding reigns, and one of his descendants wrote the great chronicle, known as the Chitnis's *Bakhar*.

Among the Mavli Commanders, Yesaji Kank was the chief of the Mavli infantry, and did important service in the earlier conquests. He and Tanaji continued to be Shivaji's chief associates all through their life. They were both with him when Afzulkhan was killed, as also when Shahistekhan was assaulted in his own palace, and they both accompanied Shivaji to Delhi.

Tanaji Malusare and his brother Suryaji are names immortalised by native bards for the courage they showed in escalating Sinhagad, where Tanaji met his death, and Suryaji took his revenge upon the garrison.

Baji Fasalkar Deshmukh met his death in a combat with the Savants in the Konkan wars. Firangoji Narasale was the commander of the Chakan fort, and made it over to Shivaji in 1648. He was one of those who, though once an enemy, became a trusted friend, and when the Moghul reconquered Chakan, and tempted him by an offer of service, he refused the temptation and joined Shivaji's army.

Sambhaji Kawji with Raghunathpant took part in the attack on Javli when Chandrarao More was killed. While Yesaji Kank was the commander of the Mavli infantry, Netaji Palkar was the commander of the cavalry. He was the most dashing officer in the army, and extended Shivaji's plundering expeditions to the east

as far as Ahmednagar, Jalna and Aurangabad. He was here, there and everywhere, wherever danger was to be faced.

The next commander of the cavalry was Prataprao Gujar, and he worthily sustained the confidence his master placed in him in defeating the Moghul armies in Baglan, and the Bijapur armies near Panhala. He was in charge of the Maratha forces stationed at Aurangabad, during the two years of peace between Shivaji and the Emperor. Having failed to keep up a hot pursuit of the Bijapur forces, he was censured by Shivaji, and on the next occasion when he encountered the enemy, he achieved a complete victory with the loss of his own life like Tanaji Malusare, and Baji Prabhu, and Baji Fasalkar, and Suryarao Kakade.

Among the younger generals, Khanderao Dabhade, Parsoji Bhonsle, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav, became well-known names in the generation subsequent to Shivaji's death. The first two laid the foundations of Maratha power in Gujarat and Berar, while the last two brought the war of independence to a successful issue.

Such were the men whose prowess and counsel helped Shivaji to found the kingdom. Not one of them failed in doing his duty in the hour of danger, not one proved treacherous to his master, or went over to the enemy, while many died at their posts in the hour of victory, consoled with the thought that they had done service assigned to them. These are facts, which redound to their credit, as well as the love Shivaji inspired in them towards his person, and the cause he laboured to promote. The kingdom founded by labours and sacrifices, such as these, included at the time of his coronation, 1674, not only the hereditary Jahagir about Poona, Supa, Indapur and Baramati, but all the Mavals, the western parts of the Satara district up to Wai, Satara and Karad, the western portions of Kolhapur, south and north Konkan, including the sea fortresses and the hill fortresses, Baglan, and posts in Karnatik, Vellore, Bednore and Mysore. All these territories passed from the hands of Shivaji's successor and became Moghul conquests within a few years after Shivaji's death. The permanent acquisition made was thus not so much of territory and treasure as the higher acquisition of self-confidence and union among the Maratha leaders, the spirit which taught the Maratha race that it was possible to resist successfully the inroads of Mahomedan powers. It was this spirit which proved the salvation of the country during the twenty-two years that Aurangzeb spent in the conquests of the Deccan from 1685 to 1707. If it had not been for the schooling and discipline which the leaders of the nation, civil and military, had obtained during the successful wars waged by

Shivaji against his enemies, no such result would have been possible. These hundred men, so brought up and disciplined, inspired the nation with a new hope and a new courage which helped them to feel unabated confidence in their powers of resistance, and in the ultimate success of their efforts to turn back the tide which threatened to overwhelm. It is on this account that we have deemed it necessary to devote an entire chapter to sketch the careers of the more notable leaders, the memories of whose deeds inspired their successors to follow in their footsteps. Shivaji by his great personality filled the rank and file of his followers with his own spirit, and this was the mission of his life. His territories and his treasures passed away from the feeble hands of his son, but the spirit he had inspired in his men remained untamed by reverses, and only gathered new strength, as the odds against them increased. Before a much smaller army, led by Jayasing and Dilerkha, Shivaji found it politic to tender his submission and go to Delhi. His successors had to face the whole brunt of the Moghul forces led by the Emperor in person, and though they had to retreat to the south, they offered no submission, but returned home victorious, and soon claimed back their own with interest.

This sketch of the fellow-workers of Shivaji in the task of national liberation would be incomplete without a brief notice of the holy men of peace, who about this time flourished in the country, and were the chief advisers of the civil and military commanders. The Chitnis's *Bakhar* makes mention of a number of these great teachers, chief among whom were the Moryadev of Chinchwad, Rangnath Swami of Nigadi, Vithalrao of Bedar, Vaman Joshi of Shingata, Nimbaji Bawa of Dahitane, Bodhle Bawa of Dhamangaon, Jayaram Swami of Wadgaon, Keshav Swami of Hyderabad, Paramanand Bawa of Poladpur, Achalpur of Sangameshvar and Mani Bawa of Padgaon. The most celebrated, however, of these spiritual teachers were Tukaram Bawa of Dehu and Ramdas Swami of Chafal. Ramdas became Shivaji's spiritual guide and his chief adviser even in secular matters. The influence of these religious teachers will be more fully noticed in a separate chapter. It will be sufficient here to state that by the influence of Ramdas and Tukaram the national sentiment was kept up at a higher level of spirituality and devotion to public affairs than it would otherwise have attained. In token of the work of liberation being carried on, not for personal aggrandisement but for higher purposes of service to God and man, the national standard received, at the suggestion of Ramdas, its favourite orname colour, which was and is the colour of the clothes worn by anchorities and devotees. The old forms of salutation were dispensed with as

implying submission to the foreigner, and a new form was substituted, which only recited the name of Ramdas's favourite deity. Under the same influence the names of Shivaji's principal officers were changed from their Mahomedan designations to Sanskrit equivalents, and the forms of correspondence also were similarly improved. Shivaji, from a sense of gratitude to his spiritual teacher, made a gift of his kingdom, and Ramdas gave it back to him as a trust to be managed in the public interest. When Shivaji pressed him to accept some *Inam* lands for the service of his favourite deity, Ramdas significantly requested him to assign *Inams* in territories which were still under foreign sway, thus significantly hinting that the work of liberation was not yet completed. The short sketches given above of the leading men, who figured prominently about the time of the rise of the Maratha power, will, it is hoped, convey a more accurate idea of the condition of the times than any chronicle of Shivaji's deeds. It was this back-ground behind Shivaji's great central figure, which constituted the chief source of the wisdom and strength, which were put forth under his leadership. No account of Shivaji's life could be complete without a full realisation of the strength of the national awakening that had taken place at this time. The vitality of a nation is best presented not merely by its capacity for self-defence, but also by its power in each succeeding generation to raise up men fitted in every way to carry on the work with greater vigour and more assured success. Judged by this double test, Shivaji's contemporaries fully sustained their place as a generation of men at once wise and brave, who were worthily led by him in the work of national construction.

CHAPTER V

THE TREE BLOSSOMS

THE PUBLIC CAREER of Shivaji may be said to have commenced with the occupation of Torana in 1646, when he was only nineteen years old, and his life of ceaseless activity was brought to a close prematurely in 1680. This period of thirty-four years naturally ranged itself into four divisions of unequal length, which must be studied apart, as the sphere of activity and the principles of conduct guiding that activity underwent a slow but decided change as Shivaji grew up in years and experience. Much confusion has resulted from ignoring the fact that this career was one of growth and development, and the rules of action which influenced Shivaji necessarily varied with the varying exigencies of his success in the earlier and later stages. In another respect also prejudice has been at work in applying to the wild times in which Shivaji's early years were passed the stricter standards of public morality, for which, even in Europe, modern civilization has only recently secured general recognition, instead of maxims of policy observed by contemporary native rulers in India and elsewhere. The Maratha country proper had never been really conquered by the Moslem rulers of the Deccan. They had subjugated the plains, but the hilly portions to the west were only occasionally overrun. The forts were not garrisoned, nor kept in repair, and the *Killedare* who were generally men with local influence, were allowed to have very much their own way, pushing and jostling each other, and making wars and annexations as though there were no central power to control their movements. The looseness of this system of anarchic rule was further aggravated by the fact that, with the break-up of the Nizamshahi kingdom, its spoils had been shared by the Emperors of Delhi and the kings of Bijapur, and the Maratha country was the constant scene of the border warfare of these two powers. The unhappy results of such a confusion of authority can be better imagined than described. In the first six years of his career, Shivaji busied himself with his unruly neighbours in command of the hill-forts and Mavals about Poona, and he had no thought of defying the distant authority of the Moghul commanders at Aurangabad, or of the kings of Bijapur. He had his own Jahagir about Poona and Supa to protect, and he could only defend it with the least expense of money and men by seizing or repairing the neglected hill-forts which commanded it on all sides. Besides this immediate and practical concern of self-defence, Shivaji had, even in these early years of his life, a dominant idea

of uniting together the scattered forces of the Maratha chiefs in his neighbourhood, and thereby securing that general protection and toleration which past experience showed could not otherwise be ensured.

When this preliminary task was accomplished without bloodshed, and with the consent of all parties concerned, Shivaji found himself forced into a conflict with the power of the Bijapur kings, who first treacherously imprisoned his father, and sent emissaries to surprise and capture him, and afterwards tried to crush him by a series of invasions led by the most distinguished commanders in Bijapur service. This conflict with Bijapur formed the second period in the story of his life, and extended over ten years, at the end of which time, Shivaji succeeded in dictating his own terms and establishing his power more firmly than ever over a larger extent of territory than had come under his influence before the war commenced. The dominant idea was still the same, of self-defence and of nationalizing the movement. The success he achieved in this second period brought him into contact with the Moghul invaders of the Deccan, and the story of this struggle with the Moghul power constitutes the main interest of his life during the third period, which commenced with 1662, and ended about 1672 with the victories which secured from the Moghul Emperor a full and formal recognition of the new Maratha power. The fourth and the last period commences with the coronation in 1674 and ends with his death. His life and character are best studied in this the last period of what may be regarded as the full fruition of all his hopes and ambitions, and he should be judged by the principles of action and the system of Government to which he then gave effect. He never lost sight of the main aim of his policy. Self-protection from his neighbours developed into self-defence against the Moslem powers. His sole aim was the union of the scattered elements of Maratha power, though the sphere of this unifying influence was gradually increased. He had no quarrel with the Bijapur kings, or with the Moghul Emperors, so long as they confined themselves to their own proper spheres of action in the Karnatik and North India, and did not make aggressive warfare with a view to subjugate Western Maharashtra. In fact, he extended his protection to the Golconda kings who ruled in Telangana and also materially helped the kings of Bijapur to repel the attack made by the Moghuls upon that kingdom. As regards the Delhi Emperors, he was prepared to be their dependant vassal, if they would let his country alone. With this view he went all the way to Delhi to make his submission, and even after he had been treacherously put in confinement, he consented to an armistice,

the principal condition of which was that the Emperor should recognize him as one of the chief nobles of the Empire. The idea of forming a confederacy of Hindu powers all over India, and subverting Musalman dominion, appeared never to have seriously been entertained by him. It was a later growth, and was first realized by Bajirao Ballal, when, in the conflict between him and Pant Pratinidhi, he advised Shahu Maharaja not to waste his energies in lopping off the branches, but to use all available strength in shaking the tree by its roots at the centre of power near Delhi. Shivaji's idea seems to have been to form a central Hindu power in the Deccan, and in alliance with the Bijapur and Golconda kings to push back the Moghul power to the north of the Tapti river. This is the clue to the whole situation. Self-defence and the formation of a national Hindu power in Western India, which, in alliance with the Mahomedan States of Golconda and Bijapur, would repel aggression from the North, and enforce protection and toleration for his own countrymen,—these were the objects and limits of his ambition. With this clue in hand, we shall be better able to study the entanglements of the narrative of these four distinctive periods in the life and career of Shivaji.

The first period, as stated above, commences with the occupation of Torana, whose *Killedar* gave it up. Raigad was next fortified and made the principal seat of his residence. There was nothing very unusual in these proceedings, and the Bijapur *Darbar* was persuaded that these forts were seized in the general interest, and by way of protection to the family Jahagir. The displacement of Baji Mohite from the charge of Supa was an act of authority which could excite no comment, because he was a servant of the Jahagir. On the Eastern side, the Chakan fort commanded the way to Poona, and Shivaji persuaded Firangoji Narasale to make it over to him. The command of the Fort was left with Firangoji as before, and ever after he continued to be a most devoted adherent. The Mahomedan commander of the fort of Sinhagad to the west of Poona was similarly persuaded to vacate his charge. The Mavals were thus brought under control, and the Navils, the hardy inhabitants of these parts, were enlisted in the army under their own natural leaders. All these accessions were made without any violence or blood-shed. The Jahagir included, besides Poona and Supa, Baramati and Indapur, and the Purandar fort commanded the old road from Poona to Baramati. The seizure of Purandar was desirable for these and other reasons. The old Bijapur commander was a Brahman who was personally well disposed to Dadoji Kondadev, but was otherwise very lawless in his movements. His wife, having remonstrated against certain acts of his, was punished by being

blown away from the mouth of a cannon. The death of this man led to disputes among his sons, and Shivaji was invited to settle those disputes. Shivaji made prisoners of the three brothers, and seized the Fort for himself. Mr. Grant Duff has characterized this conduct as treacherous. He, however, admits that the three brothers received grants of *Inam* lands, and rose to some distinction in Shivaji's service. The native chronicles show that there was a very strong party in the garrison who apprehending trouble from the disputes of the three brothers, counselled Shivaji to take the place for himself. Two of the brothers also appeared to have been willing parties to the settlement effected. These considerations materially alter the character of the act, and show that Shivaji seized the fort for its strategic value, with the consent of the garrison.

It was in pursuance of Shivaji's general policy that all these forts were acquired without violence or blood-shed, and their acquisition marks the confidence that he had already inspired amongst his neighbours. The reduction of Rohida in Hirdas Maval, and the forts along the range of the Sahyadri, northward up to Kalyan, and southward down to Pratapgad, including Lohagad and Rairi, in a manner completed the conquests of this first period. The seizure of Kalyan roused the authorities at Bijapur and they brought pressure to bear upon Shivaji through his father. Shahaji was recalled from his Jahagir in the Karnatik, and treacherously seized and thrown into prison. This danger to his father's life compelled Shivaji to abstain from further aggressions. He however, turned the tables by offering his services to the Moghul Emperor Shahajahan, and the protection of the Emperor was found effective enough to secure Shahaji's release from imprisonment. In the offer of service which Shivaji made to the Delhi Emperor on this occasion, we find mention made for the first time of the famous *Chouth* and *Sardeshmukhi* claims. Shahajahan is said to have promised consideration of these claims when Shivaji would visit Delhi to press them in person, an event which did not happen in Shahajahan's time. These events happened in 1652, with which year the first period may be said to have closed.

Shahaji's release in 1657 removed the restraint which had kept Shivaji comparatively inactive during the past few years. The Bijapur authorities also had patched up a peace with the Moghul commanders, and were thus free to turn their forces against Shivaji. The leading feature of this second period was the conflict with the Bijapur power. This conflict brought Shivaji in contact with the more powerful Maratha Jahagirdars in the Bijapur service. These were the Ghorpades of Mudhol, the

Mores of Javli, the Savants of Wadi, the Dalvis of South Konkan, the Manes of Mhaswad, the Surves and the Shirkes of Shringarpur, the Nimbalkars of Faltan, and the Ghadges of Malawadi. Shivaji's object during these years appears to have been to unite these chiefs, whose Jahagirs lay to the south of the Nira and north of the Krishna, as he had united those who lived in his neighbourhood, under his leadership. His offers were, however, declined, and Chandrarao More, the most powerful of them, allowed his Jahagirs to be used as a protection to a party sent from Bijapur under a Brahman Sardar, Baji Shamaraj, with the intention of surprising Shivaji and assassinating him. The plot was discovered, and the Bijapur agents were in their turn surprised by Shivaji. This active hostility of Chandrarao More could not be safely put up with any longer, and Shivaji's agents, Ragho Ballal and Shambhaji Kawji, resolved on their own account to punish the Mores. The vengeance was swift and sure, but the deed was none the less to be censured, seeing that it was open and avowed treachery in return for what had only been a suspected connivance at treachery. The Maratha chroniclers themselves attempt no defence of the murder of Chandrarao, and the only extenuating feature of the incident is that Shivaji's agents planned and carried it out on their own responsibility, though afterwards Shivaji accepted the results without much misgiving. The conquest of Javli opened up the way to the subjugation of the country south of Pratapgad, down to the limits of Panhala, as also the Southern Konkan, including the Jahagirs of the Savants of Wadi, who made their submission. The Dalvis and the Surves who held Jahagirs in those parts were also reduced to submission. The Sidd's territory was also attacked, but without any decided result.

These successes brought matters to a crisis, and the Bijapur authorities resolved to make a supreme effort. They had found out that Shivaji was not amenable to his father's control, and that any pressure put upon him through his father only drove him to seek the support of the Moghul Emperor. Their first army under Baji Shamaraj, who sought to surprise Shivaji unawares, had been defeated and Chandrarao More, on whom they relied, as also the Savants and Dalvis, had found themselves unable to hold their place against Shivaji's generals. This time, therefore, they resolved to send an overwhelming force under their ablest Pathan general Afzulkhan. Afzulkhan had taken part in the Karnatik wars, and with or without reason had been suspected as having helped Shahaji's enemies there and brought about the untimely death of Shivaji's elder brother. Afzulkhan had ostentatiously undertaken in open Darbar at Bijapur to capture the mountain rat, as he

called Shivaji, dead or alive. On his way from Bijapur to Wai, Afzulkhan desecrated the great temples at Tuljapur and Pandharpur, and broke the idols. His march therefore had all the appearance of a religious war, and naturally excited the worst passions on both sides. There can be no doubt that the issues which depended upon the result of this contest were of the greatest possible character. It was a struggle of life or death to the victor or the vanquished. Shivaji and his councillors perceived the gravity of the situation. They prepared themselves to repel the invasion, but before Shivaji adopted his final plans, he invoked the guidance of his goddess Bhawani. He asked his Chitnis to note down in writing the words which the goddess might put into his own mouth, while he was under the influence of divine possession. The words were noted down as they were uttered in unconscious excitement.

Encouraged by the promise of protection thus assured, and by the blessing of his mother, and the devotion of his army, Shivaji resolved to meet his great antagonist on a spot carefully chosen by himself. While all this care and caution were being bestowed on the part of Shivaji, Afzulkhan, proud in the possession of the large army that he was leading, and certain that Shivaji would not stand up against him in the field, was intent upon one subject only, namely to bring out Shivaji from the shelter of his forts, and, if possible, to capture him and take him in triumph to Bijapur, and thus avoid all the perils of a long campaign. While Shivaji's army occupied the valleys of the Krishna and Koyana, and the thick jungles concealed them from the enemies' view, Afzulkhan's army spread from Wai to Mahabaleshwar, exposed to flank attacks on both sides. Apparently each was anxious to surprise and capture the other's person, for both knew that in eastern warfare the fall of the general leading the army too often determined or greatly influenced the result of the fight. Afzulkhan was approached by Shivaji's emissaries who represented to him that Shivaji was ready to make his submission, and thereupon Afzulkhan sent his own Brahman pandit to obtain correct information. This man was gained over by an appeal to his religious and patriotic sentiments. It was then arranged that both should meet one another for personal explanations unattended by their forces. What happened at the interview has been variously described. The Mahomedan historians, whom Grant Duff follows, charge Shivaji with treachery in the first attack he made with the fatal *Wagha-nakha* (tiger-claws) and the Bhawani sword; while the Maratha chroniclers, both Sabhasada and Chitnis, state that the stalwart Khan first seized Shivaji's neck by the left hand and, drawing him towards himself, caught him under his left arm,

and it was not till the Khan's treachery was thus manifested that Shivaji dealt the fatal blow. In those times the practice of treachery on such occasions was a very common occurrence, and it may be presumed that both Afzulkhan and Shivaji were prepared for such a risk. Shivaji had on his side strong motives; he had his brother's death and the desecration of the Tuljapur and Pandharpur temples to avenge. He knew he was then unequal to face the enemy in the open field. The success of all that he had achieved and planned during the past twelve years depended on the result. He had therefore stronger motives to effect his purpose by stratagem than his enemy. The personal character of the two men must also be considered. The one was apparently vain and reckless, while the other was supremely self-possessed and never beside his guard. The arrangements that Shivaji had made for a surprise of the Mahomedan army as soon as Afzulkhan was disposed of, and the perfect confusion which followed the attack made by the Marathas, also showed that while Shivaji was prepared to follow up the result of the personal interview, Afzulkhan's people were wholly unprepared to resist such an attack. These considerations certainly lend support to the view to which Mr. Grant Duff has given the weight of his authority. The fact may well be that where both parties are mutually suspicious of each other, each may have misjudged the most innocent notions of the other, and he who had taken the least precautions naturally suffered for his folly. The will to do mischief might have been equally operative on both sides, though one was not prepared to take full advantage of the situation as it developed itself to the same extent as the other was. The fall of Afzulkhan led to the conquest of the countries southward to Panhala and along the banks of the Krishna. A second army sent by the Bijapur Government was defeated, and Shivaji followed up the rout by pushing his army to the very gates of Bijapur, while his generals captured Rajapur and Dabhol. A third army was sent from Bijapur which besieged Panhala, while Shivaji and his forces were resting in that fort. By the use of stratagem Shivaji made his escape to Rangana, while the Bijapur army in pursuit was kept at bay in narrow defile, which might be described as Thermopylae of Maratha history guarded by Baji Prabhu and one thousand Mavlis, who kept up the fight for more than nine hours till they had lost three quarters of the men, and the gallant Baji Prabhu, their commander, died at his post, but not till he had heard the signal gun of Shivaji's safe arrival at Rangana. A fourth expedition was led by the Bijapur king in person in 1661-1662, but no important advantage was gained, and the war

lingered on for a year and more. It was about this time that Shivaji first organized his fleet, and made himself master of all the Konkan sea-forts, except that of Janjira. In 1662 the Bijapur Government found its resources so thoroughly exhausted by the long struggle that had been waged that the good offices of Shahaji were again utilized by them, and a peace was concluded, by which Shivaji was left master of all the territories he had brought under his influence. At the end of the first period Shivaji's possessions extended from Chakan to the river Nira and included his own Jahagir, and the forts in the Sahyadri range from Purandar to Kalyan. At the end of the second period, Shivaji's possessions included the whole of the Konkan from Kalyan to Goa, and the Ghatmatha district parallel to this coast line, from the river Bhima to the river Warna, about one hundred and sixty miles north to south and one hundred miles to the east of the Ghat range. The Bijapur kings broke the conditions of this treaty at a later stage in the third period of Shivaji's struggles with the Delhi Emperors. But Prataprao Gujar, Shivaji's commandar-in-chief, repelled that attack on the first occasion, but allowed the enemy to escape back to their country. Shivaji found fault with his general for his leniency in pursuit, and Prataprao was so touched by his master's rebuke that, when next the Bijapur generals again invaded Shivaji's possessions, Prataprao again defeated them with great slaughter, and hotly pursued them this time at the sacrifice of his own precious life. When Bijapur later on was besieged by the Moghuls, the king of Bijapur made an earnest appeal for help to Shivaji, and he on his part, forgetting the injuries that had been done to him, attacked the invading Moghuls from behind, and on the flanks, and by carrying the war into the Moghul territory, forced them to raise the siege. This generous help saved Bijapur this time, and gave it a new lease of life for twenty years more. These events have their proper place in the third period, but are mentioned here mainly for the sake of bringing together in one view the history of Shivaji's relations with Bijapur.

CHAPTER VI

THE TREE BEARS FRUIT

THE THIRD PERIOD commences with 1662. Down to that year, Shivaji had studiously refrained from coming into conflict with the Moghul armies occupying the Deccan, and excepting a single plundering expedition to Junnar in 1657, there had been no act of overt hostility on either side. In fact in Shahajahan's time, Shivaji had made offers of submission to that Emperor, not only with a view to bring pressure on the Bijapur kings for the release of his father, but also with a view to secure a recognition for certain claims in his own interest, which Shahajahan promised to consider favourably when Shivaji pressed them in person as a suitor in his court. When Aurangzeb abandoned the siege of Bijapur, and proceeded hastily to fight with his brothers for the Delhi throne, he left instructions behind, by which Shivaji's claims to the Konkan were recognized, and it was suggested that he should serve the Emperor with a picked body of horse, and maintain tranquillity in the imperial district south of the Narmada. When Aurangzeb had overcome the opposition of his brothers, and become the undisputed master of the Imperial throne, the understanding which had been established between him and Shivaji was not respected, and in 1661 a Moghul army seized Kalyan, which was the most northerly post occupied by Shivaji. Shivaji was unable to resent this attack till the peace with Bijapur was concluded in 1662, when Shivaji's general, Netaji Palkar, led the first expedition to Aurangabad, and the Peshwa Moropant seized forts to the north of Junnar, which was then the most advanced Moghul outpost in Maratha country proper. The war thus commenced in right earnest on both sides. Shahistekhan, the Moghul commander, seized Poona and Chakan, and made the former place his head-quarters. Shahistekhan was surprised by a night attack in his own palace at Poona, and the Moghul cavalry who went in pursuit of Shivaji, as he retreated from Poona to Sinhagad, was defeated by Netaji Palkar. These events happened in 1663, and in 1664 Shivaji led his famous first expedition through an unknown country without any opposition against Surat, which was then the emporium of Indian commerce with foreign countries. The Maratha navy also captured pilgrim ships bound from Surat to Mecca. Another portion of the fleet plundered a rich port to the south of Goa in 1665, and as a result of this expedition, Shivaji established his authority in north Kanara. Shahistekhan never rallied from the defeat he had sustained in the night surprise at Poona, and had

to be recalled, and a second army under the famous Raja Jayasingh and Dilerkhan was sent in 1665 to accomplish the task of reducing Shivaji's power. The Moghul army entered the Maratha country unopposed, and finally had laid siege to Purandar. The fort was defended by a Prabhu commander, named Murar Baji Deshpande, of Mahad. He maintained the unequal contest till he was killed. For reasons not sufficiently explained either in the native chronicles or by Mr. Grant Duff, Shivaji was at this time persuaded that the most politic course for him was to make his submission to Raja Jayasingh, who was then the premier Hindu nobleman at the Delhi court, and to effect by peaceful means the aims he had in view. This resolution was not suddenly adopted in a moment of despondency. The native chronicle states that Shivaji appealed for guidance to divine help, and the goddess Bhawani counselled him to make his submission at the time, as Jayasingh was also a favourite with the gods, and success against him could not be secured by continuing the war. Seeing that Shivaji had so easily defeated Afzulkhan and Shahistekhan, and that later on when Aurangzeb with his whole army occupied the Deccan, the Maratha generals were able to carry on the war against him without any recognized leader, and with no single fort in their occupation, it cannot be for a moment supposed that Shivaji was unable to continue his contest with Jayasingh on equal terms. Throughout his career of thirty four years, Shivaji did not on a single occasion suffer defeat where he led his armies in person, and even when his affairs were at the worst, he seemed to gather new courage and resource from the inspiration of the dangers about him. We may therefore take it for granted that when he deliberately offered to submit to Jayasingh and make over most of his forts and territories, there must have been some deep-laid scheme of policy which justified to him and his councillors the course he pursued. Shivaji might well have thought that his temporary submission and visit to Delhi would introduce him to a larger sphere of action, or at least would enable him to make the acquaintance of the great Rajput nobles of the empire. Jayasingh's friendship, cemented by such an act of self-sacrifice, might prove helpful in the furtherance of his larger designs. Shivaji had been always urging his claims to *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* and though these claims had not been recognized either by Aurangzeb or Shahajahan, hopes had been held out which encouraged him to think that by temporary submission he might secure a legitimate basis for the assertion of these claims. These, and considerations like these, might have had more weight allowed to them than the course of future events proved to be reasonable, but it is certain

that on this occasion, Shivaji was resolved to make his peace with the Emperor at any price. A truce was accordingly arranged. Twenty forts were made over into the Moghul charge, while twelve were retained in the hands of Shivaji's commanders. A Council of Regency was formed of his three most trusted advisers with Jijabai at its head, and Shivaji entered the Moghul service, and marched, with Jayasingh as his companion, against Bijapur. Later on, when assurances of personal safety had been obtained, Shivaji went with his son and a considerable body of horse and Mavlis to Delhi, where he was received by the Emperor rather coldly, and he soon found out that he had made the only great mistake in his life. The stratagem by which he escaped is too well known to need detailed repetition here. But it showed Shivaji at his best in the resourcefulness with which he could surmount obstacles, and it also signally tried the devotion of his followers. He reached his country ten months after he had left it, and found everything just in the condition in which he had left it. This visit to Delhi represented the first great crisis in Maratha history. The Moghul armies occupied the plains and the forts; Shivaji and his son were prisoners in Delhi; and yet there was not a single person who proved traitor to his country or joined the enemy. The government was carried on as if nothing had happened. Everybody remained firm at his post, and when the news arrived that he had escaped from Delhi and returned home, it spread like wild fire, and the war was recommenced with greater ardour and vigour than before. Fort after fort was besieged and reconquered. Moropant Peshwa had in fact, even before Shivaji reached his native land, taken advantage of the recall of Jayasingh to seize the forts north of Poona and a greater portion of the province of Kalyan. The Emperor sent a third army under his son with Jaswantsingh, the Rana of Jodhpur, in place of Raja Jayasingh as commander. The emperor's son was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, and his first act as Viceroy was to conclude an arrangement with Shivaji with the consent of his father. Under this arrangement, Aurangzeb granted the title of Raja to Shivaji, and gave a *mansab* to Shivaji's son of five thousand horses, and a Jahagir to Shivaji himself in the Berars in lieu of his claims over Junnar and Ahmednagar. The old Jahagir districts of Poona, Chakan, and Supa were also restored back to him, with the exception of Sinhagad and Purandar. By this arrangement, Shivaji became a noble of the Empire, and engaged to serve the Emperor with a considerable body of horse, who were stationed near Aurangabad under the charge of Prataprao Gujar. This arrangement lasted for two years, till the war with Bijapur carried on by the Moghul

Emperors was concluded in 1669.

Shivaji was not a party to the treaty then made between the Bijapur kings and the Moghul commanders, but in consideration of the good understanding then prevalent between the Viceroy of the Deccan and Shivaji, his claims to *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*, which had been several times urged by him before, were in 1669 for the first time recognized by the kings of Golconda and Bijapur, who agreed to pay respectively five and three lakhs of rupees to Shivaji in lieu of those claims. This recognition must have been the result of an understanding arrived at between the parties, including the Moghul commanders in the Deccan. Shivaji's position in 1669 was thus considerably strengthened. He got back his Jahagirs and most of the hill-forts. He secured a *mansab* and a Jahagir from the emperor, and he further secured the recognition of his claims to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the Mahomedan kingdoms in the Deccan. With these advantages, Shivaji was enabled to carry on with greater chances of success the war when it was forced upon him by Aurangzeb's violation of the understanding that had been established in 1667. Aurangzeb ordered his son, the Deccan Viceroy, to apprehend Shivaji by force or stratagem under penalty of his severe displeasure. Prataprao Gujar, who was stationed at Aurangabad with his contingent of Maratha horse, obtained news of this intended treachery, and managed to escape. Shivaji thus found himself again face to face with the whole power of the Emperor of Delhi. The necessity of self-defence suggested the recapture of Sinhagad which had for the last five years been garrisoned by Rajputs in the imperial service. Tanaji Malusare led the attack, and scaled the walls, with his three-hundred Mavlis, at dead of night, and effected the entrance, but only to meet death at the hands of the garrison. His brother Suryaji completed the work with heroism worthy of the great sacrifice his brother Tanaji had offered in his own person for the cause of his country. Purandar, Mahuli, Karnala, Lohgad and Junnar were carried by storm. Jangira was attacked, but the Siddis were able by their superior strength on the sea to hold their forts. Surat was plundered a second time. It was on his return from Surat that Shivaji was overtaken by the Moghul commanders in pursuit of him, and though greatly outnumbered, the Maratha horse succeeded not only in sending their plunder safe to Raigad, but in routing the pursuers with heavy loss. Prataprao Gujar entered Khandesh, levying contributions throughout the District and penetrated further east into the Berars. This was the first occasion when *sardeshmukhi* and *chouth* were levied from provinces subject to the Delhi Emperors. Moropant Peshwa also in 1671 took

several forts, including Salher in Baglan. Next year this fort was besieged by Moghul commanders with a great army. The Marathas not only stood the siege bravely, but Moropant Peshwa and Prataprao succeeded in defeating the Moghul army in a pitched battle. In 1673, Panhala was retaken, and Hubli was plundered by one of Shivaji's generals, Annaji Datto. A naval expedition was sent to Karwar, and the whole of the coast districts in that part of the country were reconquered, and the Raja of Bednore was made a tributary like the king of Golconda. An army sent from Bijapur was defeated with heavy loss by Prataprao Gujar, and on a renewal of the attack in 1674, Hansaji Mohite again defeated the Bijapur forces, and pursued them to the gates of Bijapur. Thus in four years from the renewal of hostilities, Shivaji succeeded in regaining all his old possessions and in greatly extending his conquests in all directions, both by sea and land. In the North he penetrated as far as Surat, in the South as far as Hubli and Bednore, in the East as far as Berars, Bijapur and Golconda. *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were levied from the Moghul *Subhas* south of the Tapti, and the chiefs of Golconda and Bednore were made tributaries. In the words of the native chroniclers, Shivaji had vindicated his claims to be the Padshaha of the Hindus, after having defeated the forces of the three Musalman Padshahas, and forced them to yield submission to his claims. This naturally suggested to Shivaji and his council the idea of a formal coronation ceremony which would fitly celebrate the greatness of the work accomplished by nearly thirty years' incessant efforts, and in the then disordered condition of Southern India furnish a rallying centre to all the Deccan chiefs to resist with a united effort the apprehended danger of Aurangzeb's great invasion.

We thus enter upon the fourth and the last period of Shivaji's career. The coronation ceremony ushered it in with proper pomp and festivities. The fact of the establishment of a powerful Hindu kingdom had to be proclaimed with due solemnity and every hill-fort along the Sahyadri range, as also on the sea coast proclaimed the event by cannon salvoes all over the country. During the remaining portion of Shivaji's life he was comparatively left to himself by the Moghul commanders, who directed their efforts chiefly to the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda. An attack made by the Moghul commander on Golconda was frustrated by the timely arrival of Hambirrao Mohite, and the king of Golconda was safe for a time under the protection of Shivaji, and actually helped him with his own forces in the expedition against the Karnatik, which Shivaji led in person, and in the course of which he penetrated as far south as Tanjore, and seized Vellore, fortified Gingi,

and established military posts all along the line of the road through Mysore. Bijapur was very hard-pressed by the Moghul commanders who laid siege to the city. The Adilshahi kings and councillors had no resource left but to turn to Shivaji for help, and notwithstanding the memories of past wrongs, Shivaji lent the help of his army, which devastated the Moghul country from Surat to Barhanpur, and attacked the flanks and rear of the invading army, and thus forced the Moghul commanders to raise the siege, and return to Aurangabad. These were the only important military events of this period, which was chiefly distinguished for the reforms in civil administration, carried out and completed by Shivaji during the comparative leisure he found about this time. We shall briefly notice these reforms in the next chapter. It will suffice here to state that, while at the end of the first period Shivaji's influence was confined to the strip of country lying between Chakan and the Nira river, at the time of his death he was the most powerful native ruler south of the river Tapti, and his paramount influence was acknowledged both by Hindu and Mahomedan sovereigns from the Tapti to the Kaveri.

CHAPTER VII

SHIVAJI AS A CIVIL RULER

THE HISTORY OF Shivaji's military exploits only presents to our view one side of the working of his master mind, and we are too apt to forget that he had other and stronger claims upon our attention as a civil ruler. Like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his time was a great organizer, and a builder of civil institutions, which conduced largely to the success of the movement initiated by him, and which alone enabled the country to pass unscathed through the dangers which overwhelmed it shortly after his death, and helped it to assert its claim to national independence, after a twenty years' struggle with the whole power of the Moghul Empire. These civil institutions deserve special study because they display an originality and breadth of conception which he could not have derived from the systems of government then prevalent under Mahomedan or Hindu rule; and what is still more noteworthy is that when after the war of independence, the country was reorganized, his own successors returned to the traditions of the past, and departed from the lines laid down by the founder of the Maratha power, and in so departing from the model he had set up, they sowed the seeds of that dis-union and separation which it was his constant solicitude to avoid in all that he attempted and achieved. As had been stated before, Shivaji did not aspire to found an universal empire under his own direct rule throughout India. He strove to secure the freedom of his own people, and unite them into one nation, powerful for self-defence, and for self-assertion also; but the extinction of all other powers was not contemplated by him. He had friendly relations with the Chiefs of Golconda and Bednore, and even Bijapur, and did not interfere with their respective spheres of influence, in the Telengana, Mysore and Karnatik countries, and he allowed his brother Venkoji to retain his father's Jahagir, all to himself, in the Dravida country. He contented himself with levying only *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the Moghul possessions. He made a clear distinction between *Swarajya* (territory directly governed by him), and *Moglai* (that governed by foreign kings outside his *Swarajya*). The civil institutions founded by him were intended chiefly for the Maratha country proper, though they were also introduced partially in the line of military forts, maintained by him to the extreme south of the Peninsula. The civil territory, held under his direct sway, was divided into a number of *Prants* (District). Besides his ancestral Jahagir about Poona, there was (1) Prant Maval—correspond-

ing with Maval, Saswad, Junnar, and Khed Talukas of the present day, and guarded by eighteen great hill-forts; (2) the Prants of Wai, Satara, and Karad—corresponding with the Western portions of the present Satara district, guarded by fifteen forts; (3) Prant Panhala—corresponding with the western parts of Kolhapur, with thirteen hill-forts; (4) Prant South Konkan—corresponding with Ratnagiri, with fifty-eight hill-forts and sea fortresses; (5) Prant Thana—corresponding with North Konkan District, and twelve forts; (6-7) Prants Trimbak and Baglan—corresponding with the western parts of Nasik, with sixty-two hill-forts. The territories occupied by the military garrisons were, (8) Prant Wanagad—corresponding with the southern parts of Dharwar district, with twenty-two forts; (9, 10, 11) Prants Bednore, Kolhar, and Shrirangpatan—corresponding with the modern Mysore, with eighteen forts; (12) Prant Karnatik, being the ceded districts in the Madras Presidency south of the Krishna, with eighteen forts; (13) Prant Vellore—modern Arcot districts, with twenty-five forts; and (14) Prant Tanjore, with six forts. The whole of the Sahyadri range was studded with forts, and the territories to the west as far as the sea, and to the east of these forts, varied in breadth from fifty to one hundred miles at the most.

The chroniclers make mention of some two hundred and eighty forts in Shivaji's occupation. In one sense it might be said that the hill-forts, with the territory commanded by it, was the unit of Shivaji's civil government. He spared no money in building new, and repairing old forts, and his arrangements about the garrisoning and provisioning of these forts were of the most elaborate kind. The military exploits which made these forts so famous, as points of resistance against attack, or centres of aggression, formed the chief interest of these early Maratha wars. The Empire was knit together by the chain of these hill-forts, and they were its saviours in days of adversity. In the Satara district, Satara itself stood a siege for many months against Aurangzeb's whole power, and though it was stormed at last, it was the first fort which was taken back from the Moghuls under Rajaram's leadership by the ancestors of the present chief of Aundh. Torana and Raigad are associated with the first conquests of Shivaji, Shivaneri was his birthplace, Purandar was made memorable by Baji Prabhu's defence, and Rohida and Sinhagad will always be associated with the memory of the brave Tanaji Malusare; Panhala stood the famous siege by Siddi Johar, while Rangana was famous for another defence by Baji Prabhu of the defile which led to it at the sacrifice of his life. The Malwan fort and Kolaba were the places where the Maratha navy was fitted out for its expeditions by sea.

Pratapgad was made famous as the place of Afzulkhan's tragedy, while Mahuli and Saleri were scenes of great battles in which the Maratha Mavlis defeated the Moghul commanders. The extreme limits on the east side of these hill-forts of Shivaji's possessions were marked by the fortresses of Kalyan, Bhinwadi, Wai, Karad, Supa, Khatav, Baramati, Chakan, Shirawal, Miraj, Tasgaon, and Kolhapur. The important part played by these forts justified the care Shivaji bestowed on them. Each fort was under a Maratha *Havaladar*, who had under him other assistants, in charge of each circular wall of defence, from the same class, and he was assisted by a Brahman *Subhedar*, or *Sabnis*, chosen from the three great divisions of Brahmans, and a *Karkhannis* who was a Prabhu. The *Havaladar*, with his assistants, had the military charge of garrison. The Brahman *Subhedar* had the civil and revenue charge, and this charge included the villages within the command of the fort, while the Prabhu officer was in charge of the grain and fodder and military stores and of the repairs. The three classes were thus joined together in a division of work, which ensured fidelity, and prevented jealousy. The hill-sides were carefully protected by strict conservancy, and the charge of the forests below the forts was entrusted to the *Ramoshis* and other lower classes of the population. Minute directions were given as to the way in which watch and ward duties were to be performed by day and night. The garrison varied in numbers according to the size and importance of the forts. There was a *Naik* for every nine Sepoys, and the arms were guns, short swords, javelins, spears and *pattas*—long thin swords. Each man received in cash and kind fixed amounts as wages for service according to his rank.

Coming down from the hill-forts to the plains, the country was divided into *Mahals* and *Prants*, very much on the plan now in force in our *Taluka* system. The average revenue of a *Mahal* ranged from three-fourths of a lakh to a lakh and a quarter, and two or three *mahals* made a *Subha* or a district. The average pay of a *Subhedar* was four hundred *Hons* per year i.e. about Rs. 100 per month. Shivaji did not continue the old Moghul system of leaving the revenue management solely in the hands of the village *Patils* or *Kulkarnis* or of *Deshmukhs* and *Deshpandes* of the district. These village and district authorities received their dues as before, but the work of management was taken out of their hands, and carried on directly by the *Subhedars* or *Mahalkaris* for the *Subha* or the *Mahal*, while every group of two or three villages was managed by a *Kamavisdar* (*Karkun*), who made the direct collection of the revenue. The plan of farming out land revenue, either of villages or *mahals* found no support under

Shivaji's system.

The gradations of officers and men in the garrisons of the hill-forts were only copies from the regulations which were enforced by Shivaji both in his infantry and in his cavalry. In each infantry corps there was a *Naik* for every ten soldiers, one *Havaladar* had charge of five such parties, two *Havalas* made one *Jumaledar*, ten *jumalas* made a full corps of one thousand men under a *Hazari*, and seven *Hazaris* made up a *Sarnobat's* charge for the *Mavli* infantry. In the cavalry, there were two divisions, *Bargirs* and *Siledars*, and twenty-five *Bargirs* or *Siledars* had a *Havaladar* over them, five *Havalas* made one *Jumala*, ten *Jumalas* made a *Hazari's* charge, and five *Hazari* charges made one *Panch Hazari*. The *Panch Hazari* was under the *Sarnobat* of the cavalry. Every batch of twenty-five horses had one water-carrier and farrier. Under each of the higher Maratha officers, both in the infantry and cavalry, there was a Brahman *Sabnis* and a *Prabhu Karkhannis* or a Brahman *Muzumdar* and *Prabhu Jaminis*. The *Bargir's* horses were during the monsoons cantoned in camps, where every provision was made for grass and grain supplies, and barracks were built for the men to live under shelter. All the officers and men received fixed pay, which in the case of the *Paga Hazari*, was one-thousand *Hons*, and *Paga Panch Hazari*, two-thousand *Hons*. In the case of the infantry, the pay was five-hundred for the *Hazari*, and for the lowers and men the pay varied from Rs. 9 to 3 for the infantry, and Rs. 6 in the cavalry, according to the higher or lower rank of the soldier or trooper. During eight months in the year the armies were expected to maintain themselves by *mulukhagiri*, i.e. by levying *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the Moghul Districts. When engaged on such service, the men were strictly prohibited from taking their women and children with them. When a city was plundered, the loot had to be accounted for by each soldier and trooper. No soldier or trooper was enlisted without taking a security bond from his fellows to insure good conduct. The military commanders were paid in advance, as they had to account for the *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* collected by them. No assignments of revenue or land were allowed for the service of the army in Shivaji's time. Notwithstanding these strict restraints there was no difficulty found about the enlistment of recruits in the army, and no service was more popular than that which led the *Mavlis* of the Ghatmatha and the *Hetkaris* of the Konkan, and the *Siledars* and *Bargirs* of Maharashtra proper, to flock in numbers to the national standard on each *Dasara* day, when a call was made for their services.

This system of cash payment and direct revenue manage-

ment was introduced and extended by Shivaji throughout his dominions. Native chroniclers notice this departure from old traditions in these two points more prominently because Shivaji appears to have laid great stress on it. It was his conviction that much of the disorder in old times was due to the entrusting of revenue duties to Zamindars of Districts and villages. They collected more from the *rayats*, and paid less into the treasury than was strictly due, and used their opportunities to create disturbances and to resist the commands of the central power. Shivaji engaged the services of paid men—*Kamavisdars*, *Mahalkaris*, and *Subhedars*,—for the duties till then performed by Zamindars. It was the *Kamavisdar's* duty to levy the grain and cash payments while the crops were standing. The fields were carefully measured out, and entered in books in the name of the holders thereof, and annual *kabulayats* were taken from them for the payments due. In the case of grain payments, the Government assessment never exceeded two-fifths of the actual yield. The remaining three-fifths were left to the cultivator as his share of the crops. In times of distress, or in case of accident, *tagai* advances were made liberally, and their recovery provided for by instalments spread over four or five years. The *Subhedars* performed both revenue and criminal duties. The work of Civil Courts was not then of much importance, and when disputes arose, parties were referred by the *Subhedar* to the *Panch* of the villages, or to those of other villages in important cases, and enforced their decisions.

The civil organization of the District was, of course, subordinate to the authorities at head-quarters, two of whom—the *Pant Amatya* and the *Pant Sachiv*, had respectively the charge of what in our time would be called the office of Finance Minister and the General Accountant and Auditor. The district accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to supervise the working of the district officers. The *Pant Amatya* and the *Sachiv* were, next to the Peshwa, the highest civil officers, and they had, besides these revenue duties, military commands. They were both important members of the Board of Administration, called the *Ashta Pradhan* or Cabinet of eight heads of departments. The Peshwa was Prime Minister, next to the king, and was at the head of both the civil and military administration, and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The *Senapati* was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side. *Amatya* and *Sachiv* sat next to the Peshwa, while the *Mantri*

sat next below the *Sachiv*, and was in charge of the king's private affairs. The *Sumant* was Foreign Secretary, and sat below the *Senapati* on the left. Next came *Panditrao*, who had charge of the ecclesiastical department, and below him on the left side sat the Chief Justice. It will be seen from these details that the *Ashta Pradhan* system has its counterpart in the present constitution of the Government of India. The Governor-General and Viceroy occupies the place of the Peshwa; next comes the Commander-in-Chief of the army. The Finance and Foreign Ministers come next. In the Government of India, the Executive Council makes no room for the head of the ecclesiastical department, or for the Chief Justice on one side and the Private Secretary on the other, and in their place sit the Member in Charge of the Home Department, the Legal Member, and the Public Works Minister. These variations are due to the difference of circumstances, but the conception which lies at the bottom of both systems is the same, of having a council of the highest officers of the State, sitting together to assist the king in the proper discharge of his duties. If this system could have been loyally worked out by the successors of Shivaji, as it was originally conceived and worked by Shivaji himself, many of the dangers which ultimately destroyed the Maratha confederacy, even before it came in conflict with the superior discipline and resources of the British power, might have been avoided. The seeds of dissolution lay in the fact that the necessities of the times required all the eight *Pradhans* or Ministers, except *Panditrao* and *Nyayadhish*, to be military commanders, and these military commands necessarily placed power in the hands of the most successful leaders of the army. Shivaji himself carefully guarded against this danger by providing that none of these offices should be hereditary. In his own time he had four different Commanders-in-Chief, viz., Mankoji Dahatonde, Netaji Palkar, Prataprao Gujar, and Hambirrao Mohite. He deprived the first Peshwa of his office, and gave it to Moropant Pingle. The *Pant Amatya's* office similarly changed hands, and in fact the other offices were not allowed to be hereditary in particular families. This caution was, to some extent, observed in the early years of Shahu's reign, but towards its end the talents and power of the first three Peshwas, Balaji Vishvanath, the first Bajirao, and Balaji Bajirao, made the Peshwaship hereditary in their family, whilst the representatives of the other ministers were mostly incapable men, and their importance dwindled in consequence, and the equal distribution and balance of power was destroyed. Throughout the Peshwa's rule, the *Ashta Pradhans* or the eight hereditary minister of State,

had no functions, or only nominal functions to discharge, and instead of being the organized government, which Shivaji designed it to be, we find an unorganized power of the old Asiatic type, depending solely for its vitality upon the capacity of the chief centre of power. Shivaji's system cannot be blamed for such a consequence. It was the departure from his system that was responsible for the failure of his plans.

In another respect also, Shivaji was far in advance of his times. He set himself steadily against any assignments of land as Jahagir to his successful civil or military commanders. Every one from the Peshwa and *senapati* down to the lowest sepoy or *karkun* was, under Shivaji's arrangements, directed to draw his salary in kind or money from the public treasury and granaries. The salaries were fixed and paid regularly at stated periods. The assignment system was condemned because it was liable to be abused under the best circumstances, and with the best motives. The Jahagirdar naturally tends to become a territorial or feudal landlord, and when his influence is strengthened by hereditary connections, he cannot be removed except by force. The centrifugal tendencies towards separation and disunion are always naturally very strong in India, and the system of assigning Jahagirs, and permitting the Jahagirdar to maintain a force of his own out of the revenue of the land assigned to him, aggravates this tendency to a degree which makes well-ordered rule almost impossible. Shivaji would not even allow Zamindars of the District to build forts for their protection, but required them to live in houses unprotected like those of the *rayats*. None of the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's time, were able to hand over to their descendants large landed estates. Neither Moropant Pingle nor Abaji Sondev, nor Ragho Ballal or Datto Annaji or Niraji Raoji, among the Brahmans, nor the Malusares or Kanks, or Prataprao Gujar, Netaji Palkar, Hambirrao Mohite or the Maratha *Sardars*, were able to found ancient families such as those which Shahu's ministers in the early part of the eighteenth century succeeded in doing.

The only assignments of land which Shivaji sanctioned in his time were intended for the endowment of temples and charities. These were public trusts, and the holders thereof had no military duties to discharge and could not, in the ordinary course of things, become dangerous to the State. Among the charities, the *Dakshina* system of encouraging learning found strong support with Shivaji. It was an old edition of our modern system of payment by results. Brahmans received *Dakshina* according to scale which was carefully graduated so as to provide both for

the extent and quality of learning acquired. There were no public schools in those days, but private teachers taught pupils in their own homes, and both teacher and pupil were placed above want by means of a judicious distribution of annual rewards. Sanskrit learning was at its lowest ebb in these parts when Shivaji rose to power, but by the methods of encouragement adopted by him, the Deccan soon became known for the proficiency of her scholars who proceeded to Benares for purposes of study, and returned back to their country laden with honours, and rewarded by their sovereign. The *Dakshina* system of encouraging learning was, after Sambhaji's capture by the Moghuls, kept up by the Dabhades of Talegaon, and when the Dabhades lost their importance, the Peshwas took up the trust, and greatly enlarged its scope, and it flourished down to the times of the British conquest, when the amount disbursed each year is said to have exceeded five lakhs. It will be seen from the details given above that Shivaji's system of Civil Government was distinguished from those which preceded it or succeeded it in several important respects:—

Firstly.—In the great importance he attached to the hill-forts, which were virtually the starting unit of his system of Government. Secondly.—In his discouragement of the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family. Thirdly.—In his refusal to grant Jahagir assignments of land for the support of Civil or Military Offices.

Fourthly.—In the establishment of a direct system of revenue management, without the intervention of district or village *Zamindars*.

Fifthly.—In the disallowance of the farming system.

Sixthly.—In the establishment of a Council of Ministers with their proper work allotted to them, and each directly responsible to the King in Council.

Seventhly.—In the subordination of the Military to the Civil element in the administration.

Eighthly.—In the intermixture of Brahmans, Prabhus, and Marathas in all offices, high and low, so as to keep check upon one another.

Of course some of these distinctive features could not be continued intact when the Maratha power, instead of being confined to the small area of the *Swarajya* district, was extended in all directions, so as to embrace provinces so distant as Cuttack on the East, and Kathiawad on the West, Delhi in the North and Tanjore in the South. In the Maratha country proper, the nation, the army, the officers, and the kings were all of the same race,

and a common bond of loyalty knit them together in a way which it was impossible to secure in distant parts of India, where the conquered population differed essentially from the army of occupation, and too often the army of occupation consisted of mercenaries who had no bond of union with their commanding officers, or with the representatives of the central power. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that Shivaji's institutions, as described above, were not found elastic enough to be suitable for all parts of India. The connection of the hill-forts with the plains commanded by them for instance, was a feature so entirely local that it could not be accepted as a practical basis of government in the plains of Gujarat or Malwa or in the Eastern Districts of Maharashtra itself. For a similar reason, the strict system of direct revenue management and the total supercession of farmers and Zamindars was also not equally suited for distant provinces where the traditions of government had been all along opposed to such direct collection. While therefore allowance may be made for these and other considerations, there can be no doubt that, in other respects, the departure from Shivaji's system was a distinctly retrograde step, for which no similar excuse can be pleaded, except that the men who came after did not realize the wisdom of his plans, and yielded to the temptation of present convenience, only to find that they had thereby lowered the organized union he had established into an unorganised mass held together by the very loosest ties, and threatening dissolution at the first great crisis in its history.

The system of Government by a Council of eight Ministers, for instance, was retained in the early years of Shahu's reign, but gradually fell into disuse when the Peshwa's power increased so as to overshadow the other Ministers, and it actually ceased to exist when the Peshwas made Poona their capital. The *Pant Amatya* and *Pant Sachiv*, the most powerful civil functionaries next to the Peshwa, occupy no place in the Maratha history after Shahu's death, and sank into the position of mere Jahagirdars. The Peshwas did not venture or care to set up any substitute in their place, and presumed to manage all affairs on their own responsibility. They were their own generals, and their own finance ministers, and foreign ministers also. No wonder that the personal system of rule thus established had not the stability which it would have derived, if Shivaji's institutions had been faithfully respected by his successors.

The system of filling up high offices as though they were hereditary *vatanas* was another retrograde departure from the instructions laid down by Shivaji, and systematically carried out

by him. When the Peshwaship itself became hereditary, it was not to be wondered at that every other office became hereditary also. But as natural capacity and virtues are not hereditary endowments, the office soon came to be filled up by incapable persons, and brought on sooner or later the expected disaster. Four generations of Peshwas retained power by natural right, but the other officers had not even this claim to urge for the continuance of office in their families. New men rose from the ranks to the topmost positions, but there was no room for them in the general Councils of the Empire. Nana Fadnavis, for instance, from being a *Fadnavis*, aspired to be Prime Minister. Mahadaji Shinde, from being a *Sardar* of secondary importance, became the most powerful military commander of his time. There was no room for both of them and the like of them in the central Council, and each tried to supplant the other by force or craft, and each dragged the other down. More frequently still, the great military commanders became kings in their own territory, and made peace or war at their own will. This danger might have been, to a great extent, obviated, if the system of government by a Council, with the necessary enlargements dictated by altered circumstances, had been continued, and the hereditary principle not allowed to take such deep root, as it did in the course of two generations from Shivaji's death.

The greatest departure, however, was in the abandonment of the principle of not giving extensive territories as Jahagir to those who could conquer them by the strength of their military powers. To some extent this departure was forced upon the Government of Shahu by the events that had preceded his accession to power. The whole country of Maharashtra had been conquered by the Moghuls after Sambhaji's death, and Sambhaji's brother, Rajaram and his Councillors had been driven far to the south. The whole work had to be commenced again, and the new leaders who came to power had to be allowed much their own way. No fault therefore can be laid at the door of Rajaram's advisers, and the stress and adverse circumstances continued to be in considerable strength in the early years of Shahu. When, however, Shahu's Government was established in Maharashtra, and plans of extending the Empire in all directions were entertained, the temptation of present convenience was not so strong, and might have been resisted. It was just at this time that the mistake was committed of allowing every soldier of fortune to carve out his own Jahagir. Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwad settled themselves as sovereigns of Gujarat. The Bhonsles of Nagpur became supreme in those parts, while Shinde and Holkar and the Pavaras establish-

ed themselves in Malwa and North India, under a very loose system of allegiance to the central power, represented by their agreement to pay a portion of the revenue to the Peshwa as wielding the chief authority in Maharashtra. When these Jahagir assignments were continued hereditary, the transformation from organized to unorganized power was complete. Those who first acquired these large domains retained some sense of loyalty to the common cause. Their successors, however, resented all interference with what they came to regard as their own private possessions. It was in this way that the more important departures from the policy laid down by Shivaji proved ruinous to the general interests.

Shivaji's arrangements about the direct management of land revenue, without the intervention of the district and village Zamindars, were on the whole faithfully carried out by his successors, and during the best period of the Peshwa's rule, almost down to the death of Nana Fadnavis, the system of farming revenue found no favour. It was only under the rule of the last Peshwa that districts began to be farmed out in the Maratha country proper. In the outlying conquests of Malwa, Gujarat and other parts of North India, the farming system was more in vogue, as being more suited to the unsettled condition of those parts. While in this matter, therefore, Shivaji's traditions were on the whole respected, the precautions he had taken about the distribution of offices amongst Marathas, Brahmans and Prabhus, do not appear to have commended themselves to his successors. The Prabhus, who had played such an important part in the early history of Shivaji, ceased to occupy any prominent place in the latter history of the Peshwas from Balaji Bajirao's time. Only one great name, that of Sakharam Hari, who was a favourite commander under Raghunathrao Peshwa, appears in this later period, though at the Courts at Baroda and Nagpur, representatives of this class continued to play an important part as civil ministers and military commanders. As regards the Brahmans, there is an impression that the Konkanastha section had no employment under the great Shivaji. The native chronicles, however, clearly show that Brahmans of all the three sections of that community were employed as *subhedars* and commanders of hill-forts. The Deshastha Brahmans naturally took the lead in the times of Shivaji and his two sons. With the accession to power of the Peshwas in Shahu's time, the balance was turned in favour of the Konkanasthas, and the disproportion became more manifest, because the leading Deshastha Jahagirdars had taken the side of Raghunathrao in his wars with his nephews.

The military profession had not been monopolized by the

Marathas in Shivaji's time, but they constituted the chief strength of the army, both in the ranks and file. The Brahman commanders under Shivaji were as brave in generalship as any Maratha commander. This continued to be the case under the early Peshwas. The greatest Maratha commanders were trained in the school of the first Bajirao Peshwa. When the great Maratha families, who served under Bajirao, established themselves in distant provinces as virtual rulers, and became so powerful as to threaten the safety of central authority, it was an aim of state policy at Poona to create an equipoise of Brahman commanders in the South, and the Patwardhans and the Fadkes, the Rastes and the Gokhales, rose to command, but they never could hold their own against the armies of positions of Shinde and Holkar. The rivalry thus set up, however, proved, among other causes, most harmful to the general interest.

It will thus be seen that in all the points in which the principles of government laid down by Shivaji were departed from by his successors, we can trace the cause of the weakness and decline of the Maratha power long before it came in conflict with British authority in India. That authority, when it obtained supremacy, gave its deliberate preference to the principles laid down by Shivaji over those which found favour with his successors. British rule in India is carried on the principle of enforcing a complete separation of the Civil from the Military department and a due subordination of the latter to the former. It insists upon cash payments for services rendered, and declines to make grants of lands by way of assignment for military or other services. It refuses to recognize any hereditary claims to public offices, high or low. The government is carried on by Boards and Councils, and not by the unfettered discretion of a single ruler. It collects its land revenue by its own paid agency, and never farms it out to the old Zamindars or farmers. It also provides for a due distribution of offices among all classes of its subjects. As a consequence of the observance of these maxims of state policy, a handful of Englishmen have been able to govern the whole country in a way that strikes both native and foreign students of its administration as a marvellous feat of statesmanship. The wisdom of Shivaji's principles has been thus vindicated, not only by the success which he himself achieved, but by the success which has attended the efforts of those who built their power upon the ruins of the confederacy which he had tried to knit together, and which broke up chiefly because Shivaji's successors departed from the lines of policy laid down by him for their guidance.

THE SAINTS AND PROPHETS OF MAHARASHTRA

SAINT RAMDAS, the spiritual adviser of the great Shivaji, is reported to have exhorted Shivaji's son, Sambhaji, to follow the footsteps of his father, and the advice he gave on this occasion was tersely summed up in two sentences—"Unite all who are Marathas together," and "Propagate the *Dharma* (religion) of Maharashtra." The first advice represents the leading feature of the political movement which assumed its final shape under Shivaji's leadership, and the second points no less clearly to the religious development which was at the same time going on all over the country, and of which the political movement was itself only a reflection. The point naturally arises for consideration—what Ramdas could have meant by recommending this second feature of Shivaji's policy, and exhorting Sambhaji to propagate, not the Vedic, Purānic, or the Hindu religion generally, but the religion of Maharashtra. What was there so particular and distinct in the religious belief of his contemporary countrymen which so strikingly attracted Ramdas's notice, and was deemed by him to be a sure remedy for securing the salvation of his people under the terrible misgovernment of Sambhaji about the close of the seventeenth century? The close connection between the religious and political upheaval in Maharashtra is a fact of such importance, that to those who, without the help of this clue, have tried to follow the winding course of the growth of Maratha power, the purely political struggle becomes either a puzzle or dwindles down into a story of adventures, without any abiding moral interest. Both European and Native writers have done but scant justice to this double character of the movement, and this dissociation of the history of the spiritual emancipation of the national mind accounts for much of the prejudice which still surrounds the study of the Maratha struggle for national independence.

We propose accordingly in this chapter to trace in rough outline the history of this religious upheaval in Western India. Our main sources of information will be the voluminous biographies of the saints and prophets of Maharashtra, written by one of our own poets, Mahipati, towards the close of the last century, long before British influence was felt in these parts as a factor of any importance. Like the political struggle for independence, the religious upheaval was also not the work of a single man, or even of a single century. Its early commencement can be traced even anterior to the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan. Under the

rule of the Yadav kings of Devgiri, Dnyandev, the first saint and prophet of Maharashtra, wrote his famous commentary on the Bhagavatgita in the spoken language of the country. Mukundraj, who lived under the Ballal Kings, also wrote his famous work, the first of the kind in Marathi in the twelfth century. The Mahomedan invasions for a time seem to have paralyzed all activity, but gradually the national spirit regained its healthy elasticity, and just about the time of the rise of the Maratha power we had a galaxy of saints and prophets, whose names have become household words with the people of the country. The stream continued to flow in full tide for two centuries, and then it appears to have dried up, and with its ebb, the political domination also became a thing of the past. Roughly speaking we may state that the history of this religious revival covers a period of nearly five hundred years, and during this period some fifty saints and prophets flourished in this land, who left their mark upon the country and its people so indelibly as to justify Mahipati in including them in his biographical sketches. A few of these saints were women, a few were Mahomedan converts to Hinduism, nearly half of them were Brahmans, while there were representatives in the other half from among all the other castes. Marathas, *kunbis*, tailors, gardeners, potters, goldsmiths, repentant prostitutes, and slave girls, even the outcaste *Mahars*. Much of the interest of this religious upheaval is centred in the facts we have noticed above, as they indicate plainly that the influence of higher spirituality was not confined to this or that class, but permeated deep through all strata of society, male and female, high and low, literate and illiterate, Hindu and Mahomedan alike. These are features which the religious history of few other countries can match or reproduce, unless where the elevating influence is the result of a widespread popular awakening. In Northern and Eastern India a similar movement manifested itself much about the same time. Nanak stirred up the Punjab to rise, and made a supreme effort to reconcile Hinduism with Mahomedanism. Chaitanya in the far East sought to bring men back from the worship of *Shakti* and *Kali* to the faith of the Bhagwat; while Ramanand and Kabir, Tulsidas and Surdas, Jayadev and Rohidas, contributed each in his own way to the work of spiritual enlightenment. Their influence has no doubt been great and abiding, but it cannot be compared with the work done by the saints and prophets of Maharashtra. The names of Changdev and Dnyandev, Nivriti and Sopan, Muktabai and Jani, Akabai and Venubai, Namdev and Eknath, Ramdas and Tukaram, Shaik Mahomed and Shanti Bahamani, Damaji and Udhav, Bhanudas and Kurmdas, Bodhle Bawa and Santoba Powar,

Keshav Swami and Jayaram Swami, Narasinha Saraswati and Rangnath Swami, Chokhamela and the two potters, Narahari Sonar and Savtia Mali, Bhiram Bhat and Ganesh Nath, Janardanpant and Mudhopant, and many others that might be cited, furnish an array which testifies to the superior efficacy of this movement in Maharashtra. The Brahmans in these parts furnished a much larger proportion of saints and prophets than was the case in any of the other parts of India where the Kshatriya and Vaishya castes furnished a much larger contingent than the Brahmans.

As is the case with all biographies of saints, the popular imagination attributes to these persons wonderful and miraculous powers, notably those of raising the dead to life, healing the sick and feeding the hungry. The stories which are told of the way in which they were helped by supernatural agency in their mission of love may or may not be accepted in these days of vigilant criticism. As Mr. Lecky has remarked, it is the atmosphere of child-like credulity which predisposes men to require and accept these wonders and miracles as events of ordinary occurrence. The saints and prophets themselves did not claim miraculous powers. They were meek and suffering men who placed their trust in Providence, and their trust was justified beyond their expectations; often-times to their own surprise. The moral interest of these biographies centres, however, not in their miraculous feats, but in their struggles, and in the testimony their lives afforded in vindication of the eternal verities of the moral law and man's higher spiritual life. It is with this aspect of their life that we are more immediately concerned in the sequel, and we hope to show that in this respect the work they accomplished was priceless and blessed beyond all comparison.

There is a curious parallel between the history of the Reformation movement in Western Europe and the struggle represented by the lives and teachings and writings of these saints and prophets who flourished about the same time in Maharashtra. The European reformers of the sixteenth century protested strongly against the authority claimed by the priests and the clergy with the Roman Bishop at their head. The clergy and the Pope represented a tradition of authority which had come down from the remote past, and had done signal service in its own time in humanizing and civilizing the hordes of the barbarian conquerors who devastated the Roman provinces. In course of time, the priests, instead of being the servants, claimed to be masters and rulers, with temporal and spiritual powers, and intermediaries between God and man. The exercise of this intercession was hedged round by numberless rites and ceremonies, and in course of time many abuses crept in

and alienated general sympathy. These abuses assumed their worst forms about the time that Luther rebelled against the authority which issued indulgences and levied Peter's Pence, not as charity, but as a tax to subserve the temporal power of intriguing Popes and their vicious cardinals. The reformation in Western India had its counterpart in this respect. Ancient authority and tradition had been petrified here, not in an ambitious bishop and his clergy, but in the monopoly of the Brahman caste, and it was against the exclusive spirit of this caste domination that the saints and prophets struggled most manfully to protest. They asserted the dignity of the human soul as residing in it quite independently of the accidents of its birth and social rank. The circumstances of their own birth and education naturally predisposed some of these preachers to take up such a position. As observed above, nearly half of them were of castes other than Brahmans, and some of them of very low castes indeed. Many of the Brahman reformers also had some stain in their inherited purity which led or forced them to rebel against all artificial restraints. Dnyandev and his brothers and sister Muktabai were born to their father after he had retired from the world and become a *Sanyasi* monk. His spiritual guide, Ramanand, came to know that this *Sanyasi* had not obtained his wife's willing consent to a change of *Ashram*, and he ordered him to go back to his native place and live with his wife. The children so born to the *Sanyasi* became marked objects of caste aversion, and the Brahmans refused to perform the initiation ceremony when the brothers reached the proper age. The children remained in this unrecognized condition all their life, and were revered notwithstanding this defect in their caste respectability. Another saint, Malopant, was married to a low-caste girl, whose caste was not discovered till after the marriage, and the husband did not abandon her, but only held no intercourse with her, and, when on her death, he performed her death-rites as usual, a miracle was displayed which satisfied his worst enemies, that Malopant and his *Mahar* wife were both holy by nature. Jayaram Swami's master Krishnadas, was similarly married to a barber girl, and the inferiority of her caste was discovered after marriage. The holy life of the man had, however, such an effect that at last, after much persecution, even the high priest Shankarcharya of the day raised no objection. Eknath, it is well known, made no secret of the little importance he attached to caste distinctions. He fed an hungry *Mahar* at his house, and, when out-casted, allowed himself to be taken to the river for purposes of purification, when a miracle took place by which the merit of feeding an hungry *Mahar* was proved to be far greater than that of feeding many hundred

Brahmans, for the former merit cured a leper of his foul disease, when the latter failed to make any impression on him. A very common miracle is reported to have been performed by many of the saints notably by Dnyandev, Eknath, and Nagnath, when, on the refusal of the Brahmans to officiate on *Shradha* ceremonies in their places for breach of caste regulations, the deceased fathers of the obstinate Brahmans were made to descend to earth, and shamed their incredulous sons into the belief that their caste exclusiveness was wholly out of place. In Namdev's biography, his God of Pandharpur, who had allowed Namdev to invite Brahmans to a feast and himself partook of that feast with the saint, was himself excommunicated, and then the story relates how Dnyandev, who was present in spirit, remonstrated with the Brahman persecutors.

He said :—"There was none high or low with God. All were alike to him. Never entertain the thought that I am high born, and my neighbour is low of birth. The Ganges is not polluted, nor is the wind tainted, nor the earth rendered untouchable, because the low born and high born bathe in the one, or breathe the other, or move on the back of the third."

The most touching incident, however, is that which occurred in the persecution of the out-caste *Mahar* Chokhamela for his having dared to enter the temple of Pandharpur. When remonstrated with for his temerity, Chokhamela replied that his God took him inside by force, and he did not go of his own accord. He remonstrated with the Brahman worshippers of the temple in this strain—"What availeth birth in high caste, what availeth rites or learning, if there is no devotion, or faith? Though a man be of low caste, yet if he is faithful in heart, and loves God, and regards all creatures as though they were like himself, and makes no distinction between his own and other peoples' children, and speaks the truth, his caste is pure, and God is pleased with him. Never ask a man's caste when he has in his heart faith in God, and love of men. God wants in his children love and devotion, and he does not care for his caste." The Brahmans, as might be expected, were not converted by this preaching of high wisdom, and they complained to the Musalman officer of the place, and he, like another Pilate of the Bible story, ordered Chokhamela to be punished by being tied to and driven by a team of bullocks, and tortured to death in this cruel fashion. God, however, miraculously delivered his worshipper, and baffled the oppressors, for the bullocks would not move from their place. The story of Bahiram Bhat is also interesting in this connection. Being a Shastri, he did not find rest in Brahminism, and therefore became a Mahomedan under the impression that its monotheism would satisfy the

cravings of his heart, but failing to find the satisfaction he desired, he returned back to Brahminism. Both Brahmans and Mahomedans found fault with him for these changes of faith, but he disclaimed being either Hindu or Mohomedan. Bahiram Bhat challenged the Brahmans to make him a true Brahman as long as his circumcision mark was not removed, and he challenged the Mahomedans to fill up the holes in his ears, which showed that he was still a Hindu. The Mahomedan converts to Hinduism, represented by Shaik Mahomed's followers, even to this day observe the *Ramjan* fasts, and the *Ekadashi* fast, and make pilgrimages to Mecca as also to Pandharpur. There are many other saints of great renown who, like Kabir, Nanak and Manik Prabhu are claimed both by Hindus and Mahomedans as belonging to their respective communities, and worshipped and revered as such by both. These examples will suffice to show how the lives of these men have tended to elevate the national conception of man's spiritual nature, and shake the hold of caste intolerance.

The result of all this elevated teaching is seen in the fact that caste exclusiveness now finds no place in the religious sphere of life, and it is relegated solely to the social concerns of men, and even there its restrictiveness is much relaxed, as any one can judge who compares the Brahmans of Southern India with their exclusive caste prejudices, and their abhorrence of even the shadow of the lower castes defiling Brahman streets, with the comparative indifference shown in such matters in the Deccan portion of Maharashtra. This feeling of indifference is most accentuated at the times of the annual pilgrim gatherings, and the mixed greetings with which the Lord's Feast is celebrated on the last day. Just as in Europe, men ceased to believe that the priest was a necessary medium between God and man for purposes of salvation, in this part of India, the domination of the Brahman caste as the Gods of creation, whom the other castes should serve and worship, lost much of its potency, and men and women, high and low, came to feel that they were free to attain salvation by faith and love in spite of their own origin.

The European reformers protested further against the institution of the monastic orders, and the celibacy of the clergy, and the unnatural retirement of women who exiled themselves from the world and became nuns. There was a counterpart of this same protest in the way in which our saints and prophets raised their voice against self-mortification and fasts, and meaningless penances and endless pilgrimages. The same spirit prompted them to condemn austerities practised by those who followed the *Yoga* system with a view of acquiring the power of working wonders

which, it was supposed, the *Yogis* enjoyed in consequence. This contest between *Yoga* and *Bhakti* is well illustrated by the encounter of the proud Changdev with Dnyandev, when the former, in reliance on his *Yoga* powers, rode on tigers, and used serpent whips, and was put to shame by Dnyandev riding on a wall. There was a similar encounter between Dnyandev and Namdev when the former, by the exercise of *Yoga* powers, became small in size, and drank the waters of a deep well, while Namdev, by his devotion, brought the waters to overflow the well for all time, so that all who passed by, and felt thirsty, might drink to their hearts' content. These stories most beautifully typify this feature of the teaching of the saints and prophets of Maharashtra.

The story of Kanoba Pathak, who was upbraided by a Brahman of Benares for his inordinate love of children, and astonished his critic by throwing away his child into a well with seeming indifference, illustrates the vanity of the vows of celibacy, which cannot by themselves produce equableness of mind, and indifference to pains and pleasures. Eknath all his life lived with his wife and children, and so did Tukaram and Namdev, though they were not blessed with sympathetic female relations. Bodhle Bawa, Chokhamela, Damajipant, Bhanudas, the two potter saints, and many others lived in the midst of their families. Dnyandev's father, who had become *Sanyasi* without obtaining the free consent of his wife, was directed by Ramanand to return to his home, and live with his wife. All these incidents prove that a very high conception of the sanctity of family-life was realized by these saints and prophets, and they did their best to correct the national weakness which shrinks from trouble and anxiety by retiring from the world's conflict. The lives of the female saints have a special interest in this connection. The biographies relate that owing to their devotion and implicit faith, God helped them out of their difficulties by assisting them in their daily household work, and by assuming strange disguises, permitted them the freedom they wanted to serve Him without being missed by their jealous relations. There is a danger in all such stories of making Providential intervention too cheap, but this fault is more than balanced by the high moral which underlies these accounts. The sanctity of married and family life was nobly vindicated by these saints and prophets, and this was a signal moral triumph over the past traditions of asceticism.

All students of modern European history are aware that the Reformers achieved their most permanent success in the liberation of the national intellect from the thralldom of scholastic learning, and the oppressive preponderance of the classical Latin in which

all the best books were till then written. The Bible was, by the help of these Reformers, for the first time made accessible to all, high and low, and the monopoly of learnings till then enjoyed by the priests, was shaken to its foundations. Here in India, the process of liberation was carried out on the same lines. The professors of the old Sanskrit learning found for the first time to their great surprise that the saints and prophets addressed the people, both in speech and writing, in their own vernacular, and boldly opened the hitherto hidden treasures to all and sundry, men and women, Brahmans and Shudras, alike. The final victory was not achieved without much struggle and considerable suffering. Dnyandev was the first adventurer to stray into these forbidden regions, and his example was followed by Eknath, and Ramdas, Namdev and Tukaram, Vaman Pandit and Mukteshwar, Shridhar and Moropant. These last four gifted men are more celebrated as authors and poets than as religious teachers, but they derived their inspiration from the same sources. It is true the Vedas and the Shastras were not translated as the Bible was, but there was a sufficient reason for this difference. These early Marathi writers knew that modern India, after the Buddhistic revolution, was less influenced by the Vedas and Shastras than by the Ramayana and Mahabharata, the Bhagawata Purana and the Gita, and these latter works were translated and made accessible to all. The pioneers in this field, Eknath and Tukaram, were each made to bear the brunt of Brahman opposition. Their works were not burned as in Europe, but they were ordered to be thrown into water. The river gods, however, so the story runs, would not let them be destroyed, and the works remained dry and would not sink, and thus became more famous than ever. Vaman Pandit, the great Sanskrit scholar, who would not deign to speak or write in the popular language, as unfit to be used by a Pandit, was, when brought in contact with Ramdas, made to see the error of his ways; and a Brahman translator of the Ramayana named Salya Rasal, who was over-proud of his superior learning, was similarly put to shame by a message from his goddess that he should get the work corrected by submitting it to the revision of the tailor Namdev. Dnyandev also was made the instrument of performing a miracle, by which a buffalo was said to have recited the Vedas by heart. This story is obviously an allegorical parody of the mental condition of those who prided themselves upon their ability to recite the Vedas without understanding their contents.

The struggle between the claims of the classical Sanskrit and the vernaculars, of which we hear so much in these days, is thus an old conflict, the issues in which were decided in favour of the

vernacular or living languages long ago, and whatever scholars and antiquarians may urge to the contrary, there can only be one answer to the question—the answer which was given by the saints and prophets when they laid Sanskrit aside as useless for their work, and spent all their energies in the cultivation and growth of their mother tongue. It may safely be said that the growth of the modern vernaculars in India is solely the result of the labours of these saints, and that the provinces, which showed the most decided tendencies in the way of reform, also showed the most healthy development of their vernacular literature.

The Protestant reformers in Europe achieved another change of great importance in the way in which they raised their voice against the excesses to which image-worship and saint-worship were carried in the Roman Catholic Church. On our side, also, this protest was raised, but it did not assume the iconoclastic form which the Protestant reformers, especially the stricter sect among them, adopted. Polytheistic worship was condemned both in theory and in practice by the saints and prophets of Maharashtra. Each of them had his own favourite form of the divine incarnation, and this worship of one favourite form left no room for allegiance to other gods. Ramdas, for instance, worshipped God under the name of Rama; Eknath and Jayaram Swami worshipped Him under the name of Krishna; Tukaram, Chokkamela and Namdev under the name of Vithoba; Narahari Sonar and Nagnath under the name of Shiva; Janardan Swami and Narasinha Saraswati under the name of Dattatraya; Morya Gosavi and Ganeshnath under the name of Ganapati, and so on for the rest. Strange stories are told in these biographies of the way in which the saints when they visited other shrines refused to see the image in the form in which they did not worship God, and as a consequence the image manifested itself to them in the form familiar to them. The supremacy of one God, one without a second, was the first article of the creed with every one of these saints, which they would not allow any body to question or challenge. At the same time, as observed above, the iconoclastic spirit was never characteristic of this country and all the various forms in which God was worshipped were believed to merge finally into one Supreme Providence or Bramha. This tendency of the national mind was a very old tendency. Even in Vedic times, Indra and Varun, Marut and Rudra, while they were separately invoked at the sacrifices offered for their acceptance, were all regarded as interchangeable forms of the one and supreme Lord of creation. This same tendency explains the comparative indifference with which the saints and prophets treated the question of image worship. It is a complete

misunderstanding of their thoughts and ideas on this subject when it is represented that these gifted people were idolaters in the objectionable sense of the word. They did not worship stocks and stones. In Vedic times there was admittedly no idol or image worship. It came into vogue with the acceptance of the incarnation theory, and was stimulated by the worship of the Jains and Buddhists of their saints. Finally, it got mixed up with fetish worship of the aboriginal tribes, who were received into the Aryan fold, and their gods were turned into incarnations of the Aryan deities. The saints and prophets, however, rose high above these grovelling conceptions prevalent amongst the people. Idol worship was denounced when the image did not represent the supreme God. Both Tukaram and Ramdas have spared no words in denouncing these aboriginal and village gods, and their frightful rites and sacrifices. In the life of Bhanudas, it is stated that he told the king of Vidyanagar that the Goddess he worshipped served his God at Pandharpur in a menial capacity as a sweeper, and the king found it to be the truth when he visited Pandharpur. In the lives of two other saints it is stated that the Goddess Kali, to whom human and animal sacrifices were offered, was so frightened by the protest of the saints in the name of Hari against such cruelty, that the sacrifices were given up by the command of the Goddess not only for the time, but for all time. These illustrations will serve to show, in what light image-worship, as an aid to devotion, was utilized by these saints, and unless this distinction is borne in mind, it will be impossible to understand the true position occupied by these teachers in this important matter.

There is one point, however, in which the reforming saints and prophets in this country differed essentially from those who were working in the same cause elsewhere, the contemporary Protestant reformers in Europe. From the Vedic times downwards, the Aryan gods have been gods of love and of brightness, of sweetness and of light. There were, of course, terrible gods also, such as Varun and Rudra who inspired awe and filled the mind with terror. But the national tendency was to dwell with affection on and contemplate chiefly the bright side of divine Providence, unlike the Shemitic idea which dwelt upon the terrific manifestation of a distant God whose glory could not be seen save through a cloud, a severe chastiser of human frailties, and a judge who punished more frequently than He rewarded, and even when He rewarded kept the worshipper always in awe and trembling. This conception lies at the root of all Shemitic religions, and it is to the credit of Christianity that it attempted and partly succeeded in bringing the gulf by securing the intervention of God incarnate

in the flesh, as Jesus Christ, who suffered for mankind, and atoned for their sins. This intervention was never found necessary in the Aryan religions of Greece or Rome or of India. God with us has always been regarded more as a father and a mother, a brother and a friend, than a judge and a chastiser and a ruler. Not that He does not judge, or rule, but He judges, rules, and chastises with the love of a father or mother, ever ready to receive the repentant prodigal son back into his arms. The orthodox Brahminical conception does not bring out the feature of a kindly Providence so prominently as it is found to be realized in the teachings and life's experiences of our saints and prophets. They are emphatic in their assertions that they were able to see their God, and hear His words, and walked and talked with Him, and held intercourse with Him. In their higher moments they, no doubt, describe Him as One Who did not speak, but their most normal condition of mind was one of satisfaction when they realized His presence as we realize the presence of sensible things. The *Yogis* and the *Vedantis* only talk in their waking dreams of being one with God, but Namdev and Tukaram, Eknath and Dnyandev, were not content with this distant and difficult union, which did not last during all the moments of their conscious life, and compared their own happiness in such daily intercourse with God as being above all the attainments of *Yoga* and *Vedant*. We may believe the miracles ascribed to these saints or disbelieve them, but we cannot disbelieve their emphatic statements on this point. All the love that in Christian lands circles round the life and death of Christ Jesus has been in India freely poured upon the intense realization of the every-day presence of the Supreme God in the heart in a way more convincing than eyes or ears or the sense of touch can realize. This constitutes the glory of the saints, and it is a possession which is treasured up by our people, high and low, men and women, as a solace in life beyond all value.

As a consequence of this conception of God's relations with man, the supreme efficacy of devotional love (*Bhakti*) over all other methods of attaining to His knowledge became the cardinal creed of these Vaishnav sects. There is not a life in all these sketches drawn by Mahipati in which *Bhakti* and Faith (*Bhawa*) are not emphasized as being far superior in virtue to all other forms of worship, such as the performance of rites and ceremonies of external worship, pilgrimages and ablutions, self-mortifications and fasts, learning and contemplation. These have relation only to the body or the mind, while the spirit is what God desires to see engaged in His service. The rites and ceremonies may be performed as in different matters, just as food may be taken and

thirst quenched, and the rest of sleep enjoyed, as they come naturally without effort or unnecessary anxiety about them. The best ablution is when the senses are drowned in the ocean of God's presence about us, and the same presence is made to fill us inside and out. The best sacrifice and the highest *Dana* or gift is when we surrender ourselves to His sweet will and for His service, and claim nothing as our own. The best mortification is that which makes the spirit humble before Him; the best contemplation is when His glory is sung with all our powers. Neither knowledge nor *Yoga* powers, health nor wealth, nor children nor possessions, not even *Mukti* (freedom from birth and death), is desirable in itself. What is desirable is to be always full of love for Him and His works, including all creation, men and animals. Namdev cried while removing the bark of a tree, he thought he saw blood coming out from the stroke of his axe, and he struck himself with the axe to see how he felt, and realize what the tree might feel. Shaik Mahomed, being sent by his father to practise the butcher's trade, first cut his own finger with his knife to see how the animal would feel, and the pain he felt drove him to forswear his trade, and retire from the world in which such pain had to be inflicted for earning one's livelihood. Tukaram felt that there must be something wrong about him, when, on seeing him, the sparrows left the field he was sent to watch, though he did not intend to disturb them. This intense spirituality and absolute surrender of self may sound somewhat unreal to men not brought up in the atmosphere these saints breathed. But there can be no doubt about the fact, and there can also be no doubt that the national idea of spiritual excellence has been shaped by these models. It may be that a stronger backbone and more resisting power are needed in the times in which we live, but in an account of the saints and prophets as they flourished more than two hundred years ago, we cannot afford to interpolate our own wants and wishes.

It may be interesting to note how these saints thought and spoke, and how, when they came in contact with a militant religion like Mahomedanism, they faced their troubles and conquered them. The lives of Namdev, Ramdas, Eknath, and others are full of such incidents. The most noteworthy fact in this connection is that several Mahomedans became converts to the Hindu faith, and obtained such a public recognition that their help was invoked by the Hindu authors who wrote in those times along with the Hindu saints. Shaik Mahomed and Kabir may be cited as examples of this catholic spirit of recognition. On the other hand, Tukaram and Eknath were so influenced by their contact with Mahomedanism that they composed verses in Urdu of so catholic a

character as to be unobjectionable to the strictest Mahomedan. Ramdas did the same when one of his disciples, Udhav, got into trouble at Bedar. The story of Damajipant, a servant of the Bedar kings, is well known to all. In a time of famine he distributed the Government stores of grain among the poor, and on being taken to task he was relieved by an unexpected remittance of the full value of the grain to the king's treasury. The saints came out well in their struggles with their foreign rulers, and they prevailed not by fighting nor by resistance, but by quiet resignation to the will of God. There was a tendency perceptible towards a reconciliation of the two races in mutual recognition of the essential unity of Alla with Rama, and by the time Shivaji appeared on the scene, this reconciliation seems to have been almost complete, though occasional outbursts of Mahomedan fanaticism were not altogether unknown even then.

We have thus noticed all the principal features of the religious movement, which, commencing with Dnyandev who lived in the fifteenth century, can be traced to the end of the last century as a steady growth in spiritual virtues. It gave us a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the Shudra classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance, almost equal to that of the Brahmans. It gave sanctity to the family relations, and raised the status of woman. It made the nation more humane, at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mahomedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, and of pilgrimages and fasts, and of learning and contemplation, to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action, and prepared it in a way no other nation in India was prepared, to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power in the place of foreign domination. These appear to us to be the principal features of the religion of Maharashtra, which Saint Ramdas had in view when he advised Shivaji's son to follow in his father's footsteps, and propagate this faith, at once tolerant and catholic, deeply spiritual and yet not iconoclastic.

CHAPTER IX

GINGI

FEW PEOPLE, even in his own days, realized the gravity of the second great crisis in Maratha history, which the untimely death of Shivaji precipitated in the Deccan. The first crisis occurred when Shivaji agreed to surrender unconditionally to Raja Jayasing, and went to Delhi, where he was made prisoner by the Emperor. His genius and his good fortune enabled him not only to effect his escape, but to secure from Aurangzeb himself a recognition that he was a power in the land to be conciliated at any cost, till he could be crushed. Shivaji was well aware of Aurangzeb's designs on the Deccan, and the last twelve years of his life were devoted to the sole purpose of preparing the country to receive and repel the final blow. Forgetting internecine quarrels with the Mahomedan kingdoms in the South, Shivaji persuaded the kings of Bijapur and Golconda to enter into offensive and defensive alliances with himself, and both these kingdoms profited by his help in repelling the attacks of the Moghul generals and consented to pay him tribute in recognition of his services. As if he had prescience of coming events, Shivaji, by his conquests and alliances, formed a new line of defence in Southern India in the Kaveri valley, to which he could retire in case of necessity. The hill forts along the Sahyadri Ghats and mountain ranges were kept in a state of repair, and the naval arrangements under his commanders were his second line of defence. Above all, the men whom he had trained by a long course of discipline to follow him wherever he led them, and even to anticipate his wishes with unerring loyalty and success, the spirit of independence he had roused in all classes, and the faith he had inspired in them—these were the chief supports of the power, which was, by the confession of friends and foes alike, supreme in Southern India. His death was sudden as well as premature, for he had no time to make proper arrangements for regulating the succession to his kingdom. His eldest son had grossly misbehaved and disobeyed his orders and gone over to the protection of the Moghul generals. On his return from the Moghul camp, Sambhaji was kept a close prisoner at Panhala. The ministers at Raigad knew that Sambhaji was unfitted, by his character and habits, to carry on the task which Shivaji had begun, and they contrived to set him aside and to place the younger son, Rajaram, on the throne. The Raigad ministers in their haste committed the unfortunate mistake of not taking the army into their confidence. The *Senapati* Hambirrao Mohite was not in their secret, and the

plot failed in consequence. With the help of the army, Sambhaji succeeded in effecting his escape from Panhala and, overcoming the opposition of the ministers at Raigad, obtained possession of the *gadi*. The cruel use he made of his success indicated his utter unfitness to be the leader of the nation in the coming crisis. He killed his own step-mother by starvation, imprisoned the old Peshwa, the old *Sachive*, the old *Sumant* and killed the old Secretary of Shivaji's time. These cruelties continued all through his reign and he soon alienated the affections of all those who had risen to greatness under his father. Sambhaji was naturally brave, and it seemed at one time as if, notwithstanding his cruelties, he would keep up the prestige of the Maratha power in its wars with its neighbours. These promises were not realized. His excessive indulgence in drinking and debauchery soon unnerved him, and made him a slave to the most superstitious beliefs in witchcraft and demon-worship, under the advice of his favourite Kalusha. It is useless to enter into a detailed account of Sambhaji's reign; for Sambhaji never can be said to have ruled the country. The *Ashta Pradhans*, being virtually set aside, ceased to bear the responsibility of rule in Sambhaji's time. The civil and military arrangements of his father were neglected, the soldiers were not paid regularly, the hill-forts were not properly garrisoned or provisioned, and district-revenues were farmed to the highest bidder. Anarchy prevailed everywhere, and it was just at this time that Aurangzeb descended into the Deccan with an army estimated at three lakhs of all arms, determined to crown the work of his life by the final subjugation of the Hindu and Mahomedan kingdoms in Southern India. The whole resources of Hindustan in men and money, from Kabul and Kandhar on one side, to Bengal on the other, were requisitioned for the enterprise, and they were directed by his best Hindu and Mahomedan generals. Sambhaji threw away a splendid opportunity, presented by one of the Emperor's sons, who sought refuge with him, to resist this new danger. He also resented all the efforts made by the old ministers to awake him to a sense of the danger that now threatened him. Aurangzeb's army conquered Golconda and Bijapur within three years from his coming to the Deccan, and Sambhaji was easily captured in a state of utter helplessness and subsequently beheaded with cruel indignity. All the plain country was over-run and the hillforts were taken one after another without struggle, chiefly because their defences had been neglected. At last Raigad itself was captured, and Sambhaji's wife and son were taken to Aurangzeb's camp. Aurangzeb's dream, which he cherished throughout his life, had thus been accomplished before he had been five years in the Deccan. The whole country from

Narmada to Tungabhadra lay at his feet. It seemed as if Shivaji, and the men whom he had led to victory, had lived and died in vain. The great deluge, against which Shahaji and Shivaji had struggled to protect the country for over sixty years, now swept over the land, carrying everything before it, and there seemed no sign of any possible resistance. The old Bijapur and Golconda rulers were captives in distant lands, and Sambhaji's son was quite a boy of tender years and a prisoner in the camp.

But just when their country's fortune was at its lowest ebb, and everything seemed to be lost beyond hope, these very misfortunes served to rouse a band of patriots, who had been trained in Shivaji's school, to resolve—resourceless and penniless as they were—to secure their national independence, and drive Aurangzeb's grand army back to Hindustan. At the head of this band was Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, who had been kept a prisoner at Raigad by Sambhaji, and who, on Sambhaji's death, effected his escape before Raigad was captured. Rajaram was about twenty years old at this time, but he inherited most of the great qualities of his father—his daring and his skill, his freedom from vice, and the mildness and liberality of his disposition, and above all, his power of inspiring confidence among his countrymen. He professed all his life to act as Regent of Shahu, who was a prisoner with Aurangzeb, and never sat on the throne out of respect for Shahu's rights. The chief adviser of Rajaram on this occasion was Pralhad Niraji, the son of the *Nyayadhish* Niraji Raoji in Shivaji's time. During Sambhaji's reign, Pralhad Niraji was out of office, and remained a passive spectator of affairs, but he was reputed to be the wisest man of the time among the Marathas. Mr. Grant Duff, who is so sparing in his commendation of Brahmans, admits that Pralhad was a very uncommon person, and, in his total disregard of self-interest, is almost a singular instance amongst Brahman statesmen. Like Rajaram, Pralhad Niraji died, while the work of self-defence was but half-finished, but they both had the satisfaction of having lived to see that the danger which threatened their country was fairly mastered, and final success was only a question of time. Raghunathpant Hanmante was another of these patriots. He was the son of Shahaji's oldest Brahman *karkun* in charge of his Jahagir in Karnatik, and was noted for his unselfishness and independence. He had vainly tried to advise Venkoji at Tanjore and Sambhaji at Raigad to mend their ways, and now when the crisis came, he fell in with the plan of Pralhad Niraji, and prepared the fort of Gingi, which was in Shahaji's Jahagir in the Tanjore District, to receive Rajaram and his partisans. Nilo Moreshwar, the son of the first Peshwa Moropant Pingle, had

been sent in advance to assume charge and complete the fortification of Gingi. Among the Brahman leaders, whom it was determined to leave in the Deccan, and carry on a system of guerilla warfare, the most prominent man was Ramchandrapant *Amatya*, the ancestor of the present *Pant Amatya* family of Bavada in Kolhapur. Ramchandrapant was a son of Abaji Sondev, who, with Moropant Pingle, was, in Shivaji's time, his chief adviser and military commander. So great was the confidence placed in him that full authority was conferred upon him to act as circumstances required, and in his charge Rajaram left his wife, and most of the Maratha commanders, who retreated to the South, placed their families under his protection at Vishalgad.

He was thus the chief ostensible authority, representing the Maratha power, left in the Deccan, who did not submit to the Moghul Emperor. Another Brahman leader, who deserves to be named, was Shankaraji Malhar, who was appointed *Sachiv* by Sambhaji. He accompanied the leaders who went to Gingi, and after staying there for some time he retired to Benares. He rendered a special service to Shahu on his return to power by arranging the treaty between the Sayyads and the Marathas. Among the Brahman leaders, who rose to power for the first time in this crisis, was Parashuram Trimbak, the *Kulkarni* of Kinhai, and the ancestor of the Pant Pratinidhi family of Oundh in Satara, as also Shankaraji Narayan, the ancestor of the family of *Pant Sachiv* of Bhor. They were Ramchandrapant's chief assistants and nobly justified the confidence placed in them by their countrymen. Among the Maratha leaders, the chief responsibility rested upon Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav. They had first come to notice as generals under Hambirrao Mohite, when they succeeded in turning a defeat into victory near Panhala in 1674. For thirty years they maintained the reputation of the Maratha arms, and braved the whole power of the Moghul army. Though they accompanied Rajaram, Pralhad Niraji and others to Gingi, the plan of defence settled upon was that they should return and oppose the Moghuls in the Deccan and prevent them from successfully invading the Karnatik and threatening Gingi. Of course, they were fighting without funds and without resources, and they had to improvise their own men, their horses, their supplies, ammunitions of war, and to find their treasure, and naturally many excesses were committed by them. They were fighting against the whole power of the Moghuls, and they established such a terror in the Moghul army that before the century came to an end, the Marathas were able to return to their country and to make incursions in Gujarat, Malwa, Khandesh and Berar, so as to reduce the

Emperor's army to great straits. Santaji was killed by treachery by one of his private enemies, before the war of independence was closed, but his three brothers carried on the struggle with the Moghuls on their own accounts, and became the founders of small principalities of Gooty and Soondu. Dhanaji lived to see the final return of Shahu to his own kingdom.

Among the other Maratha leaders, Khanderao Dabhade occupies a prominent place. His father had been *Patel* of Talengaon and employed in Shivaji's service. He was one of those who accompanied Rajaram to Gingi, and was the first Maratha leader to carry the war into the settled provinces of the empire, outside the Deccan, viz., into Gujarat and Khandesh. One of his co-adjutors, the founder of the Pawar family of Dhar and Devas, entered Malwa. Khanderao was one of those who lived long enough to accompany Balaji Vishwanath when he went to Delhi to obtain the *sanads* of *chowth* and *sardeshmukhi* for Shahu from the Delhi Emperor. Among the other Maratha leaders who served with distinction in this war, we may mention the Athawale, Sidoji Naik Nimbalkar, Parsoji Bhonsle, founder of the Nagpur Raja's kingdom, and Nemaji Shinde. The Thorats, Ghadge, Thokes, Maharnava, Pandhare, Kakde, Patankar, Bangar, Kadu, and other leaders were trained by the hard discipline of this long war to render eminent services to their country. Rajaram's advisers adopted the plan of authorizing these partisan leaders to collect *chowth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the provinces subject to the Moghul authority. Parsoji Bhonsle thus obtained a *sanad* for collecting *chowth* in Gondvan and Berars. The Nimbalkars had Gangthadi assigned to them. The Dabhades had charge of Gujarat and Khandesh, and other leaders were quartered in Karnatik and the provinces recently conquered by the Moghuls.

Among the Prabhu leaders two deserve special mention. Though his father and uncle had been cruelly executed by Sambhaji, Khando Ballal Chitnis, the son of Shivaji's Chief Secretary, Balaji Avji, remained faithful and was taken into favour by Sambhaji by reason of his devotion in the wars with the Portuguese. On Sambhaji's death, he was one of those who accompanied Rajaram to Gingi, and when at Bellary the Mahomedan governor was about to seize these fugitives in disguise, Khando Ballal at great self-sacrifice remained behind and sent away his other companion. He was seized by the Moghul governor and subjected to cruel torture, which, however, failed to shake him in his loyal devotion to the cause. Later on, he arranged for the safe escape of Rajaram from Gingi by coming to a friendly understanding with some Maratha generals in the Moghul army, which understanding was

secured by the surrender of his *vatan* in the Konkan to these Maratha commanders. He lived to see the time when Shahu returned to Satara and ascended his ancestral throne. Another Prabhu leader who covered himself with glory in these wars was Prayagji, who defended Satara against the besieging army led by Aurangzeb himself for months together.

These were the chief Brahman, Maratha and Prabhu patriot leaders, who, undaunted by the tide of adversity, determined to fight to the last for their national independence, and, being unable to find breathing-time for maturing their defensive arrangements in the Deccan, retired to the South and established themselves at Gingi. Rajaram appointed his own *Ashta Pradhans*, held his court there and as if he was still master of his own country, gave *inams* and *Jahagirs* to those who had rendered eminent services and directed his commanders to carry on the war against the Moghuls with redoubled energy. Partisan leaders were also sent duly commissioned to raise their own forces and demand the *chowth* and *sardeshmukhi* not only in the six Deccan *subhas*, but also in the older provinces of the Moghul empire. Aurangzeb soon found that his conquest in the Deccan availed him nothing unless he crushed this new centre of power where the Maratha leaders had retired. Zulfikarkhan, the conqueror of the Deccan, was accordingly sent to lay siege to Gingi, and he invested the place in 1691. But the place had been so well fortified, and Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav, who had the charge of harassing the Moghul besiegers, did their work so well that it was not till 1698 that Zulfikar was able to take the fortress, only to find that Rajaram and his men had made their escape. This seven years' period afforded Marathas the breathing time they stood in such sore need of, and trained them to measure their strength with the Moghuls on equal terms. The terror inspired by Aurangzeb's army was soon dispelled, and while Gingi was being defended by one portion of the Maratha army, Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade returned to the Deccan and soon succeeded in bringing to the standard the veteran troopers, *Siledars* and *Bargirs*, of Shivaji's time. The exaction of *ghasdana* was made on a system by which these unpaid and volunteer armies found their commissariat supplies. Even as early as 1691 Maratha bands plundered Nasik, Bede, and Bedar. In 1692 Ramchandrapant moved from Vishalgad and fixed his residence at Satara, and governed the Ghatmatha country, and sent off an army which cut off the Moghul garrisons at detached places. Wai, Raigad, Panhala and Miraj were in this way captured and turned into Maratha out-posts.

The Pawars, Chavans, Thorats and Athawales earned distinc-

tion from the Court at Gingi by their success in partisan warfare. In 1693, Aurangzeb found it necessary to move his camp to the Bhima and sent his own son and chief minister Asudkhan to Gingi.

In 1694, the Marathas under Santaji Ghorpade plundered the country to the north of Aurangzeb's camp, and Ramchandrapant carried on the war in the west up to Solapur. In 1695, Santaji left Parsoji Bhonsle and Hayabatrao Nimbalkar in Berar and Gangthadi to harass the Imperial convoys from Delhi, and himself proceeded to Karnatik, and attacked the besiegers in force, and routed them; while Dhanaji assisted Santaji in completing the disaster by a flank attack. The besiegers were thus rendered completely helpless; and a truce was arranged between the minister Asudkhan and Santaji, by which under certain conditions the Moghuls were to be allowed to retire. Aurangzeb, however, did not approve this conduct of his minister and recalled his son and sent a new army under Zulfikarkhan. The siege, however, was not renewed for some time. Meanwhile, Santaji, being free from immediate danger, hovered round the Emperor's camp at Bijapur and defeated his Governor Kasimkhan near Doderi, and Kasimkhan surrendered.

Another general Himatkhan was similarly entrapped and defeated. At last in 1697 the siege was renewed and, as stated above, after Rajaram had made his escape the Fort was taken in January 1698. Rajaram soon joined Ramchandrapant at Satara: and one by one the Maratha generals, Parsoo Bhonsle, Hayabatrao Nimbalkar, Nemaji Shinde, Athawale, Samsher Bahadur returned back to their country. The principal seat of the operation of the war was now transferred from the Karnatik and Dravida country to the Deccan, though Dhanaji Jadhav was still left in the South to defend the Maratha possessions. The forts along the sea coast continued to be faithful to the Maratha cause, and under Kanhoji Angre the Marathas carried on their depredations all along the coast from Travancore to Bombay, capturing prizes at sea. The Sanvats also remained faithful.

In 1699, Rajaram at the head of all his army entered Khandesh, Gangthadi and Berar and Baglan, and levied the *chowth* and *sardeshmukhi* in those parts. On his return to Satara he kept four of his commanders in those provinces permanently, Dabhade in Baglan, Shinde in Khandesh, Bhonsle in Berar, and Nimbalkar in Gangthadi.

In 1700, Aurangzeb determined to reduce the forts which proved so advantageous to the Marathi plan of defence. He himself assumed the command of the army detached for this work

and directed Zulfikarkhan to carry on the operations in the open country against Rajaram's army. Fort after fort was thus conquered, and finally he laid siege to Satara, which fell into his hands after a protracted and glorious defence conducted by Prayagji Prabhu. Just about this time Rajaram died at Sinhagad, and as Shahu was still a prisoner in the Moghul camp, his elder son, a boy of ten years, was nominated successor, and Ramachandrapant conducted the administration as before. Dhanaji was recalled from the Karnatik, and the Maratha leaders under his and Ramachandrapant's guidance continued the war with unabated vigour, levying *chowth*, *sardeshmukhi* and *ghasdana* all over the country. The emperor on his own side persisted in his plan of operation and stormed fort after fort during the next four years. It was a strange reversion in the plan of operations. Driven from their forts, the Marathas spread over the plains invading Khandesh, Berar, and Gujarat; and a party even crossed Narmada into Malva, and established themselves there. At last in 1705, Aurangzeb's military and civil advisers suggested to him that a treaty should be made with the Marathas; and Aurangzeb was so far persuaded as to consent to the recognition of the claim for *sardeshmukhi* of the six Deccan *subhas* on condition that the Marathas were to be responsible for maintaining order in the Deccan. He also arranged for Shahu's marriage with two ladies of the noble Maratha families of Shinde and Jadhav who were in the Moghul service, and gave Shahu Akkalkot, Indapur-Nivase and Baramati in Jahagir as marriage-gift. These negotiations fell through because the Marathas increased their demands. The war was carried on in a languid way on the part of the Moghuls, while the Marathas re-took Nimala and made it the residence of their king Shivaji and his mother Tarabai. Pavangad, Vasantgad, Sinhagad, Rajagad, and Satara were also retaken; and, later on, Dhanaji retook Poona and Chakan in 1707. Aurangzeb was thus discomfited in all his plans, and with a view to create dissension among the Marathas, he induced Shahu to write a letter in his own name, as king of the Marathas, to their leaders, advising them to submit to the Emperor. This was his last desperate resource and it proved ineffectual. Nothing was done in the way of Shahu's release during Aurangzeb's lifetime; but the overtures for peace and the letters addressed by Shahu at his suggestion show that he was thoroughly satisfied that the war that had been waged for twenty years was a disastrous mistake on his part so far as the Marathas were concerned. His splendid army had been disabled or killed, his own tent had been plundered, and he was himself in great danger of being captured;

and it was not without reason that, when Aurangzeb came to die at Ahmednagar, he confessed that his life was a failure; and the poor Emperor died a broken-hearted penitent, weighed down with the wreck of all his hopes and ambition.

Soon after his death, Shahu was released by his son Azimshah with the advice of Zulfikarkhan, with a promise that, if he was accepted as king by the Maratha leaders, the old territory, called *Swarajya*, conquered by his grandfather from Bijapur, would be restored to him with additional Jahagirs between the Bhima and Godavari. Shahu was accepted as king by the Maratha leaders, and was crowned at Satara in 1708; and within a few years of that date he made himself master of the old possession of the Maratha country with the exception of the district of Kolhapur which remained in the possession of Rajaram's son. The Moghul governor of the Deccan acknowledged Shahu's claim to the *chowth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the six *subhas*, and within the next ten years, Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa and Khanderao Dabade succeeded in obtaining the formal sanads for the *chowth*, the *sardeshmukhi*, and the *Swarajya*.

In this way, the twenty years' War of Independence was brought to a happy termination. Judging by the results achieved, there can be no doubt that these twenty years represent the most glorious period of Maratha history. Shivaji had never to fight with the whole force of the Moghul Empire; in fact, he actually made his submission to them at great self-sacrifice, when he was hard-pressed by their general Jayasing. He had, besides, the advantage of being able to count upon the support of two Mahomedan States in the South and to play them against the Moghul power. Lastly, he was fighting under the protection of his own hill-forts. In all these respects, the patriots who carried on the War of Independence to a successful issue were at great disadvantage. They had no leader, such as Shivaji, whose personal character and exploits had a magnetic power which none of his countrymen could resist. They had to fight with the whole of the Imperial army, led by Aurangzeb himself with all the resources of India at his command. Owing to Sambhaji's cruelty and disorder, their most experienced leaders were killed, and their forts were unprepared for defence. Their prince was a prisoner in the hands of the Moghuls; and they were driven from home to take refuge in a foreign land. Without revenues, without armies, without forts, and without resources of any kind, they managed to raise armies, retake forts, and develop a system of conquest, by which they regained not only the *Swarajya*, but also the right to levy *chowth*, and *sardeshmukhi* over the Deccan and the

Karnatik. Many of the men, such as Rajaram, Pralhad Niraji, Santaji Ghorpade and others, who conceived and carried out this plan of operations, died in the midst of the struggle; but their places were taken up by others with equal devotion and success. If Aurangzeb had not invaded the Deccan and forced on this war, it is just possible that a small principality might have been established in Western Maharashtra like that at Tanjore, and the Moghul Emperor might have succeeded in counting upon its chief as one of his great nobles. The impulse, given by Shivaji, would have ceased to be operative in the second generation; the separatist tendency, always so powerful, would have again asserted itself, and the formation of the Maratha nation would have been an impossibility.

If all these dangers were averted, and a new force communicated to the people, the credit of it must be ascribed to Aurangzeb's ambition. He stirred the people of Maharashtra to their inmost depths; and it was the hard discipline of this twenty years' war, which cemented the national and patriotic instincts of their leaders, and during the next three generations, carried them as conquerors to the farthest part of India. In this respect, the War of Independence did far greater service than even the struggle which Shivaji initiated and carried on during the whole of his chequered career. Mere freebooters and plunderers never could have obtained success in such a war against such a foe. It was a higher moral force which brought out all the virtues of the best men of the nation,—daring heroism, noble endurance, administrative skill, hope which rose higher with every disappointment, a faith which was never shaken, devotion to a high ideal which was independent of time, place, or person, a sense of brotherhood in common danger, a spirit of complete self-sacrifice and mutual concession for the common good, a trust in the final success of their cause, because it was the cause of their religion. These were the virtues which enabled the patriots of this generation to accomplish the deliverance of their country from a danger which no other race in India had been able to withstand. It is as a school for the teachings of these virtues and as a severe but a salutary discipline, that the War of Independence will ever be regarded as constituting the most eventful period of Maratha history.

CHAPTER X

HOW ORDER WAS BROUGHT OUT OF CHAOS

THE CLOSE OF the twenty years' war of National Independence secured, as stated in the last chapter, the liberation of Shahu, and his return to the Deccan as the recognized leader of the Marathas with a commission to carry out the policy of his grandfather Shivaji in organizing the union of Maharashtra. Though the war may be said to have thus achieved the main objects for which it was waged against the armies of the Moghul Emperor, the fierce passions which had been aroused among the great partisan leaders, each of whom fought for his own hand, and was little disposed to give up his own independence, left behind a sense of confusion and chaos out of which for some years more it was found almost hopeless to evolve order in the country. The sentiment which had given a common purpose to the Maratha leaders failed to animate them to work together as soon as Aurangzeb's death and the discomfiture of his armies removed the check on the dissociated patriots of the War of Independence. It would seem as if the return of Shahu was intended by the advisers of the Emperor to serve a double purpose of creating dissension and strife among the Marathas under the ostensible pretext of satisfying the national sentiment. Shahu on his return was not welcomed by many of the partisans who had served under Rajaram, and espoused the cause of Tarabai and her son. The Pant Sachiv and the Pant Amatya held aloof from Shahu, and the only distinguished leader of the old national party who left Tarabai's cause was Dhanaji Jadhav, who was sent to oppose Shahu, but made common cause with him on being satisfied that his claim was just. Dhanaji Jadhav's great rival Santaji Ghorpade had been cruelly attacked and killed by the Mane Deshmukhs of Mhaswad, and his three sons were struggling in the Karnatik to carry on the war against the Moghuls on their own account. Dhanaji Jadhav did not live long after Shahu's return to power, and his son Chandrasen Jadhav was too self-willed to be controlled by the higher considerations which had kept his father at the head of the national armies in the War of Independence. On the pretext of a petty quarrel in a hunting expedition with the future Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, he left his master's service, and after going over first to Kolhapur, finally joined the Nizam of Hyderabad, and his services were thus lost to the national cause. Among the other leaders, Khanderao Dabhade was strengthening himself in Khandesh with a view to further operations in Gujarat. Nemaji Shinde, who was one of

Rajaram's chief lieutenants, appears later on to have joined the Moghuls. Parsoji Bhonsle was like the Dabhade carving out his fortunes in Berar and Gondawana. Both Khanderao Dabhade and Parsoji Bhonsle, without sacrificing their independent careers, strengthened the hands of Shahu by espousing his cause against Tarabai. Hayabatrao Nimbalkar, who had established himself in Gangthadi, was more dubious in the allegiance. On being displaced from power soon after, he left Shahu's service, and joined the Nizam. The first class leaders were thus equally divided between Shahu, Tarabai, and the service of the Nizam. Among the second class men, Kanhoji Angre adhered to Tarabai's cause and had made himself master of the Konkan. The Thorats, the Chavans, and the Athavales were setting up independence for themselves. The first two were especially troublesome at the time when Shahu ascended his grandfather's throne at Satara. They plundered on all sides, and as if in defiance of all traditions, they claimed their own dues of *chowth* and *ghasdana* in mockery of the claims made by the central authority. A Brahman freebooter who had been titled as a Maharaja by the Moghul governor, established himself at Khatao within twenty miles of Satara, and thus reduced Shahu's dominions to the confines of his own capital and a few hill-forts garrisoned by his own commandants.

This was the state of things which Shahu's advisers had to face at the time of his accession to the throne. The marks of the war which had been concluded with such apparent success were visibly plain in the general unrest and disorder which it left behind. The power and the strength were still there, but without the animating spirit of a common purpose which held them together under the pressure of the war. Shahu had passed the best years of his life in confinement, and though latterly his confinement was not onerous, he had contracted the easy habits of the Mahomedan nobility among whom he had been brought up. He could not be expected to sympathize with the national hatred of the Moghuls which characterized his father and grandfather, and he was content to make his peace if allowed to rank as a great noble of the Moghul Empire. He had personal bravery and many good qualities of head and heart, but the organizing genius and the close application to work which alone could evolve order out of chaos had not been inherited by him from his grandfather. The Moghul governors were still in possession of all but a few hill-forts in the Deccan, and their armies, though discomfited, were still able to command the field. Shahu was not, under these circumstances, fitted by nature or temperament, to devise a scheme of policy, and achieve success by his own unaided efforts. None of his commanders also

had the larger vision which the needs of the position at such a time demanded. During the first few years it seemed as if the plans of Zulfikarkhan were about to bear fruit. The Marathas were able to make no impression collectively by reason of their being split up by mutual jealousy and misunderstandings. The great opportunity that had thus been presented, would have passed away if some master minds had not then come to the front, and fortunately for Shahu, attracted his notice in the very first years of his accession to power. Mere force and daring did not represent the want of the time, there was more than enough of it. What was needed was organization, a far-seeing patriotism, the skill to temporize and establish an accord in the jarring elements of strife, and a determination to turn them to account not for private purposes of self-aggrandizement, but for carrying out into effect the traditions which the great Shivaji had fifty years ago left behind as a legacy to his people. Among the men who came to the front at this time, Balaji Vishwanath soon asserted for himself by common consent a position which pointed him out as a man who combined in himself the virtues of which the country then most stood in need. He had been a Karkun in Dhanaji Jadhav's service, having been introduced there by a fellow Karkun in the same service named Abaji Purandare, the founder of the Purandare family. They were Dhanaji Jadhav's chief civil advisers, one a Konkanastha and the other a Deshastha Brahman. The Deccani Brahmans had from the first taken an important part in organizing the dominions and power of Shivaji, and many of them—the Hanmantas, the Pingles, Abaji Sondev, Pralhad Niraji and others had shown great abilities in the field. The Brahmans of the Konkan had not taken any prominent part in the first sixty years of the development of the Maratha power, but the larger opportunities now opened out to talent and ambition attracted some of their best men to try their fortunes in serving their country, and among the men who thus left their homes in the Konkan were Balaji Vishwanath and his friend, the founder of the Bhanu family, who had been driven by the oppression of the Siddis of Janjira. Balaji Vishwanath and Abaji Purandare accompanied their master Dhanaji Jadhav when he was sent by Tarabai to oppose Shahu's return into the Deccan. Before his death Dhanaji recommended both his trusted advisers to the notice of his new master, and Balaji made himself especially serviceable as adviser to Shahu, so that before long, he became the chief minister in power, though not in name, and later on, when the old Peshwa Bahiropanth Pingle failed to give satisfaction to his master, Balaji was raised to his place as the Peshwa. This was the man who might be said to

have, by his genius and patriotism, accomplished the task which otherwise threatened to prove almost impossible. Balaji Vishwanath first directed all his attention to the restoration of public order, and put an end to the lawlessness which the predatory marauders of the time practised to an extent unknown before, and which made them the terror of the country. The Khatao Brahman freebooter was first defeated by Parashuram Trimbak's son, Shahu's new Pratinidhi. Shankraji the old Sachiv who was in Tarabai's interest happened to die at this time; and the minor Sachiv's mother who managed his affairs was induced to join the new forces, which Balaji Vishwanath was organizing for the defence of the country. The Thorat freebooter was attacked by Balaji Vishwanath himself, but unfortunately for him, Balaji was captured through treachery and had to be ransomed by his master. The forces of Sachiv were sent against Thorat, but were defeated. Ultimately, however, Balaji succeeded in defeating the outlaw, and his fort was razed to the ground. The Chavan leader was temporized with by certain concessions. Negotiations were opened with Kanhoji Angre by the old Peshwa Bahiropan; but they ended in failure, and Balaji was deputed to bring these negotiations to a successful close. By appealing to his patriotism, Angre was prevailed upon to give up Tarabai's cause. Just about this time, the Raja of Kolhapur also died, and a minor Raja, the son of Rajaram's younger wife, was installed in his place. This change was not brought about without a revolution in which Tarabai was displaced from power and kept in prison by Ramchandrapant, the old *Pant Amatya*. In all these several ways Shahu found that the advice of his ministers had greatly improved the desperate condition of his affairs since Balaji Vishwanath and his coadjutors had joined his service.

After the minor troubles had been thus disposed of, Balaji turned his attention to establish better relations between his master Shahu and the great Maratha chiefs. They were too powerful to be brought under control by war or stratagem. Proposals accordingly were made to them in which they were appealed to on the higher side of their nature. Their common interests were shown to be the interests of the entire confederacy. If they stood together they were great and powerful, but if they insisted on standing apart from their fellows, the danger of isolation was pointed out to them, and it was creditable to the patriotism of these leaders that such an appeal produced its desired effect. The Chandrasen Jadhavrao and the Nimbalkar had indeed cut themselves off from the confederacy by joining with the Moghuls, but Khanderao Dabhade, Udajirao Power, Parsoji Bhonsle, and

the other leaders who had thrown in their lot in the support of Shahu's power, were appealed to with success, and arrangements were made by which not only they but the *Pant Sachiv* and the *Pant Pratinidhi*, who were the chief members of the old Ashtapradhan Councils, were similarly satisfied that their interests lay in common union. The title of *Senapati* was about this time conferred on *Khanderao Dabhade* in acknowledgement of the great services he had rendered during the war and in the early years of Shahu's rule. Similar distinctions were conferred on *Parsoji Bhonsle*, who was made *Sena Saheb Subha*. The footing these leaders had secured for themselves in *Khandesh* and *Berars* was freely conceded to them, and a legitimate opening was ensured for their future successes westwards into *Gujarat* and eastwards in the *Gondawan* country. *Udaji Powar's* ambition was allowed a similar outlet in *Malwa*. These three great leaders were promised, if they co-operated with the central authority, and joined their forces together, that the sanction of the *Delhi* emperors would soon be obtained to give legitimacy to their pretensions. *Fattesing Bhonsle* of *Akkalkot* was also appointed to command Shahu's army in advancing the conquest of the *Karnatik* in the south. The *Pratinidhis*, who, both father and son, had rendered such excellent service, the first during the war, and the second in the struggles with *Kolhapur*, the *Khatao Maharaja* and the *Siddis* in the *Konkan* were honoured by being placed in charge of the *Raja's* old dominions between the *Warna* and the *Nira*. *Kanhoji Angre* was made the chief admiral in the service of the *Maratha* power, and confirmed in his possession of the forts in the *Konkan*. *Govindrao Chitnis*, who had rendered service during the war, was similarly honoured by a military command. In this manner, power and privilege were thus distributed amongst the great leaders, while *Balaji Vishwanath* contented himself with continuing to be Shahu's principal civil adviser, his only military command being confined to certain of the *Raja's* claims in distant *Khandesh* and *Balaghat* which brought him neither power nor resources. This notable self-denial was characteristic of the man, and to a large extent it helped him in carrying out the policy which he had in view of establishing a bond of union between the great leaders whom he wished to organize for purposes of common defence and aggression. As a result of these patriotic endeavours, *Balaji* succeeded within ten years from the time of his joining his master's service to give a coherent unity to the nation, and remove the causes of disunion which once threatened to break up the *Maratha* power. It was no wonder therefore that the *Moghul* commanders and the great *Vazirs* at *Delhi* who were fighting for their own ends, soon began

to show to Raja Shahu the respect which was felt for the traditions of Shivaji and his commanders, and before long every dissatisfied Delhi faction sought to obtain Shahu's help in furtherance of its own interests.

This enlargement of the sphere of Maratha influence brought on in its train a considerable modification of the civil constitution laid down by Shivaji when he ascended the throne. The leading features of the old *Ashtapradhan* or Council arrangements have been described in a former chapter. Sambhaji's misrule and the subsequent conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb practically set aside this constitution. Rajaram indeed tried to build it up in his court at Gingi, but in the troublous times of the war, such a constitution could not be expected to work on its old lines. The necessities of the times required that power should be placed in strong hands, whether civil or military, and this had to be done at any cost. Pralhad Niraji virtually ruled the councils of the Maratha forces during the eventful years of the great seige at Gingi, and on his death, Rajaram, when he returned to the Deccan, was so heavily weighted with the cares of the war that the *Ashtapradhan* Council was virtually in abeyance when the war was brought to an end. When Shahu was seated on his throne at Satara, an attempt was made to revive the Council of the eight great ministers, but the arrangement was not suited to the altered circumstances. The *Ashtapradhan* Council was no doubt set up by Shivaji with great foresight, but it presupposed a well ordered centralized government. In the absence of such a government, it could not be expected to work in accord with its old traditions, and Shahu had not the virtues of his grandfather, and did not inspire that confidence which was felt by all classes in the arrangements made by Shivaji. Moreover, the Council might work well for a small kingdom confined within narrow limits, but when, in consequence of the war, the Marathas spread over the whole country, from the Narmada to the Kaveri, and the leaders were holding possessions in detached places surrounded by the entire power of the Moghuls, these conditions for success were greatly wanting, and the *Ashtapradhan* arrangement naturally broke down. Balaji Vishwanath saw this instinctively, and he adapted himself to the altered circumstances of the time. The Councillors still retained their dignities in Shahu's Court at Satara, but real power and control did not remain in their hands except only in name, when they had to regulate Dabhade's armies in Khandesh and Bhonsle's conquests in Berar, and to fight with the Moghul governors on the east and the south beyond the limits of the Maratha territory proper. The separatist elements were always powerful in the

Maratha country, and the war and its consequences had strengthened those elements and weakened the virtues which ensured the success of the central rule. Balaji Vishwanath perceived soon that the only arrangement possible was the formation of a confederacy of the great leaders held together by the traditions of Shivaji for purposes of common action against foreign powers, but in other respects, a confederacy of co-ordinate and equal authorities in respect of internal management and control. In this way and this way only was it possible to hold together the great leaders who had established themselves by their own resources in the different parts of the country beyond their natural and territorial limits. The Maratha territory proper was surrounded on all sides by the Moghul governors at Savanur, at Hyderabad, in Gujarat and Malwa, and by the Siddis, the Portuguese and the English on the west Coast. These could only be held at bay by confederating the scattered Maratha camps and in these camps by localizing power in the hands of capable men. In respect of common purposes for which all felt interested, they might and did join together and present a solidarity of interest only on condition that they were allowed to exercise internal authority within their own limits, and as long as they were animated by the old traditions, there was general safety in this union. Balaji Vishwanath and his advisers accepted this situation, and the old *Ashtapradhan* arrangement gave way to the idea of a Maratha Confederacy which, for the next hundred years, was the great controller of events throughout India.

That the plan succeeded remarkably well is evidenced by the fact that it achieved not only its immediate end, but that it worked well under very trying circumstances for a hundred years and more. It enabled the Marathas to conquer Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Orissa, Gondawan, Nemad and Karnatik down to the Tungabhadra. It helped them to control all the states in Rajputana and the court at Delhi, and seat and unseat emperors there according as it suited the interests of the nation. It even carried them to the banks of the Indus on one side and to control the Nabobs of Oudh and Bengal, and Orissa on the East, and to set back the limits of the territories occupied by the Nizam at Hyderabad and the Nabob at Savanur and the Karnatik, and later on of Hyder and Tipu. It even helped them to drive the Portuguese from Bassein and to wage two wars on equal terms with the English. It enabled the Marathas to stand the crushing defeat at Panipat and again to set up their rule at Delhi and over Northern India, and if after a hundred years' trial it failed, the failure was due to the fact that the traditions which guided the councils of the

confederate powers in their best period gave way to other views in which the confederate idea was abandoned for purposes of individual advancement. The vitality of the confederacy was shown in the successes attained in the wars and conquests that took place during these hundred years, and it is clear that the old *Asthapradhan* arrangement would never have succeeded in securing this remarkable development.

Of course, there was in this strength a source of weakness also; and none was aware of the weakness better than Balaji Vishwanath and his advisers, and their descendants. The confederacy was a rope of sand, if it was not held together by a common tradition and a common patriotism. Balaji Vishwanath's great merit consists in the fact that while he accepted the situation, he was not oblivious to its defects. As the *Ashtapradhan* council could not be revived, he tried to substitute in its place other bonds of union which might minimise the defects of the inevitable change. The leading features of the new policy may be thus shortly summed up : (1) The confederacy was held together first by the traditions of Shivaji and by the reverence attached to the person of his grandson Shahu. During the forty years' period that Shahu was at the head of power, he continued to be regarded by every leader with affection and regard. Balaji Vishwanath did his best to strengthen this tie which held the members of the Confederacy together. Every *sanad* granted to the civil and military commanders had to be issued in Shahu's name, and by his orders all titles and dignities were bestowed on them. He coined the money. Every treaty had to be made in his name, and every expedition had to be reported to him. (2) Next to this central position of Shahu, the other great element which held together the Confederates was the sense of a balance of power kept up among the different members of the Confederacy by a judicious exercise of Shahu's intermediation. In Balaji Vishwanath's time the Peshwa only represented a very small military command, though he was Shahu's chief adviser in all executive matters. When in the time of the next two Peshwas, attempts were made to increase their military power at the expense of the other commanders, Shahu's intervention prevented this disturbance of power between the Peshwa on one side, and the Dabhade and Gaikwad on the west coast and the Bhonsle of Nagpur, in the wars in Bengal and the Gangetic valley. Similar efforts were put forth to retain this balance of power when it was threatened later on by the great Shindia and Holkar families, when they quarrelled among themselves or had differences with the Peshwas, the Gaikwads and the Bhonsles. The Dabhades and their successors the Gaikwads, the Peshwas themselves and their great

lieutenants, the Shindias and Holkars, and later on, the Bundeles, Vinchurkars and Patwardhans,—these worked together for a hundred years under an assurance which was seldom disappointed, that the several powers would respect each others' right, and prevent their total ruin by the aggrandizement of any one of their body. This idea of mutual co-operation and of respect for each other's position constitutes the main interest of the story of the Maratha Confederacy during these one hundred years. The equality of the several powers was guaranteed by *sanads* and treaties, and in the famous treaty made with the emperors of Delhi in Balaji Bajirao's time, this equality was asserted by the two great lieutenants of the Peshwa standing surety for their master's fidelity to the trust accepted by him on pain of their leaving the Peshwa's cause if he broke his word. The essential idea therefore of the Confederacy was that the several members thereof should enforce the preservation of a balance of power in the interests of all. It was this assurance that kept the Confederacy together for so many generations. (3) Besides the two bonds of union mentioned above which held the Confederacy together by sentiment and patriotism, Balaji Vishwanath adopted the precaution of still firmly binding the different powers by making their material interests centre in the common discharge of their duties. When by the success of his diplomacy at Delhi he secured the emperor's sanction to the levying of *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan, it was arranged that this work of collecting the *Babtis* should be distributed among the two chief Ashtapradhan members of Shahu's Council and himself in such a way as to prevent all chance of internal conflict. The Pratinidhi, the Peshwa and the Pant Sachiv were made the collectors of the Raja's *Babtis* in different proportions, and in places apart from their chief possessions. This same principle was enforced, at least in theory, when *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* levies were made beyond the limits of the Deccan *Subhas*. The division of power was so arranged as to make the interests of all a common concern. (4) The great commanders also held their *inam* and *vatan* lands in the Maratha country proper, and their fidelity was thus secured by their attachment to these hereditary possessions held by them at a distance from their camps. (5) Besides these material interests, a general obligation was placed upon all commanders to present the final accounts of their administrations into the State Treasury. A great central Fadnis or Secretariat Department was organized, where the accounts had to be examined and checked. (6) Besides the Central Treasury and the Accounts Department, each commander, large and small, of Maratha armies and forts was accompanied by officials appointed by the Central Authority, and

these officials acted as the audit officers of these commanders and were accountable to the Central Authorities when the accounts were sent up to be finally checked. The Central Authority had thus its representatives with every chief and they were intended to be reporters-general of all irregularities and complaints to the central power. These officers were called Darakadars, and were either Diwans, Mujumdars, Phadnis, in the case of the great leaders, and in the case of forts and smaller chiefs, they were called Sabnis, Chitnis, Jamidars, and Karkhanus, their duties being confined to audit the account only. They alone had the right to keep accounts of the local commanders, and they could not be displaced without consent of the Central Departmental heads.

In these six different ways Balaji Vishwanath did his best to minimise the defects of the new system of confederate government set up by Shahu, and while these arrangements lasted in their original integrity, the central power was powerful enough to control the entire administration. Of course, there were seeds of dissolution and decay in the arrangement, but they were fairly held in check for nearly a century. We have the testimony of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone and his coadjutors that though the system was theoretically full of defects, it practically ensured peace and prosperity, and succeeded in making the Maratha power respected and feared by all its neighbours. All these checks presupposed the sanction of recognized authority without which they could not be enforced with efficacy, and the last years of Balaji Vishwanath's life were devoted to the accomplishment of this end, *i.e.*, to secure the recognition by the Delhi emperors of the rights of the Maratha confederacy to the *Swarajya*, *chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over the whole of the empire. This acquisition gained to the Maratha power that legitimacy, in the absence of which it is not possible to distinguish power from force. This was the crowning work of Balaji Vishwanath's organizing genius, and though many others contributed to its success, this achievement must always be his principal claim to be regarded as next to Shivaji, the principal founder of the Maratha Confederacy.

CHOUTH AND SARDESHMUKHI

IN THE LAST chapter an attempt was made to show how order was evolved out of confusion by the constructive genius and patient skill of the first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath. A great deal of what is to follow had to be anticipated in that statement with a view to bring out into prominence the great transformation that took place, when the small kingdom over which Shivaji ruled was enlarged into a confederacy of states, with a common tradition and a common purpose. Balaji Vishwanath, before his death in 1720, achieved the still greater success of securing a legitimate sanction to the larger claims put forth by the Maratha leaders in consequence of the change that took place on Shahu's accession to power. The story of this transference of power from the old Mahomedan rulers to the hands of the Maratha Confederacy presents features, the like of which were seldom witnessed in the past history of India, and resembles faithfully the history of the success achieved by the great Marquis of Wellesley in the early years of this century, when he organized the system of the subsidiary alliances, as they were called, with the native powers, which secured to the British Company its sovereignty over the continent of India. This idea of the subsidiary alliances was, in fact, a reproduction on a more organized scale of the plan followed by the Maratha leaders a hundred years in advance, when they secured the grant of the *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the Imperial authorities at Delhi. The true nature of these claims to *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*, which were conceded by the Moghul Emperor in 1719, cannot be properly understood without a brief historical review of these demands as they were first formulated by the founder of the Maratha power fifty years before at the very commencement of his career. The first mention of these demands occurs so far back as the year 1650, when Shivaji's territory did not extend beyond the limits of his father's Jahagir in Poona and Supa, and a few forts near about. It seems to have been Shivaji's ambition to acquire *sardeshmukhi vatan* in the Maratha country. His family had been respectable and even powerful for two generations, but neither his grandfather nor father could claim equality with the ancient Deshmukhi families with some of whom they had formed marriage alliances, such as the Ghadges of Malawdi, the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, the Daphales of Jat, and the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi. These Deshmukhs claimed to have acquired their ancestral *vatans* from times coeval with the establishment of the Adilshahi and the Nizamshahi kingdoms. As

Deshmukhs, they were responsible for the tranquillity and peace of the country, and the collection of the revenues entrusted to their charge. They used to receive about 10 per cent. of these revenues, 5 per cent. in cash or grain, and 5 per cent. in grants of arable land. Shivaji was naturally anxious to secure a grant of this *sardeshmukhi vatan*, and in 1650 he first submitted to the Emperor Shahajahan a request for the *sardeshmukhi* dues in the *Prants* of Junnar and Ahmednagar, over which he claimed his family had hereditary *vatan* rights. Shivaji offered to enter the Moghul service with 5,000 horses if his services were accepted. Shahajahan put off this request for the time till Shivaji could submit his proposal in person at Delhi. In 1657, when Aurangzeb was in command in the Deccan under his father, Shivaji again repeated his offer. This time it was proposed that Aurangzeb should obtain the permission of his father to allow Shivaji to raise a force and seize Dabhol and other sea-coast dependencies, and protect the Deccan during Aurangzeb's absence in his wars with his rival brothers. One Raghunathpant and Krishnaji were sent as ambassadors to Aurangzeb, and they were instructed to repeat the request for the *sardeshmukhi* grant. Aurangzeb gave the authority which Shivaji desired for the conquest of the Konkan, and as regards the *sardeshmukhi* grant, he promised to discuss the question with Shivaji's trusted adviser Abaji Sondev, when the latter came to Delhi.

The third occasion when we find any reference made to these claims was in connection with the negotiations made between Shivaji and Raja Jayasing at the Purandar convention in 1666, when Shivaji agreed to surrender his forts and proceed to Delhi to make his formal submission to the Emperor. In this convention Shivaji requested that an assignment should be made to him from the territories conquered from the Nizamshahi kings and transferred to Bijapur in consideration of his hereditary claims on the Nizamshahi government. For the first time we find in this convention a demand made not only for *sardeshmukhi*, but also for *chouth*, i.e., 25 per cent. of the revenue of certain districts, the charge of collecting which *chouth*, as also 10 per cent. *sardeshmukhi*, he undertook to bear himself. In consideration of these concessions, he offered to pay *peshkash* to the Moghul Emperor of forty lakhs of rupees, by instalments of three lakhs yearly, and agreed further to maintain a body of troops at his own cost for the Imperial Service. Aurangzeb made no direct reply to the request about *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*, but promised favourable consideration of the proposals submitted by Jayasing when the latter sent the convention agreement for sanction, provided

that Shivaji came to Delhi and paid *peshkash*. Nothing came of the visit to Delhi, and Shivaji's hopes were disappointed when the Emperor kept him a prisoner. When Shivaji later on made his escape, and commenced the war again, Aurangzeb appears to have relented, and towards 1667, he gave Shivaji a Jahagir in Berar with the title of a Raja, and a *mansab* to his son Sambhaji. These concessions were apparently intended to satisfy Shivaji's old claims to *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*. Shivaji, however, was not satisfied with the concessions made, and began to insist on his own terms, and levied *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda. In 1668, the Bijapur Adilshahi kings agreed to pay three lakhs of rupees on account of *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*, and the Golconda ruler agreed to pay five lakhs about the same time. In 1671, *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* levies were recovered from the Moghul provinces of Khandesh. In 1674, the Portuguese possessions in the Konkan were made to pay tribute by way of *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* for that part of the country. In return for the tributes paid by the Bijapur and Golconda rulers, Shivaji undertook to protect them from the aggressions of the Moghuls, and this protection was found very effective in the wars which took place about that time. The Raja of Bednore and the Chief of Soonda also agreed to pay tribute to Shivaji, and in 1676, when Shivaji invaded the Karnatik, *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* demands were enforced in those distant possessions. Before his death in 1680, Shivaji had thus established his system of subsidiary and tributary alliances with the consent of the Mahomedan and Hindu rulers in Southern India whom he protected, and he enforced his demands on some of the Moghul provinces also. The *sardeshmukhi* claim was, in its origin, a request for hereditary *vatan*, burdened with the charge of revenue collections. The demand for *chouth* was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops maintained for such service. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji, and it was this same idea which in the Marquis of Wellesley's hand bore such fruit a hundred and twenty-five years later.

When the War of Independence was over, and the Maratha leaders had established themselves in the Karnatik, Gangathadi, Berars, Khandesh, and the frontiers of Gujarat and Malwa, this idea naturally received an expansion, and in the negotiations which took place with the Moghul Governors, Balaji Vishwanath and the other advisers of Shahu found it necessary to introduce considerable modifications. While the war was still going on, there was no room for negotiations about *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*, and even

when it was ended, the first object of the leaders was to secure the restoration of the *Swarajya*, i.e. to restore to Shahu the territories held by his grandfather when he was crowned king at Raigad in 1674. After Rajaram's death, Aurangzeb appears to have made the first advance by recognizing Shahu's rights to a portion of the *Swarajya*. He assigned to Shahu as a marriage dowry his old Jahagir at Supa and Indapur, as also the *mahals* of Akkalkot and Nevasa. Later on, Aurangzeb induced Shahu to send letters to the Maratha commanders desiring them to stop the war and submit to the Emperor. The use made of Shahu's agency for this purpose was a distinct recognition of his claim to be the leader of the Maratha forces which were then fighting with the Moghuls. In 1705, with a view to bring this war to an end, Aurangzeb was prevailed upon to consent to the payment of 10 per cent. of the whole revenue of the six *subhas* of the Deccan as *sardeshmukhi*, for which the Maratha commanders were to agree to maintain order with a body of horse. This was the first formal recognition by Aurangzeb of the claims which Shivaji had put forth nearly fifty years previously for the *sardeshmukhi* grant. Nothing came of this proposal as the Maratha leaders raised their terms, and the war was continued to the end. On Aurangzeb's death, owing to their internecine quarrels, his sons found it necessary to bring the war to a close, and Shahu was released and was allowed to proceed to his country, and he was informed that if he succeeded in establishing his power in the Deccan, Zulfikarkhan, the Moghul commander, and his master Azimkhan, the Emperor's son, would restore him the territories conquered by Shivaji with additional Jahagirs between the Bhima and the Godavari. When Shahu established himself at Satara, the Moghul Governor of the Deccan, Dawood Khan, for the first time entered into a formal alliance with the Maratha leaders conceding to them the *chouth* or 25 per cent of the revenues of certain provinces, and the *chouth* was to be collected by Shahu's own agents. This arrangement lasted for four years from 1709 to 1713, when Dawood Khan was removed and Nizam-ul-mulk was appointed *subhedar*. The Nizam refused to carry out the arrangement made by Dawood Khan and the war commenced, and went on till 1715, when peace was concluded and Shahu was appointed to the command of 10,000 horse in the Moghul service. Nizam-ul-mulk was recalled from the Deccan, and one of the Sayyads was appointed Governor in his place by the new Emperor. This Sayyad Subhedar, to strengthen his own position, engaged the services of an old Maratha veteran Brahman named Shankraji who had served in the war at Gingi and had since retired to Benares. He was sent as an ambassador to Shahu,

and between Shankraji on one side and Balaji Vishwanath on the other, arrangements were made for the restoration of the *Swarajya* and the grant of the *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the six Deccan *subhas*. The old Karnatik Jahagir was also to be restored, and the Nagpurkar Bhonsle's conquests in Berar were to be confirmed. On his side Shahu agreed to pay *peshkash* of ten lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, and to preserve peace against depredations from all quarters and keep a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service to be placed at the disposal of the Governors, *fouzdars*, and other officers in charge of the Deccan districts. These terms proposed by Balaji Vishwanath on behalf of his master were communicated through Shankraji to the Sayyad who agreed to the terms as proposed, and a draft treaty was drawn up. The Sayyad stipulated that the territories not in his possession in Southern India, Mysore, Trichinopoly and Tanjore, might be recovered by Shahu with his own resources and at his own cost. Shahu at once sent 10,000 horse to serve as contingent with the Sayyad's army, and all the Maratha commanders of note accompanied this force, the chief being Santaji Bhonsle, a relation of the *Sena Saheb Subha*, Udaji Powar, and Vishwarao Athawle. The terms agreed to by the Sayyad were submitted for the sanction of the Emperor, but the sanction was refused, as the Emperor was not disposed to follow the advice of the Sayyad. The latter thereupon marched to Delhi. A strong Maratha force of 15,000 troops accompanied the Sayyad, and Khanderao Dabhade, Balaji Vishwanath, Mahadaji Bhanu and others accompanied this force. After a slight opposition, in which Santaji Bhonsle and Mahadaji Bhanu were killed in a street tumult, the Emperor was put to death, and his successor Mohamed Shah gave the three *sanads* for the *Swarajya*, *chouth*, and *sardeshmukhi*, to Balaji Vishwanath on behalf of his master Shahu Maharaj.

Thus after a continuous struggle for seventy years, the objects which Shivaji had formulated when he first put forth his claims in 1650, were successfully accomplished by the leaders who guided the counsels of Shahu. Not only was the old *Swarajya* restored, but its limits were extended so as to embrace all the conquests then made, and an opening was made for possible extensions in the future. The *Swarajya sanad* included the country above the Ghats Shivaji's old conquests between the Hiranyakeshi river in the south and the Indrayani on the north being the Western Mavals of Poona, Satara and Kolhapur. These territories were Poona, Supa, Baramati, Maval, Indapur, Junnar, Wai, Satara, Karhad, Khatao, Mand, Phaltan, Tarla, Malkapur, Azre, Panhala and Kolhapur. Towards the east, the greatest extension was along the valley of

the Bhima and Nira rivers. Below the Ghats the *Swarajya* included the Northern and Southern Konkans, Ramnagar, Javar, Chaul, Bhivandi, Kalyan, Rajapur, Dabhol, Rajapuri, Fonda, and a portion of North Kanara, Akola and Kudal. In the extreme south, Gadag, Halyal, Bellary, and Kopal were held by Shivaji to keep up his communications with Tanjore and Gingi. On the north-east side, Shivaji's possessions included detached posts in Sangamner, Baglan, Khandesh and Berar. This narrow and irregular strip which constituted the *Swarajya* was restored to Shahu, excepting Khandesh, in exchange for which an extension was allowed on the Pandharpur side of the Bhima valley. The six subhas over which the right of levying *chouth* was conceded, included Berar, Khandesh, Aurangabad, Bedar, Hyderabad and Bijapur. In the accounts of the Empire the six subhas were supposed to yield in all eighteen crores of rupees on which the *sardeshmukhi* charge represented one-tenth, and the *chouth* would be one-fourth. The necessity of such a recognition of these rights by the Emperor had forced itself upon Balaji Vishwanath's mind by the fact that no other measure would have restored tranquillity to the country. There was no permanence in the arrangements by which the different commanders had established their power in different parts of the Deccan. Each great leader was fully alive to the fact that it was their common interest to establish a bond of union between the old and the new order of things, between the Moghul Governors and *fauzdars* and civil rulers of all kinds, and the Maratha commanders who established themselves in power on these old foundations. The *sanad* for the *chouth* stipulated that Shahu should retain 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service. They were to be kept in the different districts at the disposal of the Moghul governors. The *chouth* was, unlike the *sardeshmukhi*, not a *vatan*, but a payment for service in the shape of protecting the country and preventing foreign aggression. If all the six subhas had been brought under contribution at the figure mentioned in the *sanad*, they would have yielded four crores and a half of rupees, but the country had been so devastated by Aurangzeb's wars and conquests, that the actual yield was not one-fourth that amount. The proportion of 25 per cent. for the *chouth* levied was apparently fixed upon the understanding that the local expenses of Government under the Moghul empire were about one-fourth of the entire collections. The *chouth* collection was undertaken by the Maratha leaders and was conceded to them because it involved no real loss of the net revenue which reached the hands of the central authorities at Delhi, being 75 per cent. of the total collections. Owing, however, to the depressed state of the country, the *sardeshmukhi*

and *chouth* revenue nearly absorbed the whole of the actual receipts, and left but little that could reach the Imperial exchequer. This source of irritation remained notwithstanding the grant of the *sanads*. The Raja's *Babtis* as they were called, 10 per cent. for *sardeshmukhi*, and 25 per cent. for *chouth*, were rigidly enforced wherever the Maratha arms were strong enough to prevail. The remaining three-fourths of the estimated collections were left to the old Governors, who were, however, unable to enforce their recovery, and gradually power fell into the hands of the Maratha leaders.

This transfer of power did not take place without a struggle. The Emperor could grant the *sanads*, but it was not so easy to require the Governors to give effect to their master's wishes. The Nizam-ul-mulk, who was the Subhedar of the Deccan after the fall of the Sayyads, was steadily opposed to the concession his master had made under pressure, and for the next twenty years the Maratha leaders were engaged in an uninterrupted contest with the Nizam, in which Balaji Vishwanath's son Bajirao, the second Peshwa, chiefly distinguished himself. At first the Nizam temporized, and offered to recognize the grants made by the Emperor to Shahu. After the fall of the Sayyads, the Nizam, professing to side with the Kolhapur Raja, whom he took under his protection, set up his rival pretensions against the collectors sent by Shahu's Government. Bajirao succeeded in overcoming this opposition, and a fresh *firman* was obtained in 1722. Later on, the Nizam raised a fresh dispute questioning Shahu's claim to the *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* on the ground that he failed to carry out his engagement to preserve the tranquillity of the Deccan. Misunderstandings followed, and force had to be used to remove this opposition. By making convenient exchanges of territory, and conceding exemption from the *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* demands to the territory in the immediate vicinity of Hyderabad, the Nizam was at least prevailed on to reaffirm the validity of the grants made by the Emperor. About the year 1730, fresh opposition was raised by the Nizam in concert with the Kolhapur Raja, who pretended to be a sharer in these *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* dues. The Nizam, however, was again thwarted by the superior tactics of the Peshwa, and he was forced to give up the support he extended to the Raja of Kolhapur. The Raja was himself defeated by Shahu's commander, the Pratinidhi, and a final treaty of partition was made between the Satara and Kolhapur Rajas by which Shahu was left sole master under his imperial grants of *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* and *Swarajya* in the six Deccan subhas, while the Kolhapur Raja had to content himself with the possessions south of the Warna up to

the Tungabhadra river. The imperial grants became accordingly, after three wars and two confirmations, the recognized rule of the Empire about the year 1732, and binding alike on all the contesting powers. The causes of dispute were of course not entirely removed, but the wars which subsequently took place between the succeeding Nizams and Maratha leaders did not involve the question of the legitimacy of the rights conferred by the Emperors. In 1743, a dispute occurred between the Maratha leaders and the then Nizam Salabatjang. The Nizam was defeated, and all the territories in Khandesh and Nasik were annexed to the dominions of the Marathas by a treaty of peace between the two powers. In 1760 another dispute arose, and Maratha arms prevailed against the Nizam's forces, and a large accession of territories towards Ahmednagar and the Ahmednagar fort were added to the Peshwa's dominions. About 1790 similar differences arose, and portions of the Solapur and Bijapur Districts were similarly annexed to the Peshwa's dominions. In the Karnatik, the fight which the Maratha leaders had to maintain was not with the Nizam, but with the Savanur Nabobs, and in three successive wars with these Nabobs, which were carried on by the Peshwa Bajirao, and his son Balaji, the districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, and Dharwar were successively added to the Peshwa's dominions. These Karnatik wars had to be continued further on in the century after the downfall of the Savanur Nabobs with Hyder and his son Tipu who rose to power in Mysore from 1760 to 1790. These successive wars resulted in the defeat of the Mysore rulers, and the extension of the Maratha dominions to the Tungabhadra. The same success attended the wars waged with the Portuguese and the Siddis of Janjira by Chimani Appa, the brother of Bajirao Peshwa, and Balaji Bajirao the third Peshwa. In these several ways nearly the whole of the Maharashtra country proper thus came into the hands of the members of the Maratha Confederacy in the course of the century. These extensions of territory were the results of conquests, but they had their origin in the rights conferred by the grants of *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The word *Swarajya*, in consequence of these extensions, gradually obtained a much wider expansion than was comprised in the old grant. And the right to levy the *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi*, which was at first confined to the six *subhas* south of the Tapti river under these *sanads*, was twenty years after confirmed and extended on the same principles, to the whole of the empire, so as to embrace the territories to the North, including Gujarat, Kathiawar, Malva, Rajputana, Bundelkhand, the Doab, Nimuch, Gondawana, Sambalpur, Orissa, Agra, Delhi, Oudh and Bengal. This extension of power and influence will form the

subject of a later chapter, but the essential features were the same as those which have been treated of above. The *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* rights served, in the hands of the Maratha leaders, the same purpose of giving legitimacy and expansion to their power which in the last century has resulted from the subsidiary alliances and conquests made by the British Government. This story of expansion derives its chief interest from the fact that the members of the confederacy achieved these conquests not as single states, so much as by acting together in concert. It contrasts significantly with the fate which overtook the policy of isolation, at Kolhapur and Tanjore, which states were cut off from the larger life which the rights conferred by the *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* grants secured to Peshwas, Gaikwars, Sindias, Holkars, Bhonsles, Vinchurkars, the Patawardhans, Bundele and other members of the confederacy. Shahu's Councillors, on a memorable occasion, seriously discussed the question whether the policy of expansion represented by the Peshwa Bajirao, or the counsel of caution advised by the Pratinidhi should prevail. Fired by the eloquence of the Peshwa, Shahu gave the weight of his support to the policy of concerted advance, and the results achieved by this confederate action of the powers are matters of history. The failure of the opposite policy of isolation, enforced partly, by its position, was perhaps best illustrated in the oldest conquests of the Marathas in the Southern India, and it is proposed in the next chapter to illustrate the contrast presented by the expansion noticed above with the inglorious story of this separated branch of the Maratha race represented by the descendants of Shivaji's brother enthroned at Tanjore.

CHAPTER XII

MARATHAS IN SOUTHERN INDIA

NEITHER MR. GRANT DUFF nor any of the native writers of Marathi *Bakhars* have given much attention to the fortunes of the Maratha colony in the far South at Tanjore, though the Maratha dominion there was of an older date than in many other parts of India, and the family which ruled at Tanjore for nearly two centuries, 1675-1855, was closely allied to the founder of the Maratha power in Western India. The chequered story of this distant and ill-fated principality confirms our view that the strength of the Maratha power lay essentially in its union as a confederacy. Those who held themselves aloof from this union of interests and national sympathy were not allowed a place in Maratha history proper, either by native or foreign writers. The moral of this unnatural separation has a mournful interest which enforces attention. The importance of the permanent influence exercised by this distant military settlement of the Marathas on the banks of the "Kaveri" can be best judged by a study of the census statistics of 1881, which show that the Maratha population in the Madras Presidency was nearly 230,000, to which we might add 20,000 more for Mysore and Cochin and Travancore, making a total of two lakhs and a half, distributed as follows:—

(1) Ganjam	205
(2) Vizagapatam	364
(3) Godavari	634
(4) Krishna	1,414
(5) Nellore	807
(6) Cuddapah	3,973
(7) Kurnool	4,081
(8) Bellary	14,169
(9) Chaingalpat	1,635
(10) North Arcot	11,662
(11) South Arcot	1,957
(12) Tanjore	14,421
(13) Trichanapoly	1,766
(14) Madura	1,943
(15) Tinnenelly	837
(16) Salem	7,906
(17) Coimbatore	2,550
(18) Nilgiris	730
(19) Malabar	6,107
(20) South Kanara	147,390
(21) Madras City	4,238
(22) Padukota	660

There is thus not a district in that Presidency which has not a small Maratha colony of settlers who have permanently made it their home. South Kanara and Malabar, Cochin and Travancore,

with a Maratha population of one lakh and a half, were of course colonized from the coast, and these settlements had no connection with the political domination established in the middle of the seventeenth century by the army of Shahaji and his son Venkoji, the step-brother of Shivaji. As might be expected, the city of Tanjore and the districts in its neighbourhood, North Arcot, Salem, and Madras City, show the largest aggregates of the foreign Maratha settlers whose ancestors accompanied Shahaji and his son to the south. Tanjore has been very happily styled by the Maharaja of Travancore as the southern home of the Marathas, and though fifty years have passed since the principality was declared to have lapsed to Government for want of heirs, the Ranis of the palace still live in the city in the enjoyment of state pensions and a large private estate. When the kingdom was first founded between 1666-1675, the district of Tanjore included portions of South Arcot and the whole of the Trichinopoly district. The military settlers included both Brahmans and Marathas, and by reason of their isolation from their distant home, the subdivisions which separated these castes in their mother-country were forgotten, and they were all welded together under the common name of Deshasthas.

The Tanjore Rajas were all of them great patrons of learning; some of them were poets and scholars themselves of no mean repute, and their charities were on a scale which arrests attention. The Tanjore Library is the largest collection of the kind to be found in any Native Court in India. The cultivation of the fine arts, music, both vocal and instrumental, etc., was carried to perfection, and Tanjore attained in those days a pre-eminence which it still retains of being the most refined and cultured district in the Southern Presidency. After the fall of Tanjore, the professors of those arts removed to Travancore, and gave that State the reputation it now enjoys. The great city of Kumbhakonam has a large sprinkling of distinguished Maratha families whose representatives, Sir T. Madhavrao, Diwan Bahadur Raghunathrao, Venkaswami Rao, Gopal Rao, etc., have risen to great distinction, each in his own line, and some of them have even attained an Indian reputation for statesmanship, learning and philanthropy. The Native States of Travancore and Mysore have afforded scope to the display of the highest abilities of some of these Maratha statesmen, both in the last and in the present century. The services of the Travancore Minister, English Subbarao, are well known, and one of his successors, Sir T. Madhavrao, rescued that State from disorder and insolvency, and turned it into a model State, and the father of Diwan Bahadur Raghunathrao achieved equal

distinction in Mysore.

In North Arcot the little Jahagir of "Arni" is still in the enjoyment of a Maratha Brahman Chief, whose ancestors acquired it originally as a fief for military service from the Bijapur King more than two hundred years ago. There are other Maratha Brahmans who entered in those days the services of the Nabab of Arcot, and rose to distinction, and were known distinctively as Nizamshahi Brahmans. Similarly the small state of Padukota, which still retains its subordinate integrity, has a large Maratha population, and its affairs were administered by many Brahman Diwans, and the most distinguished of these belonged to the family of Maratha settlers in the south. The Native State of Cochin contains a large Maratha population, chiefly Brahmans of different sects who are engaged in mercantile pursuits. In the district of Bellary there is another small Maratha State at Sonda which has survived the general decay of Maratha power in the south. Its founder came of the stock of the famous Santaji Ghorpade, whose grandson Murarrao Ghorpade played such an important part in the Karnatik wars in the middle of the eighteenth century, and who ruled over a small kingdom of Gooty till Hyder Naik conquered that principality. When the Marathas were hard-pressed by Aurangzeb in Maharashtra, Rajaram the second son of Shivaji retired to Gingi, which had been held as a fort by Shahaji and it was this fort which stood the seven years' siege towards the close of the seventeenth century which allowed him and the Marathas to rally in the struggle with Aurangzeb.

It will be seen from the brief resume that a handful of Marathas, scarcely exceeding at the best one lakh of men, not only carved out kingdoms and Jahagirs for themselves in the troublous times which succeeded the downfall of the Mahomedan power, but that their influence has not yet spent itself, and that they even now form a most interesting section of the population of that Presidency, though it must be confessed, their predominance is now decidedly on the wane. It is on this account that the story of the conquest of Tanjore must be allowed a space in a narrative which professes to deal with the fortunes of the Maratha people more than those of any particular section of its confederate rulers.

The first entrance of the Marathas in Southern India took place under the leadership of Shahaji Bhonsle, the father of Shivaji, in 1638. He led an army as a general in the service of the Adilshahi Bijapur kings. These Karnatik wars kept Shahaji, and his army engaged for thirty years, and he conquered Mysore, Vellore, and Gingi. In reward for his services, Shahaji obtained a Jahagir, which

included Bangalore, Kollar, Sera or Cutta and other places in Mysore in 1648. In the course of these wars, Shahaji forced the old Naik chiefs of Madura and Tanjore to submit to the suzerain authority of Bijapur and pay tribute. During the varying fortunes of his long career, Shahaji continued to retain the enjoyment of his Jahagirs in the Mysore territory down to his death in 1664. Bangalore was his headquarters, and was in those days the most southerly encampment of the Maratha armies in the south. When his son Venkoji succeeded to this Jahagir, there were some internecine disputes between the Naik rulers of Tanjore and Madura, and the Tanjore prince was defeated in the struggle. He then sought refuge at the Bijapur Court, and that Court ordered Venkoji to place the Tanjore prince on his throne. Venkoji marched at the head of 12,000 troops and obtained a great victory, and established the refugee Prince on his throne. The adherents of the Prince, however, quarrelled among themselves, and Venkoji was invited by one of the factions to seize the fort of Tanjore. The Tanjore Prince fled at the approach of the Marathas. Tanjore was taken by Venkoji in 1674, and he removed his headquarters from Bangalore to Tanjore in 1675.

The most noteworthy event during the period of Venkoji's rule over Tanjore, was the expedition of Shivaji in those parts of the country in 1676. Shivaji obtained easy possession of the Karnatik Jahagir of the family, and Venkoji was unable to maintain his position. The Bijapur government recognized Shivaji's claim to the Karnatik Jahagir, including Tanjore and Thichinopoly. Venkoji was filled with despair at this success of his half brother, and resolved to be a *Byragi*, and retire from the world, but Shivaji wrote a characteristic letter to his brother, and reminding him of his duty, dissuaded him from becoming a *Byragi*. Shivaji at this time generously yielded all his claims to his father's patrimony to satisfy his brother. This generosity had the desired effect, and Venkoji continued to be in charge of his principality down to the time of his death in 1687. In the interest of the Maratha confederacy it would certainly have been better if Shivaji had strengthened his hold in these parts at this time. By his abandonment of the kingdom to Venkoji, he cut off this settlement from its proper place in the united Maratha kingdom, and Tanjore suffered grievously by reason of this isolation. Venkoji was not a strong ruler, and in consequence of his inability to retain his distant possession in Mysore, he was obliged to make Bangalore over to the Mysore Rajas, who purchased this Maratha town for the small sum of three lakhs. These cessions cut off the Tanjore kingdom completely from its parent source in the Deccan, and it

was not long before it was hemmed in on one side by the English, and on the other by the Mysore rulers Hyder Ali and his son Tipu.

After Venkoji's death in 1687, his three sons, Shahaji, Sarfoji and Tukoji, succeeded to the kingdom one after another, and their joint occupation of the throne extended over a period of nearly fifty years (1687-1735). The principal event in the reign of Shahaji was the invasion of Tanjore by the Moghul general Zulfikarkhan. After Sambhaji's death, and the capture of his son Shahu by the Moghuls, the Marathas found it impossible to oppose Aurangzeb's power in their native country of the Deccan, and Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, with the Maratha generals and statesmen who still adhered to the national standard, retreated to the south, and established themselves at Gingi in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. The Moghul invaders, thereupon, marched to the south and besieged Gingi. The operations of the siege were protracted over many years with varied success, and it was in the course of these operations that the Moghul commander levied contributions from Tanjore, and deprived the Raja of a portion of his territory in the Trichinopoly district. Under the rule of the two succeeding monarchs, Sarfoji and Tukoji, the Tanjore Marathas extended their power over the Marva country in the neighbourhood of Rameshvar. The Zamindaris of Shiv Ganga and Ramnath were conquered about 1730. They were fiefs which acknowledged the supremacy of Tanjore when it was governed by strong rulers, and resisted its power under weak sovereigns.

The final conquest of this part of the country was effected in 1763 and 1771, by the Maratha generals, Sidoji and Mankoji, who greatly distinguished themselves, and Mankoji also played a considerable part in the war between 1742 and 1763.

After the death of the three sons of Venkoji, there was a rapid succession of rulers between 1735 and 1740, due partly to the untimely death of some, and partly to the attempts of the Moghul commanders to impose their own nominees as kings. The Maratha officers in the service of Tanjore finally succeeded in raising to the throne Pratapsing, an illegitimate son of Tukoji, in 1740, and he reigned for a period of twenty-three years.

The early years of Pratapsing's reign witnessed, however, the second invasion of Southern India by the confederate army of the Satara Raja led by Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur. It was one of the largest expeditions sent out from Satara, and the army would have accomplished permanent results if the Tanjore Marathas had forgotten their jealousies, and Raghuji had pushed on his conquests after his first successes near Trichinopoly. As it was, he was content to leave a garrison at Trichinopoly, and capture

Chandasaheb, who was brought captive to Satara. The Peshwas were about this time anxious to strike the axe at the root of the Moghul power in North India, and this expedition to the south was undertaken by Raghuji in pursuance of the alternative policy which found support with some of the Maratha chiefs who advised Shahu to leave North India to itself, and seize the southern provinces permanently. Raghuji Bhonsle, on his return from this expedition, found enough occupation in Bengal and Eastern India, and the south remained closed to Maratha influences till the rise of Hyder Ali. The release of Chandasaheb by Shahu at the instance of Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, led to the ten years' war between the English and the French 1750-1760. The Tanjore Rajas sided with Mahomed Ali, the English protege, and suffered at the hands of the French ally, Murrarao Ghorpade, who sacked Tanjore at a time when the English were unable to help the Raja. Later on, the French general Lally also plundered Tanjore, but the English succeeded in sending relief on this occasion. Throughout these Karnatik wars, the Tanjore army under Mankoji played an important part on the side of the English and against the French.

Notwithstanding all these sacrifices made by the Tanjore Rajas in helping the cause of the English, the Nabab Mahomed Ali cherished a grudge against Tanjore, which was noted for its riches, and the interposition of the English alone succeeded in 1762 in establishing an understanding by which the Raja became a tributary of the Nawab, with an English guarantee, and agreed to pay four lakhs as tribute. Later on, in 1771, the Nawab secured the help of the Madras Government in attacking Tulsaji, the son of Pratapsing, and Tulsaji had to sue for peace which involved him and his State in heavy money liabilities, and curtailed still more the resources of the Tanjore State. In this second treaty the interests of the Raja of Tanjore were completely sacrificed to the greed of Mahomed Ali, and of his English creditors, who dictated the policy of the Madras Government. The guarantee of 1762, by which the English had undertaken to be responsible for the autonomy of Tanjore, was thrown to the winds. In 1773, further acts of spoliation were renewed by the Nabab with the help of his English allies, and the Raja was taken prisoner, his city was captured, and the territory was annexed by the Nabab to his own kingdom. All these acts of spoliation and breach of faith had been undertaken by the Madras Government on their own responsibility, and in the interest of the English creditors of the Nawab, the Court of Directors had no knowledge of them, and when they came to know the full details of these unjust proceedings, they

strongly condemned the conduct of the Madras Government. They at once recalled the Governor, and resolved upon setting up Tulsaji on his ancestral throne. These orders were accordingly carried out in 1776. During the three years of the Nabab's rule he succeeded, however, in despoiling the country of all its resources, and it took full ten years to restore to it a part of its old prosperity. Just then a war broke out between the English and Hyder Ali, and Hyder wreaked his vengeance on the illfated province of Tanjore by desolating it again with his plundering hordes in 1782. It was in the midst of these accumulated troubles that Tulsaji died in 1787, after having reigned eleven years. Tanjore had cut itself adrift from its parent source, and the invasions of the Marathas and their victories over Hyder brought no relief to Tanjore, hemmed in as it was between the English and Hyder. It suffered so grievously during these twenty years that it never rallied again, even when peace was restored to Southern India after the fall of Tipu. It also suffered from internal dissensions. Tulsaji's adopted son was displaced by his half-brother Amarsing. The money liabilities due to the Madras Government had so increased by this time, and the resources of the State had been so greatly reduced, that the Raja was unable to meet his engagements. Sarfoji, the adopted son of Tulsaji, found a protector and friend in Mr. Schwartz, the Danish missionary, and the Court of Directors recognized his claim to succeed, and he was placed in 1798 on the throne, and Amarsing was forced to retire on pension. The Marquis of Wellesly, when he settled Mysore after the fall of Tipu, succeeded also in inducing Sarfoji to part with all exercise of power over his State, and become a titular Raja on a fixed pension made payable to him out of the revenues. He lived on the enjoyment of this dignity and pension till his death in 1833, and was succeeded by his son who died in 1845 without any male heir. The Tanjore State was then declared to have lapsed to the Company, and the Ranees were pensioned and allowed to occupy their old palace. Their private property had also been taken away from them, but this was restored to them after many years of unsuccessful litigation.

This, in short, is the unfortunate story of this little military settlement of the Marathas in the far south. While the confederate Marathas were able to hold their own against the power of the Moghuls, and to recover their independence after a struggle carried on for twenty years, this little settlement, by refusing to be a member of the confederacy, and trying to shift for itself, was engulfed in the wars of the Karnatik. It virtually ceased to be a leading independent State in 1762. There can be no doubt that

if it had kept up its connection with the parent State, it would have played a most useful part in the several invasions of the Marathas, which took place between 1762 and 1792, and in all which the Maratha arms prevailed, and both Hyder and Tipu had to purchase peace by agreeing to pay heavy subsidies and cession of territories. Tanjore suffered the same fate as the other Maratha settlement at Gooty, and for the same fault, namely, that it cut itself off from the confederacy, and tried to shift for itself. This is the lesson which the story of this little settlement is well calculated to teach; and it is a lesson which illustrates the strength and the weakness of the Maratha power strong when confederate, and unable to retain independence when the union was broken up.

APPENDIX

Paper read before The Deccan College Union on
17th September, 1892 by the late Mr. Justice K. T. Telang

GLEANINGS FROM MARATHA CHRONICLES

It is well-known, that the standard¹ history of the Marathas by Captain James Grant Duff is based, to a considerable extent, on Maratha Bakhars or chronicles and other original papers and documents, to which the author had access. Of several of these, Grant Duff had copies made, which, he tells us² in his history, were deposited by him with the Literary Society of Bombay. This was certainly the most appropriate thing to do at that time, so as to provide facilities for students of Maratha history to examine for themselves the original materials which Grant Duff had worked up into his book. Unfortunately, however, the Literary Society has long ceased to exist. And Grant Duff's manuscripts cannot now be traced anywhere. I have had inquiries and search made in the Library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is the successor of the Literary Society. But the manuscripts are not in that library and nothing on the records of either Society now available affords any clue to their present whereabouts. An impression has existed for several years past in some quarters,³ that the manuscripts in question were burnt, with the knowledge, if not under the orders, of Grant Duff himself. I have never, however, been able to ascertain the basis on which this impression is founded.⁴ And the story itself is so improbable, and so much like the stories about the burning of papers and documents by the Inam Commission, that it does not deserve any further consideration. It must have originally arisen probably when it was ascertained that the manuscripts were not on the shelves of the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Some of these documents, however, have within the last ten or twelve years become accessible to the Marathi reader in print. And

¹See *inter alia* Journal Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX, pp. vi, ix, xxxiii, and Vol. X, p. 210.

²See the foot notes to his History *passim*.

³See *inter alia* Vividhajnana-vistara, Vol. VIII, p. 213, Vol. IX, p. 247. A review of Grant Duff's History of the Marathas by a student of the Poona College (now Rao Bahadur Nilkhant Janardan Kirtane), p. 9 *et seq.*

I am told that no such impression has existed at Satara where Grant Duff was officially employed.

⁴The basis alleged in the Review mentioned in note (2) is certainly very unsubstantial, and not to be implicitly relied on, under the circumstances. A certain "Southern Commissioner" is also mentioned as having had some share in the destruction of the Mss. The name of the gentleman who gave the information on which this story is based is mentioned in the second edition of the Review, p. 28. But I do not see that that improves matters very much. Mr. Kirtane himself has in his second edition (95-7) very properly and candidly expressed his disbelief in the story, together with the grounds for his disbelief. It is, perhaps, worthy of note in this connection, that it appears from Sir H. Elliott's History of India, by Prof. Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. vi and 210 that another of Grant Duff's Mss.—a translation of a Musalman original—is also not now forthcoming.

with these, there have also been published some others, which apparently were not before Grant Duff. An examination of both these groups of documents discloses sundry passages of interest in connection with Maratha history, although it did not fall within the scope of Grant Duff's work to cast any except a very incidental and hurried glance at them, and that, too, only at some of them. Grant Duff's work devotes itself mainly, if one may not even say exclusively, to the purely political history of the Marathas. Their social and religious progress receives only a very occasional and very indirect notice in its pages. It is true, that even in the original documents above alluded to, the various political transactions of the periods to which they respectively relate form almost exclusively the subject-matter of the narrative.⁵ Still, when these original documents are before us, the incidental references contained in them to social and religious matters are even now capable of being utilized, while in the case of the manuscripts that are lost, this is necessarily not the case. And for the reasons stated, we cannot now have access even at second-hand to such references as may have been contained in them. Considering that taken altogether, the light thrown on the social and religious history of the Marathas by the documents now available is not very plentiful, but comes, so to say, in only scattered rays, it is a subject of just regret, that even the chance of adding to it an extra ray here and there is now foreclosed by the loss of Grant Duff's manuscripts. In default of them, however, it is proposed in the present paper, to gather together to a focus such of these scattered rays as may be obtained from the papers and documents which have, within the last few years, been made generally accessible in print, in the pages of the *Vividhajnanavistara*, of the *Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen*, and above all in those of the *Kavyetihasa Sangraha*.⁶

The first point of interest, then, to be noted here is the attitude of the State towards the social and religious concerns of the people. Here we are enabled to go back to the very beginnings of Maratha power, to the system established by its great founder. And it is to be remarked, that in spite of the unfavourable conditions then existing, in spite of the all-engrossing militarism of the day,⁷ Shivaji found

⁵In Sir H. Elliott's History of India by Prof. Dowson, Vol. I, pp. xix-xxi, one may read some very bitter, but not, I fear, unfounded complaints, about the character of the chronicles written by Hindu writers which Sir. H. Elliott had to examine.

⁶These are the principal sources. Some others have also been utilized, as will be seen later on. The Bakhar, a translation of which is contained in Prof. Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, Vol. I, must, it seems to me, have been in some parts mistranslated, and in all abridged in the translation. The original is hardly likely, for instance, to have spoken of a night darker than Shivaji's heart (see p. 15)—a phrase which one would not expect to occur in relation to Shivaji in a Maratha Bakhar deposited in Raigad.

⁷Barnier in his Travels (see new edition in Constable's Oriental Miscellany, pp. 220-1) and Ovington in his Voyage to Surat (pp. 189-228) afford some indication about the large armies maintained in those days and the expenses which their maintenance entailed.

time to apply his genius to the elaboration of a regular system of Civil Administration⁹, in a manner to which we find almost no parallel throughout the whole period of Maratha history, except during the regime of that excellent Peshwa, the elder Madhavrao.¹⁰ One principal feature of Shivaji's system consisted in the creation of a Cabinet Council—the famous Ashta Pradhan—or Eight Ministers.¹¹ And one of these eight was known as Panditrav.¹² His functions, like those of the other Ministers and high officers, are stated in a Note or Memorandum which purports to be written on the 13th of Jyeshtha Vadya, Tuesday, of the first year of the era of Installation (A.D. 1674).¹³ It states that the Panditrav's duties are to exercise all the ecclesiastical powers of the State, and to order punishment to be inflicted upon after investigating into what is and is not in accordance with the religious law. He is to receive learned persons on behalf of the State, and countersign all documents that may issue from the Sovereign relating to *Achara*, *Vyavahara*, and *Prayaschitta*, that is to say, rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances,¹⁴ the three départements of the *Dharmashastra*. He is also to look after the performance of Shantis,¹⁵ and other ceremonials, and the distribution of the royal bounty. It is further stated in the Life of Shivaji, written by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, that the scheme of the Cabinet and its functions was settled by Shivaji in conformity with previous practice and traditions.¹⁶

⁹Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 223 *et seq.*

¹⁰See about him Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 208 *et seq.* and compare Forrest's Bombay Selections, Vol. I, p. 250; Travels, pp. 79, 146.

¹¹See Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 235 *et seq.* comp. Chitrugupta's Life of Shivaji, p. 103; Sabhasad's ditto p. 69; and Vividhajnanavistara, Vol. XIII, p. 238 *et seq.* : Forrest's Selections, pp. 14, 80.

¹²There is some diversity in the various accounts contained in our authorities about the institution of the Panditrav's office. The Maratha Samrajya Bakhar (p. 28) says that it was established some little time after Shivaji's plunder of Surat, in order to provide an officer who would look after the grants made to Brahmans with a view to the preservation of virtue and justice in the Kingdom. Malhar Ramrao Chitnis seems to agree with this (see Vividhajnanavistara, Vol. X, p. 8), and to show that all Shivaji's administrative arrangements took shape at that time. Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (p. 23) says that the title of Panditrav was bestowed on Raghunath Pandit when he was appointed as a fit and proper person for the negotiations with Mirza Raja Jayasing—an appointment which M. R. Chitnis also mentions. Chitrugupta in his life (p. 105) and Gupte, the author of the Bhonsle Bakhar (p. 10), refer the institution of the office to the time of the Installation. See further as to the Panditrav's functions. M. R. Chitnis's Rajaniti, pp. 10, 30; and compare Malcom's Central India. Vol. II., p. 429; and Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I.: p. 214 (*Quere* what is the meaning of Jairam Bopput there mentioned? Can it be a proper name, Jayaram Bapat?) The Dhavadasi Bakhar mentioned the Panditrav in connection with the Svami's funeral ceremonies.

¹³Letters, memoranda, &c., published in the Kavyetihasa Sangraha, p. 357.

¹⁴See West and Buhler's Hindu Law, p. 13.

¹⁵See Mandlik's Hindu Law, intr. p. xxxii.

¹⁶Vividhajnanavistara, Vol. XIII, pp. 201, 238; see also Sabhasad's Life of Shivaji, p. 69. At p. 725 of Mr. Forrest's Bombay Selections, Vol. I, is a translation of an essay by a Mahomedan writer of the last century, who alleges that Shivaji borrowed his scheme from the Musalmans. He does not mention any grounds for his statement.

In an *Ajnapatra*, or Rescript, bearing date Margashirsha Shudha 4th, Thursday of the forty-second year of the Installation era (1716 A.D.), issued by Raja Shambhu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, it is said that it is among the duties of a king of men to destroy any tendency towards impiety, and to increase piety, among his subjects, and thus to acquire eternal happiness in the life to come.¹⁶ Accordingly it is laid down¹⁷ that heretical opinions, antagonistic to religion, should not by any means be allowed to prevail in the kingdom, and if perchance they should be found to have manifested themselves anywhere, the matters should be inquired into personally, that is to say, I understand, by the Minister himself to whom the order is directed, and due punishment should be inflicted, so that no one else may join in the evil courses, and they may ultimately be altogether stopped.

It would thus appear that the Maratha Rajas considered it their right, or rather their duty, to regulate the religious affairs of their subjects, although it is to be remarked, that the Minister appointed for the purpose of attending to this part of the Raja's duties was in fact always a Brahman, as indeed might naturally be expected. It further appears, that these duties were practically enforced, and did not exhaust themselves in being committed to paper. We find, for instance, that in the reign of Sambhaji, the son and successor of Shivaji, the favourite "Kabji,"¹⁸ Kalusha, among his other high crimes and misdemeanours, induced the King, against the advice and remonstrance of the responsible Minister Panditrav, to order *Prayaschittas* or penances, to be performed by eminent Brahmans, "masters of six Shastras".¹⁹ What offences or shortcomings were alleged for justifying these orders, the document before us does not state, and there is no other source of information on the subject known to me.

In the time of Shahu again, when Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa, the State had to deal with a dispute even then of long standing between the Brahmans and the Prabhus.²⁰ The dispute appears to have commenced as early as the days of Shivaji,²¹ and the settlement then arrived at was, apparently, adhered to during the reigns of Sambhaji and

¹⁶V. G. Vistara, Vol. V, p. 194.

¹⁷Ditto. p. 91, and comp. Letters &c., (K. I. Sangraha), p. 9.

¹⁸The writer of the note at Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VII, p. 338, seems to be puzzled by this word; but it is, of course, equivalent to *kab* or *kavi* plus the honorific "ji". The Bhonsle Bakhar (p. 14), and M. R. Chitnis Life of Sambhaji (p. 7) and the Shri Shiva Kavya, canto vi, st. 21, suggest that Kalusha was an emissary of Aurangzeb. See also Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 462. The Mahomedan account, summarized in Dowson's Elliott (loc. cit.) does not support this suggestion; while it connects Kabji with the Brahman Kasipant in whose charge Sambhaji had been left by Shivaji on his flight from Delhi.

¹⁹Marathi Samrajyachi Bakhar, p. 59.

²⁰This is the correct mode of spelling the name of the caste as claimed by themselves. The change to Parbhu (corrupted by Anglo-Indian to Purvoo) they attribute to jealousy. See Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar, p. 6.

²¹See K. P. Bakhar (K.P.I.S.), pp. 10-12.

Rajaram, and the greater part of the reign of Shahu himself. Towards the latter end of Shahu's reign, however, the dispute was rekindled, as the Prabhus were much in favour with Shahu as they had been with Shivaji.²² The Brahmans of the day are charged, in the Prabhu chronicles, with having interpolated new verses into old Puranic and other books like the *Sahyadri Khanda*, for the purpose of lowering the status of the Prabhu caste. The disputes having come before Balaji Bajirao, the Peshwa, he wrote to Shahu, recommending that the old practice should be adhered to, that the new quarrels raised by the Brahmans should be discountenanced, and that they should be given final and clear orders in the matter. Shahu²³ thereupon sent an order to all the Brahmans of Khande and Mahuli (on the banks of the river Krishna) ordering that they should continue to perform all ceremonies, funeral and other, as the same had been theretofore performed, during the regime of the Bijapur Emperors,²⁴ and also in the time of Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai, and in the early days of the then current reign. They were directed "not to do anything new, not to break anything old." At the same time with this order of the Sovereign, the Panditrag Raghunath appears also to have addressed a communication to the Brahmans aforesaid, reciting briefly the order made by Shahu, and adding that the old practice should be revived.²⁵ We learn, however, that although these orders were sent, the disputes were not in fact settled, as the Pratinidhi Jagjivanrav Pandit, and his agent Yamaji, who were managing all affairs at Satara on behalf of Shahu, would not accept the settlement, seeing that Shahu's end was approaching. Subsequently Shahu died, as was expected, and Balaji Bajirao immediately placed both the Pratinidhi and his agent Yamaji²⁶ in prison, and ordered²⁷ the old practice as regards ceremonies among Prabhu families to be resumed. That practice, then, continued undisturbed until the end of the administration of Madhavrao, and the beginning of that of Narayanrav.

Many years after this,²⁸ in the days of the Peshwa Savai Madhavrav, a Brahman, we learn, named Narhari Panalekar became *yavanamaya* and *bhrashia*, which I understand to mean converted to Mahomedanism

²²See Chitragupta's Shivaji, p. 123.

²³See K. P. Bakhar (K.P.I.S.), pp. 12-17.

²⁴It seems to follow from this, that the Mussalman Rajas had also dealt with the questions between these two castes.

²⁵See K. P. Bakhar (K.P.I.S.), pp. 12-13, where the letters are set out at length.

²⁶See Grant Duff, Vol. II, pp. 17, 32.

²⁷Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 35. The Panipat Bakhar of Raghunath Yadav states (p. 7) that Shahu on his death-bed made over the whole kingdom to Balaji Bajirao.

²⁸See Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 70. A similar question arose long afterwards in connection with the case of Sripat Seshadri—a brother of the late Rev. Narayan Seshadri—in which the late enlightened Prof. Bal Gangadhar Shastri is understood to have taken a prominent part which mortally offended the orthodoxy of his day.

and fallen off from Hinduism. He was then taken back into the fold by certain Brahmans of Paithana, although, as the Peshva's order says, this was an unwarrantable proceeding. His re-admission led to a split in the Brahman community of the place; and then an officer of the Government came upon the scene, and by coercion got all the Brahmans, the excommunicated ones and the others, to sit down to dinner together. The result, says the Peshva's order, was that the whole of the Paithana Brahmans became excommunicated. And therefore the Sarkar, or Government, sent two Karkuns to administer penance wholesale to all the Brahmans of Paithana; and this was accordingly done. The order, then, which is addressed to the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes of Pargana Jalnapur, after reciting all this, directs that the other Brahmans of the Pargana, having had intercourse with the Paithana Brahmans, must also perform due penance, according to the measure of their intercourse, through the instrumentality of the two Government Karkuns aforesaid. This case presents several remarkable features, not the least remarkable of which is the severe logic by which the penance is made to extend to all the Brahmans of a whole Pargana. The same severe logic may be noticed in a later case, which occurred in October 1800—soon after the deaths of Nana Fadanavis and Parshuram Bhanu Patvardhan. It seems then to have been found out, that one of the household attendants in the Peshva's palace, who had been supposed to be a Brahman, was in fact of a low caste—a saddler. The man was ordered to be punished, and penance was administered to the whole city of Poona, that is, presumably, to the Brahmans of the place, who must have been then, as they are now, the large majority of the inhabitants.³⁰

A curious ecclesiastical case was disposed of by Sadashivrav Bhau³¹ at Trimbakeshwar. The Giri and Puri³² sects of Gosavis had some dispute about bathing at Trimbakeshwar in the *Sinhastha* year—a dispute, apparently, about which of them was to have precedence. The dispute led, we are told, to severe fights, until Sadashivrav having offered to settle the matter “on the part of the Government”, the two parties agreed, and then Sadashivrav taking hold of the hands of the Mahants of the two rival sects, entered the sacred waters of the Kusavarta with the two Mahants for his companions. The two thus entering the water together, all disputes about precedence ceased.³²

³⁰Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 523. I know of no other source of information regarding the matter than the very short entry there. A curious extension of the severity of the logic even to deceased persons is suggested at Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Gramanya), p. 9. See further Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 9. The passage there is rather obscure.

³¹It seems that Sadashivrav principally managed the Peshva's affairs, Balaji as a rule “taking it easy”. See *inter alia* Forrest's Bombay Selections, Vol. I, pp. 121, 134, and compare Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, p. 91.

³²See Prof. H. H. Wilson's Religious Sects of the Hindus, Vol. I, pp. 202-3.

³³See Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 68-9.

The Peshva, however, had not been equally successful in settling another dispute between rival Brahmans,³³ which had arisen some time before at Trimbakeshvar, in relation to the temple built by him at that place. The consecration of the edifice could not be performed at the time when Balaji wished it to be performed, because the Yajurvedi and Apastamba Brahmans had some dispute—the nature of which is not more precisely indicated—in connection with the southern gate of the Temple.³⁴ How the matter was ultimately settled does not appear.³⁵ It may be remarked, in passing, that some of the stone used under the orders of the Peshva for erecting the Trimbakeshvar Temple, is stated to have been taken from the Mahomedan Musjids or Mosques in the Moghul districts. Whether such mosques were then unused and dilapidated or not does not appear.³⁶

Another matter, in which the Peshva of the day failed to carry out his own wishes, in consequence of opposition from the people, was one which had occurred in the time of the first Bajirao. I have not seen any original authority for this, but a note of the Editor of the Peshva's Bakhar says, that Bajirao having had a son by the Musalman woman Mastani, wanted to perform the thread-ceremony of that son and make a Brahman of him; but that the plan fell through in consequence of the opposition of the Brahmans.³⁷ In a sketch of the career of Bajirao, bearing date in 1840, (though this is probably the date of the copy, not of the original sketch itself), a brief account is given of the sort of quasi-marriage, which had been celebrated between Bajirao and Mastani.³⁸ The account there given is that Mastani was the daughter of the Nawab of Hyderabad, that is to say, the Nizam, and that the Nabab's wife suggested that their

³³For another unsuccessful interference, or rather a series of unsuccessful interferences, by the State in ecclesiastical affairs, see the Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar, p. 13 *et seq.*; Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Gramanya) p. 5. *et seq.*

³⁴Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 68-9.

³⁵But it appears from Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 522, that the consecration of the Trimbakeshvar Temple was made by Bajirao II in Saka 1728 (A.D. 1806). The delay seems unaccountably long in spite of the difficulties raised by the Brahmans.

³⁶Peshva's Bakhar, p. 68. And compare *inter alia* Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VII, pp. 404, 415, 446, 456, and Malcolm's Central India, Vol. I, p. 56.

³⁷Peshva's Bakhar, p. 40. That such an idea should have occurred to a Hindu defender of the faith is itself rather remarkable as an example of that relaxation of old traditions adverted to further on in this paper. And compare Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 599. Well might Grant Duff say that Bajirao was free from "bigotry".

³⁸Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 539. The whole story is a curious one, and there are sundry discrepancies in the various accounts we have of the transaction. See Shri Sivakayya, canto X, st. 58; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar, pp. 74-77; Kashiraj's Bhonsle Bakhar, p. 40; Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 37-40, see also p. 49; Peshva's Shakavali, p. 6; Raghunath Yadav's Panipat Bakhar, p. 48; Chitni's Shahu, p. 76; Forrest's Selections, p. 658. As to Sumsher Bahadur, the son of Mastani, and the manner in which he was treated, and the designation he bore in relation to the Peshva's family, see Forrest, p. 102, and Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VIII, p. 283, and compare Peshva's Bakhar, p. 150.

daughter might be married to Bajirao, as a means of cementing friendship between them. The marriage was accordingly celebrated, but with a dagger ;³⁹ and Bajirao afterwards brought Mastani away, and kept her in a separate mansion built specially for her in a part of the grounds of the Shanavar palace at Poona.

One matter of considerable importance, to which attention is being directed among Hindus at the present day, was dealt with by an order of the Peshvas—which of them was then in power it is not possible to say. The order provides, that no Brahman in Prant Vai should accept a money payment for giving his girl in marriage ; that whoever received any money should forfeit double the amount of it to Government ; whoever pays any should forfeit as much ; and whoever may act as go-between in arranging such a marriage and receive money for his services as such should forfeit the amount of his brokerage. The official to whom the order is conveyed is directed to communicate the terms of it “in an emphatic manner” to all the Brahman caste, and to all Jamindars, ecclesiastical functionaries, officiating priests, astrologers (Joshis), and to Patils and Kulkarnis ; and he is ordered to recover the amounts as prescribed without listening to any pretext about expenses, &c. The letter now published acknowledges receipt of this order, the whole of which it recites : and promises to communicate it to the people of the town of Vai and of Government villages, and to Deshmukhs and Deshpandes. It is unnecessary to say anything more with reference to this order, than that its all-embracing character deserves notice. All parties to the nefarious transaction are hit at, the man who sells his girl, the man who buys her, and the man who arranges the bargain and sale.⁴⁰

It would thus appear, that under Maratha rule, the union of Church and State was very close indeed ; that it was not merely a theoretical but a practically enforced union ; and that it was so, as well during the regime of the Maratha Rajas, as under that of the Brahman Peshvas, though it is to be observed, *valeat quantum*, that the order of the Peshva last mentioned bears the usual seal containing the name of Raja Shahu.⁴¹ This is not much to be wondered at, considering that the idea of a State leaving all ecclesiastical and religious affairs outside its own jurisdiction, is not one which is even now universally accepted, and considering further that the main ins-

³⁹As to this compare *inter alia*, Malcolm's Central India, Vol. II, p. 158.

⁴⁰See Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K.I. Sangraha), pp. 121-2. Manu, chap. III. st. 51 *et seq.* and chap. IX. st. 98 *et seq.* forbids what he in terms stigmatizes as a sale of a daughter, and the established name for the transaction in Marathi still is Kanyavikraya or sale of a daughter. See also Manu, chap. X, 62 *et seq.* It will be seen that the particular sanctions enacted by the Peshva are not such as can be found in the Manu Smriti, and so far the Peshva's order is in its nature, legislative, to borrow a term appertaining to the conceptions of the present day.

⁴¹In the Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar, p. 12, is a letter from the Peshva making a recommendation, and one from the Raja issuing the required orders through the Panditray.

piring principle of the whole movement initiated by Shivaji and carried on by his successors down to the closing years of the Peshva regime was the preservation of the Hindu religion against foreign aggression.⁴² The only point one is struck by is that the Maratha Rajas should have been prepared and able to meddle so far as they did in religious matters. One possible explanation is that the people at large may have accepted the claims made in favour of Shivaji's Kshatriya origin—a matter on which something more will have to be said in the sequel. On the other hand, it is to be observed that the Shastris generally have been chary of admitting, and in fact have often expressly denied,⁴³ the existence of any castes other than Brahmans and Sudras at the present day. They have generally, I believe, relied on an old text of the Bhagavata Purana,⁴⁴ which says that the Nandas were the last of the Kshatriyas; and they have not, as far as I am aware, grappled, from that standpoint, with the claims of Shivaji to rank as a Kshatriya—claims, which appear to have been at least acquiesced in by Ramadasa.⁴⁵ Another explanation may, perhaps, be found in the old doctrine that every king has more or less of the divine element in him. In one passage of one of our recently published Bakhars, no less a person than the Moghul emperor of Delhi has been given the benefit of that doctrine.⁴⁶ And if that is allowable, *a fortiori* must

⁴²See *inter alia* Sabhasad's Life, pp. 27-8; V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, pp. 50-3; Maratha Samrajya Bakhar, p. 76, Bhonsle's Bakhar, p. 7; Bhonsle Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 147; Nigudkar's Life of P. B. Patvardhan, p. 87; Malcolm's Central India, Vol. I, p. 69.

⁴³See *inter alia* West and Buhler's Digest of Hindu Law, p. 921 note. The learned authors of that work, Sir R. West and Dr. J. G. Buhler, had seen a large number of opinions of Shastris recorded in the various British Courts in the Bombay Presidency. The Shastris in other parts of the country also have, on various occasions, expressed opinions to the same effect. They may be seen referred to in the report of a case decided by Her Majesty's Privy Council at Moore's Indian Appeal Cases, Vol. VII, pp. 35-7, 46-9. Steel is there quoted as showing that the claims of Kshatriya descent of the Bhonsles and other Maratha families have been denied; and that the denial is based, not on the passage of the Bhagavata referred to in the text, but on the extinction of the Kshatriyas by Parashurama. But it is obvious that this last argument proves too much. For if it is correct, what is to be said of the caste status of Rama of Ayodhya, to take only one instance, and the series of his successors as described, for example in Kalidasa's Raghuvansa? See further Malcolm's Central India, Vol. I, p. 43.

⁴⁴One explanation of this text, which I believe to be the usual one, applies it only to the land of Magadha, not the whole of Bharatakhanda. For another explanation, given by Banares Pandits, see Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar, p. 17.

⁴⁵See *inter alia* Dasabodha XIII, 6. Hemadri, too, describes the Jadhav prince, Mahadeva, as of the Somavansa, and as having performed Yajnas. At V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, p. 35, it is said that the Marathas are Rajputs with only altered names. See also as to this, Journal Bom. Br. Roy. As. Society, Vol. IX, p. cxliv; and compare, Bhonsle Bakhar, pp. 3-5; M. R. Chitnis's Rajaniti, p. 7; Forrest's Selections, p. 726; Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VII, p. 254, Vol. VIII, p. 258.

⁴⁶The passages relating to this point are all extremely curious, and deserve to be examined in their original places. See Panipat Bakhar by R. Yadav, pp. 19-20; Chitnis's Rajaram I, p. 71; Bhau Saheb's Bakhar, p. 56; Chitragupta's Shivaji, p. 137; Chitnis's Rajaram II, p. 55; Sri Sivakavya, Canto i, at 119; Compare Letters, &c. p. 37; see also Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. III,

Shivaji and Sambhaji be also allowed to be entitled to a share of the quasi-divine character."

At this point, I cannot resist the temptation to draw attention to a passage in Krishnaji A. Sabhasad's *Life of Shivaji*. Although, as above stated, his movement was in essence a religious one, it appears that in providing for the preservation of temples and religious institutions of his own faith," Shivaji also continued the existing grants in favour of Musalman Pirs, mosques, &c., for keeping up lights" and religious services. As Sabhasad's *Life* professes to have been written at the desire of Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, in 1694, and as there is some internal evidence to confirm this claim, the information furnished by Shivaji's biographer is obviously of great historic value.

To return, however, to our main point. In connection with this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it may be useful to note, that it is clear from the *Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar*,⁴⁹ that the Musalman sovereigns of Bijapur were also on occasion called on to deal with these ecclesiastical cases arising among their Hindu subjects. It appears, for instance, that in the course of the quarrels between the Brahmans and Prabhus in the Konkan, the two parties once went to the local Bijapur

p. 149, (which shows that Akbar was regarded as a divine incarnation), and Dowson's *Elliott* Vol. V, pp. 567-70. In Dowson's *Elliott* Vol. VII, p. 284, we are told that there was in Delhi a sect of Hindus who did not take their daily food until after they had "Darsana" of Aurangzeb, and were thence called *Darsanis*!

⁴⁸See Chitnis's *Rajmūl*, p. 123; Chitragupta's *Shivaji*, pp. 5, 16, 32, 41, 101; Kharda Bakhar, p. 22. In the *Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen* (Gramanya) p. 5, it is stated, that when the dissensions between the Brahmans and Prabhus were going on in the life-time of Narayanrav Peshva, the champions of the former said: "What does it matter what is in the *Shastras*? Who looks at them? The Peshvas are sovereigns. It is necessary to act as they direct." Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 356 shows a similar complacency on the part of Mahomedan Doctors of the Law in presence of Aurangzeb. And see also Bernier, p. 288.

⁴⁹See Sabhasad's *Life*, p. 27; Chitragupta, p. 40; V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, p. 36; Fryer's *Travels*, p. 68, and Bernier, pp. 188-9, afford independent confirmation of these statements. And Dowson's *Elliott*, Vol. VII, p. 260, is of special value, as coming from a Mahomedan source. This tolerance sometimes was carried too far: see *inter alia* *Marathi Samrajya Bakhar*, p. 14. (see also the curious story at p. 48); M. R. Chitnis's *Sambhaji*, p. 5; Holkar's *Kaifiyat*, p. 108 (where the Holkar takes the "Kakiri", a matter still not uncommon), Forrester's *Selections*, p. 1; Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 118, 255. With this may be compared Mahomedan liberality as shown in the prohibition of cow-slaughter procured by Mahadji Sindhia from the Delhi Emperor. See Grant Duff, Vol. III, p. 76; Malcolm's *Central India*, Vol. I, pp. 164, 194. And see also Bernier, pp. 306, 326. The Portuguese are stated to have been very intolerant: see the *Sashti Bakhar*, p. 1; Dowson's *Elliott*, Vol. VII, pp. 211, 345; Ovingtons *Voyage to Surat*, p. 206.

⁵⁰As to this compare Scott's *Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 203. Fryer's *Travels*, p. 124.

⁵¹PP. 8-9. At a later stage of these disputes, in the days of Nana Fadanavis's power, the Prabhus said "all our caste prays for an assembly of Pandits to be convened to determine our status. Then let an order of the State be issued, and it will be our duty to have the ceremonies performed as ordered. Only let the State orders be given after due consideration". *Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen* (Gramanya), p. 17; K. P. Bakhar, p. 12.

officer for redress. He was a Musalman, and he pointed out that he knew nothing of the *shastras* of the litigants. He therefore told them both to go to their principal sacred place, Banares, and obtain a decision from the Pandits there; and promised that he would enforce such decision. The Bakhar goes on to say, that the parties did accordingly repair to Banares, where a great *sabha* or assembly of the Pandits was held, and after high debate it was determined that the Prabhus were genuine Kshatriyas, and entitled to the benefit of Vedic ceremonies,⁵¹ and to be taught the sacred *Gayatri* verse. The Brahmans are said to have been satisfied, and to have agreed to conduct the ceremonies for the Prabhus in the regular manner. And it is stated subsequently that this was accordingly done.

Perhaps the incidents relating to the marriage of Shahaji may be looked at as affording another illustration of the same character. The incidents are curious on other grounds also, and may, therefore, be fitly set out at some length.⁵² Maloji, the father of Shahaji, and his brother Vithoji, were both employed in the service of Lukj Jadhavrav, and Mansabdar under the Nizamshahi Government. On one occasion, in 1598 when the *Shimga* festivities of the *Ranga* were being celebrated at the house of Jadhavrav, Maloji and his young son Shahaji being present, the host seated Shahaji, then five years of age and a handsome looking boy, by the side of his daughter, who was three years old. And in the course of conversation he happened to remark, as people often do on such occasions, that the two would make a very suitable match, and asked the girl if she would like to have Shahaji for her husband. Immediately Maloji and his brother Vithoji declared to the assembled guests that the word of Jadhavrav had been passed in favour of the match, and called on them to bear witness to the fact. Jadhavrav's wife, however, would not consent to this, and she got him to dismiss Maloji and Vithoji.⁵³ They both left, but after some time they appear to have prospered, and to have placed themselves at the head of a body of two or three thousand soldiers, and also to have got help from others. They then went to a place near Daulatabad, and threw some slaughtered pigs into the mosque there with letters addressed to the Nizam, stating the contract between them and Jadhavrav, and threatening that if the king did not arrange for the marriage being celebrated in pursuance of the contract, they would desecrate⁵⁴ other mosques in the same way. The Nizam at once took up the matter, and directed Jadhavrav to carry out the contract of marriage. This was ultimately done with great pomp under the auspices of the Nizam himself, who took Maloji and Vithoji

⁵¹As to this see West and Buhler's Digest of Hindu Law, p. 920; but see also Mandlik's Hindu Law, p. 56.

⁵²See Marathi Samrajya Bakhar, pp. 4-7, and compare V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, p. 37 *et seq.* also Grant Duff, Vol. I.

⁵³For a funny story of an Englishman's revenge on a Musalman, in which pig's flesh plays an important part, see Tavernier's Travels by V. Ball, Vol. I, p. 11.

into his own service. The proceedings connected with this affair are, it need hardly be remarked, altogether of a curious and irregular character, but they appear to indicate that even in the delicate affairs of marriage, recourse was had by the Hindu subjects of Musalman kings to the assistance of their Sovereigns, in whatever way such assistance might be invoked.

There is a passage in the Bakhar of the battle of Kharda, which illustrates how this ecclesiastical jurisdiction was sometimes invoked, and how it was practically worked on its juridical side. At Talegaum, it seems, there was a Brahman woman, who lived in adultery with a Musalman.⁵⁴ The Brahmans of the place made a complaint about this to Nana Fadanavis at Poona, stating the facts, and adding, in the usual style, that the days of Brahmanism were gone! Nana expressed his disbelief in the charge, but appointed a *Panch* or board of arbitrators to investigate it.⁵⁵ The *Panch* were apparently bribed by the Musalman, and even before the time for final decision was reached, betrayed a tendency to decide in the Musalman's favour, holding that the charge was false. Thereupon "a hundred or two hundred Brahmans" gathered together and went up to Poona. There they went before the tent of the Peshva, (who was starting with his army on the expedition which ended at Kharda), and sat there in the middle of the day with torches blazing. When the Peshva came out of the tent, the Brahmans set up a loud cry: "Har! Har! Mahadev!" And on the Peshva desiring to know the meaning of it all, they said they had come from Talegaum, stated their whole case, and explained that they had lighted torches at midday, as there was so much darkness, that is, absence of justice, prevailing in the kingdom. Nana was thereupon sent for, and subsequently the arbitrators, and finally the accused woman. The woman on being asked at first remained silent. But cane sticks being ordered to be sent for⁵⁶ she acknowledged her guilt, and the Peshva thereupon decided that both the accused persons were guilty—a decision in which Yajnesvar Shastri is stated to have concurred. The sentence was that the male culprit was ordered first to be paraded through the streets of Poona on the back of a donkey with his face turned towards the back⁵⁷ of the animal, and then tied to the foot of an elephant and killed; and

⁵⁴See the Kharda Bakhar, pp. 5-6. (Grant Duff's spelling of the name, Kurdla, is incorrect).

⁵⁵As to this mode of administering criminal justice see Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 237, compare Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 474; Malcolm's Central India, Vol. I, p. 536; Vol. II, pp. 290, 426; Stephen's Impey and Nandkumar, Vol. I, p. 247; Vol. II, p. 78. As to what is said by Grant Duff about women and Brahmans not being put to death, compare M. R. Chitnis's Life of Shahu the younger, pp. 72-80; Peshva's Bakhar, p. 132; Forest, p. 18; Chitrageeta's Shivaji, p. 5; Chitnis's Shahu I, pp. 25, 5; Sambhaji, pp. 12, 14.

⁵⁶This is in accordance with old tradition, compare Mudrarakshasa, Act V: Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. I, p. 201.

⁵⁷See Scott's Deccan, Vol. I, p. 375.

the female culprit, as she could not be sentenced to death," was banished from the kingdom.

The various incidents to which we have thus referred illustrate the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Maratha sovereigns in all aspects. We see from them that those sovereigns, as heads alike of the State and the Church, to borrow a Christian expression, exercised legislative powers, judicial powers both by themselves and through the medium of arbitrators, administrative powers by a departmental Minister, and executive powers through the instrumentality of Government Karkuns. And the documents, it may be added, which furnish this information, extend over nearly the whole period of Maratha rule, from the time of Shivaji down to that of Savai Madhavrao.

It has been already stated, that the Maratha Rajas who claimed and exercised the wide ecclesiastical jurisdiction thus indicated in outline, were regarded as Kshatriyas. The recently published documents contain many allusions to this point. But from those which relate to Shivaji himself," it rather appears, if we read between the lines that the claim set up on his behalf to be of the Kshatriya caste was not universally regarded as really and truly tenable, although from considerations of policy and expediency it might be conceded. From the Biographies of Shivaji, by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad," and by Chitragupta," it seems to follow that the search for the origin of Shivaji's family, which resulted in the discovery that he belonged to the Sisode⁶² clan of Rajputs who reigned in Udayapur⁶³ was

⁶⁰See note 35 supra. The punishments here mentioned were in use in those days for diverse offences. The infamous Ghasiram Kotval was subjected to the parade called Dhinda (see Peshva's Bakhar p. 157), though he appears to have had a camel instead of a donkey to ride on. But see Forbes' Oriental Memoirs Vol. II, p. 135, where the whole affair is described at length. See also Frayer p. 97. Some of Narayanrav Peshva's murderers, and the pretender Sadashivrav Bhau (Grant Duff's spelling of this name as Sewdasheorao is incorrect) were tied to the feet of elephants and thus killed. (See Bhausaheb's Kaifiyat p. 3; and compare Forrest's Selections p. 4, Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII, pp. 359-63, Bernier's Travels p. 177. Scott's Deccan Vol. I, pp. 134, 285, 393. and Hamilton's East Indies, Vol. I, p. 178, where it is said that this was esteemed an ignominious death.) Others were beheaded or shot. And some had torches tied to their persons, which then were lighted, and they were thus burnt to death, after their fingers had been pierced with needles. See Peshva's Bakhar p. 132. For different and varying accounts of the pretender Sadashivrav's death, see Peshva's Bakhar p. 134, and Nigudkar's Life of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan p. 40, and Grant Duff Vol. II, pp. 331-5. Peshvaks Shakavali p. 30. Dowson's Elliott Vol. VIII 294. Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 100, and Chitnis's Rajaram p. 45.

⁶¹See *inter alia* Chitragupta's Life pp. 108, 116, 168 and compare Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 47.

⁶²See p. 68, See also Forrest's Selections p. 22.

⁶³P. 98.

⁶⁴See V. J. Vistara, Vol. X, pp. 44, 116-9.

⁶⁵See Chitnis's Shahu p. 9; see to V. J. Vistara Vol. IX, p. 32; Gupte's Bhonsle Bakhar p. 4; Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha) p. 362; M. R. Chitnis's Life of Shahu the Younger pp. 101-2, where the different practice of the old Udayapur family in a certain matter of ceremonial is referred to. It will be remembered that the Udayapur family were the oldest of the Rajput

not commenced until after the idea of a formal installation (or Abhisheka) had been started. And Malhar Ramrao Chitnis's narrative, although it proceeds on the assumption of the fact as already established, rather indicates that Gagabhatta, the great Pandit of Benares, whose services were put in requisition for the installation ceremonies, had some considerations of policy put to him before he was persuaded to join in those ceremonies.⁶⁶ They had also to strain a point, when as a preliminary to the installation, the thread ceremony essential for a Kshatriya, was performed on Shivaji at a time when he was "forty-six or fifty years old" and had already had two sons—an irregularity, which also was, we are told, expressly assented to by all the Brahmans and Pandits.⁶⁷ How the Brahmans and Pandits worked their way to this decision, none of our authorities states. Further, it is remarkable that none of those authorities anywhere mentions the performance of the thread ceremony upon any of the members of Shivaji's family, except the ones who were installed on the gadi,⁶⁸ and then that ceremony is mentioned only in connection with the installation ceremony.⁶⁹ In view of these facts, it may be permissible to doubt whether the statements of both Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad⁷⁰ and Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, about Shahaji claiming to be a Rajput of the Sisode clan, or about Jayasing Mirza Raja of Jeypore acknowledging Shivaji as a Kshatriya and dining with him before the installation, deserve to be trusted.⁷¹ That at a later time the Satara Rajas,⁷² the Sindia⁷³ and the Nagpur Bhonsles and Ghorpades and others claim to be Kshatriyas is a matter

clans (See Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 27) and that they were the only family which had not permitted a daughter of theirs to marry into the family of the great Moghul (See, Elphinstone's India, by Cowell, pp. 480-506-7, and compare V. J. Vistara Vol. IX p. 20, Bernier's Travels p. 126 n., Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII, pp. 195-6.

⁶⁶V. J. Vistara, Vol. XIII, p. 202. See the history of the Chitnis family (K.P.I.S.) pp. 6, 8 and Kavastha Prabhunchi Bakhar pp. 10-1. According to a writer in the Jnana Prakash newspaper of Poona, Gagabhatta used the argument from expediency to reconcile the people to what was being done. No authority is quoted for this version of the affair.

⁶⁷See V. J. Vistara Vol. XIII, p. 203.

⁶⁸Rajaram's is mentioned by M. R. Chitnis, V. J. Vistara, Vol. XIII, p. 248. (Sambhaji's thread ceremony appears to have taken place at a much earlier age than Shivaji's; apparently it was celebrated as a preliminary to his installation as Yuvaraja or heir apparent).

⁶⁹e.g. See Chitnis's Life of Rajaram II p. 2. Life of Shahu, p. 16.

⁷⁰Sabhasad's Life pp. 28, 38. See V. J. Vistara Vol. IX, p. 30; Vol. X, pp. 44, 119; Vol. XIII, p. 202, where Shivaji claims that other members of his family are reigning in Cutch and Nepal.

⁷¹See too Chitnis's Shahu pp. 9, 61; and Rajaram II, p. 2. in Forbes's Oriental Memoirs we are told that the Marathas, are accounted among the lower tribes of the Hindus, Vol. I, p. 459. Vol. II, p. 61; and compare Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VIII, p. 209.

⁷²See Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 116; and the references already given; compare also Scott's Deccan, Vol. I, p. 32; Vol. II, p. 4; Forbes's Selections p. 725.

⁷³See Bhau Saheb's Bakhar, p. 68.

which after Shivaji's affairs need excite no surprise. The explanation of it all is contained in a passage in K. A. Sabhasad's *Life*. He says that Gagabhatta²² was much pleased with the splendid reception given him by Shivaji; and it was he who suggested that while a Musalman Padsha sat on the throne, and had the chhatra or umbrella indicative of sovereignty,²³ it was not proper that Shivaji, who had achieved what he had, should not adopt the formal ensigns of kingship.²⁴ And it was when this suggestion was accepted by Shivaji, and a formal *Abhisheka* determined on, that it became necessary to look into the original of the family, and to promulgate that Shivaji was by birth a Kshatriya. Taking the whole evidence together, it looks like a case of a more or less deliberate manipulation of facts and religious rules, in aid of a foregone conclusion adopted for a purely political purpose.²⁵

Of similar manipulations, or of more open and direct violations of religious rules of greater or less importance, the documents before us afford sundry other examples. One of the earliest occurred in connection with the arrangements for the accommodation of Sambhaji, when Shivaji, after the flight from Delhi, was obliged, in order to disembarass himself of all impediments, to have the young prince behind him. It appears that some of Aurangzeb's people suspected that the boy was not, as pretended, a son of the Brahman Kashipant, in whose charge he was. And in order to silence their suspicions, Kashipant was obliged to accept their challenge, and to eat out of the same dish as Sambhaji. The Brahman made the offence as light as he could make it, by taking a quantity of parched and flattened rice²⁶ (Pohe) mixed with curds on a plantain leaf,²⁷ for the purpose of eating in the presence of Aurangzeb's myrmidons. These men made a favourable report to the Emperor, and Sambhaji was saved. But

²²Chitrugupta (p. 95) appears to say that Gagabhatta had come of his own motion to see Shivaji. The other authorities point the other way. Gagabhatta is said to have got a lakh of rupees as a present. See Chitnis's *Family*, p. 6 (K.P.I.S.).

²³See Scott's *Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 93, 210; 288, 351, 370-6. The passage at p. 351 should be noted; and compare Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, p. 315.

²⁴p. 30.

²⁵Shivaji is stated to have been rather keen about getting his Munja, or thread ceremony, performed. See Chitrugupta's *Life*, p. 84. In the V. I. Vistasaras, Vol. XIII, p. 202, it is said that he consulted all and sundry upon that and kindred matters. It is also stated (See Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 47, and account of Baba Saheb Gupta (K.P.I.S.) p. 8) that at one time Shivaji, after being taught the Gayatri mantra (Om Tata Savitur &c.) was going in for the regular Brahmanical life in preference to the Kshatriya (Compare Sri Siva Kavya, canto I, st. 50). But he subsequently allowed himself to be dissuaded from this by his officers. He then ordered that no mean employment was to be given to Brahmans, and he made several transfers accordingly. See also, Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 266; Forrest's *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 251.

²⁶Compare Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VII, p. 285; See also Ibid. Vol. I, p. 9; V. J. Vistara, Vol. X, p. 200.

²⁷Forbes, (*Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 49) says that in his days a Brahman might not eat out of tinned copper vessels, but had to use plantain leaves, &c.

one of Shivaji's biographers, Chitragupta, says that the Brahman Kashipant secretly performed penance for what he had done.⁷⁹ It is to be remarked, that Sambhaji is stated by the same writer to have been dressed like a Brahman⁸⁰ with a *Dhotar*⁸¹ tied round his waist, and also with the sacred thread, which he did not get as of right till about 1679, when Shivaji had his thread ceremony performed, with a view to instal him as Yuvaraja or heir apparent.⁸²

A somewhat similar occurrence had taken place before in Shivaji's family, on his father Shahaji's death, when in spite of the prayers of her son, Jijabai at first insisted on preparations being made for her sacrificing herself as a *Sati*. Chitragupta's *Life*⁸³ shows, that the argument which ultimately prevailed with the lady was, that if she insisted on having her own way, Shivaji's life could not be relied on, and the empire established by him would at once cease to exist. Other instances of the same character are not wanting in subsequent years in the days of the Peshva power. The great violation of religious rules, which was involved in the Brahman Peshvas taking to the military profession, is become so familiar and such a matter of course, so to say, that it hardly strikes one sufficiently as being a violation at all.⁸⁴

⁷⁹p. 75. Other authorities say nothing about any penance. This test of dining together appears to have been frequently applied in Maratha History. See *Inter alia* M. R. Chitnis's *Life of Rajaram II*, p. 2; Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, p. 137; Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 39; Malcolm's *Central India*, Vol. II, pp. 131, 149; besides, Chitragupta's *Life*, p. 62; Gaikavad's *Kaifiyat* p. 6; Marathi *Samrajya Bakhar*, p. 32, V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, pp. 31-2, 70; Vol. X, p. 202; Gupte's *Bhonsle Bakhar*, pp. 9, 20, 31. For two curious incidents connected with dining together, see Holkar's *Kaifiyat* p. 4; Gupte's *Bhonsle Bakhar*, p. 31. A writer in the *Jnana Prakash* of Poona says that when Rajaram and his attendants were moving about the country, Aurangzeb's people once encountered them; and in order to avoid their suspicions, Marathas, Prabhus and Brahmans all sat down together to dinner in one row with silken clothes on. I have not seen this stated in any of the published Bakhars.

⁸⁰See Chitragupta's *Life*, p. 77. V. J. Vistara, Vol. X, p. 185; Scott's *Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 16.

⁸¹Peshva's *Bakhar*, pp. 105, 139, 143, shows that Brahmans used trousers without much scruple. Savai Madhavrao appears to have put them on on the occasion of his wedding. See also Chitragupta's *Shivaji*, p. 5. Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 12. In the *Bhonsle Bakhar*, p. 48, a change in the established fashion of the headdress is strongly objected to. It may be allowable, perhaps, to point out the parallel between this and the curious conservatism of an English lawyer mentioned in that most interesting work—Charles Summer's *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 338.

⁸²See V. J. Vistara, Vol. X, p. 185; Marathi *Samrajya Bakhar*, p. 32; *Bhonsle Bakhar* p. 9; Chitragupta's *Shivaji*, p. 77. At Dowson's *Elliott*, Vol. VII, p. 272, it is clearly implied that Sambhaji had been married before going to Delhi. The contrary appears from V. J. Vistara, Vol. X, p. 303; Marathi *Samrajya Bakhar*, p. 117; see also V. J. Vistara, Vol. XIII, p. 242.

⁸³See p. 85. Compare *Sabhasad's Life*, p. 55, See also Holkar's *Kaifiyat*, p. 67, and Bernier p. 308.

⁸⁴For what a Brahman of our own day says about it, see V. J. Vistara, Vol. XXI, p. 284; see Sir Siva Kavya I, pp. 112-5, 121; II, pp. 49, 117. Compare Malcolm's *Central India*, Vol. I, p. 77; Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 209; Forrest's p. 728. From *Letters, Memorandum &c. (K.I.S.)* p. 9 we learn that the Peshva had resorted to special religious ceremonials for obtaining sovereignty.

In the protest made by the eminent Ram Shastri against the Peshva Madhavrav's devoting too much time to religious observances," their incompatibility with the duties of Kshatriyas, which the Peshvas had undertaken is the strongest point in the argument; and the departure from the ordinances of the faith is assumed as an accomplished and irreversible fact, not a matter under discussion at all." Another story, pointing the same way, is told of the same eminent Peshva—Madhavrav. When he was arranging for his expedition against Hyder Ali, he sent a summons in the usual way" to the Bhonsle Chief of Nagpur to come over to join the Maratha army. The Bhonsle's agent at Poona went to consult the Ex-minister, Sakharam Bapu, as to what should be done. The latter was afraid to give his counsel openly, as the Peshva's Karkun was present. But he managed to convey his advice to the Bhonsle's agent, without the Karkun understanding the point. Sakharam Bapu suggested to one of two persons who were sitting near him playing chess, that as the pawns" of his opponent had advanced in force, he should take back his king a square or two. The Bhonsle's agent, taking the hint, at once wrote off to his master to advise that he should not come to Poona in pursuance of the Peshva's summons, but should go back the one or two stages he had advanced from Nagpur. This was done accordingly, and Madhavrav, who had a great reputation for obtaining news of everything that was going on in which he was interested," heard of the Bhonsle's return to his capital, and also of Sakharam Bapu's advice which led to it—though the latter was perceived only by him under the facts he learnt from the cross-examination of the Karkun. Madhavrav was a man of very strong will; he at once sent for the Bhonsle's agent, and told him of his master's return to Nagpur on the advice of Sakharam Bapu, and added "If your master is in Poona within fifteen days, well and good : if not I will pay no

"Forbes Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 427 speaks of Madhavrao as "possessed of a mind unfettered by the restraints and superstitious tenets of the Hindus".

"Grant Duff. Vol. II, p. 209.

"This formed the subject of special stipulations between the Peshvas and Bhonsles. See Bhonsle Letters &c. (K.I.S.) pp. 23, 64, 65, 70, 114, and compare Chitnis's Rajaram, p. 23, Peshva's Bakhar, p. 91.

"Pawns in Marathi are called Pyadas which also means "soldiers".

"Nana Fadanavis is believed to have adopted and carried out Madhavrav's system of obtaining news from everywhere. See Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 229. It is one of the points specially noticed in Gopikabai's letter to Savai Madhavrav; see Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I.S.) p. 459. And as to Nana compare Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 146-8 *inter alia*.

"See Peshva's Bakhar, p. 94. For a more ferocious story, about Raghoba Dada, see Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 31-2. The Jnana Prakash newspaper of Poona recently published another story with a similar moral. It appears that a Brahman employee of the Peshvas, in the Military Department, accidentally discharged a gun and killed another Brahman. The former was thereupon excommunicated for Brahmanicide. But Ram Shastri, having regard to the fact of the death being accidental, publicly dined in company with the excommunicated Brahman; and when asked for an explanation as to the authority

heed to the fact of your being a Brahman," but will smash your head with a tent-peg"".

The matter may, perhaps, be said to be carried a step further, when a Brahman Karkun, writing of the end of the Brahman Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan's life, writes as follows¹: "The end of the deceased was excellent. For he served the Peshvas, performing a Kshatriya's duties to the very last!"² But even if we pass from the cases of these secularised Brahmins" as they may be called, we find in the instance of the priests of Kayagaum, and perhaps I may add of the Svami of Dhavadasi, that these men while still living as religious Brahmins, appear to have devoted themselves to worldly, that is, political, pursuits. About the latter I only know from oral information, the recently published Bakhar, and the note in Grant Duff's history³. The original correspondence alluded to, I have not seen. But with regard to the former, the published letters show that they lent money at interest" to the Peshvas, were consulted by them about men and things connected with the State, and in fact took an active personal, if occasional, share in public affairs.⁴

Another point of the same sort may be noted, as being a somewhat remarkable one. Among the papers recently published is a letter addressed to the Peshva Savai Madhavrao, by his grandmother Gopikabai, in reply to a request by the former for advice as to how he should conduct himself. One of the directions given to her grandson by this old lady, the widow of Balaji Bajirao, was that he should cut short his *Sandhya* worship, and that while the household priest performed the general daily worship of the household gods, he should only offer them the leaves of the *Tulasi* plant. Such a direction, given by a woman, and to a young boy who was only just learning to read, write and cipher, affords remarkable evidence of how the exigencies of the times were operating to relax the rigours of the old religious

for his proceeding, replied that it had the same authority as there was for associating with the Peshvas, who, though Brahmins themselves, were answerable for many more heinous homicides!

¹As to killing with a tent-peg, see Chitnis's *Rajaram*, p. 72; *Marathi Samrajya Bakhar*, p. 100; *Peshva Shakavali*, p. 30; *Holkar's Kaifiyat*, p. 79.

²*Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I.C.)*, p. 501.

³This is nearly all reproduced in the *Life of Bhau* by Nigudkar recently published, p. 123. Compare also *Panipat Bakhar* p. 42; and *Bhau Saheb's Kaifiyat*, p. 24.

⁴As to a Shastri transmogrified into a soldier see Chitnis's *Rajaram*, p. 104.

⁵*Grant Duff*, Vol. I, p. 523 n.

⁶A Vedshahstrasampann gentleman is mentioned at *Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I.S.)*, p. 395, as engaging in financial transactions.

⁷See *Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha)*, p. 2 *et seq.* In this connection the metamorphosis of Gosavis into soldiers may also be noted. See *Grant Duff*, Vol. III, pp. 333, 338, and of *inter alia* *Bhau Saheb's Kaifiyat*, p. 23; *Bhau Saheb's Bakhar*, p. 53 and *Holkar's Kaifiyat*, p. 53; *Dowson's Elliott*, Vol. VII, p. 294; *Malcolm's Central India*, Vol. II, p. 169; *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 9. See also as to *Bairagis*, *Holkar's Kaifiyat*, pp. 7, 8, 62; *Peshva's Bakhar*, p. 230.

observances even in the family of the Peshvas." Gopikabai was a very practical lady, of quick intelligence and strong will," and must have seen the habitual course of life of several prominent men in the history of the Peshva regime."

There are one or two curious points to note in connection with the relaxation of the rules regarding the taking of food. The first point I take at secondhand from a note by the Editor of the Life of Shahu¹⁰⁰ written by Malhar Ramrav Chitnis. The Pratinidhi, Parashuram Trimbak, having come under the displeasure of Shahu on account of his son's having gone over to the Kolhapur interest, was about to be put to death by Shahu's orders, when Khando Ballal Chitnis hastened to the spot and, interceding for the Pratinidhi, saved his life.¹⁰¹ From that time forward, it is said that one prominent member of the family of Khando Chitnis was, for a long time, always asked to the *Shraddha* or anniversary dinners of the Pratinidhi's family, in company of the Brahmans invited. Two similar departures from the strict rule in regard to dinners are mentioned in the Bakhar of the battle of Kharda. After the victory, the Peshva was taken round by Nana Fadanavis to honour the various Sardars with a visit. Among others, they called on the two Sardars of Sindia—Jivba Dada and Lokhoba Nana. There the Peshva was invited to what is called a *faral*, that is a dinner about which there are fewer ceremonial difficulties than the ordinary preparations. The Peshva turned to Nana, saying "these people are Shenvis,¹⁰² how can their request be granted?" Whereupon Nana said, "the preparations have been made by our Brahman cooks. What does it matter, if they are Shenvis? Jivba's wishes must not be baulked. He has handled his sword well. Such difficulties with the Sardars must be overcome." Then the Peshva and the Brahmans who accompanied him sat down to the *faral*—the Peshva taking something only for form's sake, and the rest

¹⁰⁰See Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 458; V. J. Vistara, Vol. V. 179, where also Gopikabai's letter is published; and compare also Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 62-4: Marathi Samarajya Bakhar, p. 93.

¹⁰¹See Grant Duff, Vol. II, pp. 120, 168, and compare *inter alia* Bhau Saheb's Bakhar, pp. 89, 90; Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 61, 64-65. Forrest, pp. 250-1, and 677, shows what was thought of her by the English in those days. But they were prejudiced in favour of Raghoba Dada, their ally, and therefore not altogether fair judges of his opponent Gopikabai. But see also Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VIII, pp. 267, 287; Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 478.

¹⁰²See Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, p. 725.

¹⁰⁰P. 26. I can refer to an original authority, but only from the Prabhu side of the question. See the History of the Chitnis Family in K.P.I.S., P. II, see also K. P. Bakhar, (K.P.I.S.) p. 13 n.

¹⁰¹See Bhonsle Bakhar, p. 17; Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 426.

¹⁰²P. 20. The Shenvis are called "fish eating Brahmans" in Chitrugupta's Life of Shivaji, p. 123, and K. A. Sabhasad's Life, p. 57 (where there are certain paragraphs, pronounced by the Editor on good grounds to be interpolated, which are nevertheless of interest from a historical point of view). The objection of the Peshva mentioned above was based upon the prevailing custom, which must have originally arisen from the Shenvis being ordinarily a "fish-eating" caste, while other classes of Brahmans are not such. See also Fryer, p. 190.

taking the *faral* in the usual way. From the narrative in the *Bakhar*, it seems clear that all parties thought that something not in accordance with the prevailing rules was being done, and that the justification or excuse for its being done was found in the political exigencies of the occasion. From Jivba Dada's tents, the Peshva proceeded to those of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan.¹⁰³ Here, too, the Peshva had an invitation to stay for dinner. There was, of course, no caste difficulty here, as both parties belonged to the same caste-division. But the Peshva said to Nana, "Parashuram Bhau is in mourning."¹⁰⁴ What should be done?" Again Nana was up to the occasion and ready with his practical advice. "Bhau's wishes," said Nana, "must not be balked on such an occasion as this; some way out of the difficulty about the mourning shall be found."¹⁰⁵ Ultimately the Peshva consented, and he and all his party took their night meal at Parashuram Bhau's camp—Bhau himself sitting apart, and not in the same row with his guests, in consequence of his mourning. The writer of the *Bakhar* says, that on account of the Peshva's condescension, Bhau forgot his grief for the loss of his nephew, and told¹⁰⁶ the Peshva that the latter's staying to dinner in the house of mourning was an ample reward to him for his labours in the field.¹⁰⁷

On the next point of this sort to which I now proceed to draw attention, the evidence is not quite as clear as could be wished. Such as it is, however, I will now adduce it. One of the most splendid festivities celebrated during the days of the Peshva power was on the occasion of the marriage of Savai Madhavrav. The grand doings are described in much detail in the Peshva's *Bakhar*.¹⁰⁸ And we have also a Memorandum dated Sake 1704 (A.D. 1782) containing

¹⁰³Khorda *Bakhar*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴Parashuram Bhau's nephew had been killed at the battle of Khorda, and for ten days after his death, his dwelling and all his family would be in a state of ceremonial impurity, See Fryer, p. 101.

¹⁰⁵This idea is worthy of note.

¹⁰⁶P. 20 Jiva Dada also had expressed himself in terms of similar gratitude. The elder Madhavrav Peshva's dining with Janoji Bhonsle, as mentioned in the *Lives of the Nagpur Chitnis* (K.P.I.S.), p. 3, does not seem to be a matter of much religious or social significance. It appears from Mr. Forrest's *Selections from Bombay State Papers*, (Vol. I, p. 162), that the elder Madhavrav Peshva once invited Mr. Mostyn "to stay and sup with him," and that Mr. Mostyn did so. How the supper went off, and what were the details of the arrangements, one would have liked to know, but no information is forthcoming on that head, as far as I am aware. As to what Westerners think about Indian preparations, see Ovington's *Voyage to Surat* pp. 295-6, 397; Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 49; Tavernier's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 409.

¹⁰⁷In his recently published *Life by Nigudkar*, Parashuram Bhau is stated to have been a very pious Hindu. His request to the Peshva, therefore, is remarkable, as well as Nana's counsel, and the Peshva's compliance.

¹⁰⁸See pp. 135-44. The note of the Editor of the Peshva's *Bakhar* on this passage seems to me, I confess, hardly to deal fair measure to Mahadji Sindhia. It is true that Mahadji was in all likelihood not himself really a lover of such exhibitions (See Forrest's *Selections*, Vol. I, p. xxix which is presumably based on Malcolm's *Central India*, Vol. I, p. 125). And doubtless it is, therefore, not unfair to infer that he had an object in arranging for them on this occasion. But the elaborately sinister object attributed to him in the note

a most elaborate series of directions as to each one of the innumerable elements making up the "pride, pomp and circumstance" of a glorious marriage, including the perfumery, refreshment, amusements to be provided, the men to superintend them, and so forth.¹⁰⁹ Among other things, the Memorandum directs that Sardars, Siledars, Marathas, Musalmans, Ali Bahadur¹¹⁰ and others, should be taken after they are assembled together to the house of the bride's father for dinner and for *faral*; and they should be invited to a *faral* or dinner at the palace on the proper occasions. And again it is said, that the Nabab, Bhonsle, Holkar, and Siledars of high position, Sarkarjuns (sic) Marathas and Musalmans should be invited. And, after determining what is appropriate, they should be taken to the house of the bride's father and to the palace for dinner, and to see the dance. They should be invited, and provisions also should be sent to them. It is not clear from these directions how the various guests—Marathas, Musalmans, &c.—were accommodated at the time of the dinners and *farals*, nor how they were served. And, therefore, one cannot be sure that they all sat down together and were served out of the same pots, though this does not seem altogether unlikely.¹¹¹ In any case, however, it seems clear that Musalmans as well as Marathas sat down to the grand marriage dinners at the palace and at the house of the bride's father; and in this elaborately detailed Memorandum, there is nothing said about their having any separate parts of the houses set apart for them other than those which were used for the Brahmans invited.

under reference is scarcely the probable one. There is nothing that I am aware of, in Mahadji's career or character to warrant the imputation, that he wanted to enfeeble the whole of the Deccan Marathas for his personal aggrandisement. What he probably did aim at was the establishment of an influence on the single individual, Savai Madhavrav more potent than that of Nana Fadanavis. And he probably sought to secure this by means of striking shows, which would naturally be supposed to be the best passport to such influence with one whom apparently all around him were then treating as still a child. The Peshva's Bakhar, further, does not indicate that Nana on his part objected in the slightest degree to any of these shows; but rather the contrary. The idea that he must have done so may be correct, but there is no evidence whatever adduced to substantiate it. Such as it is, the evidence seems to me rather to point the other way; so far as the general taste of those days is concerned—though I am not aware of anything sufficiently specific about Nana himself in relation to this point. (See *inter alia* Peshva's Bakhar, pp. 131, 167, 172, 175, 193; Bhau Saheb's Bakhar, pp. 99, 130; V. J. Vistara, Vol. V, p. 200; *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 6, 7; Chitnis's Shahu p. 49; Marathis Samrajya Bakhar, pp. 87, 102; Peshva Sakavali, pp. 17, 90; Chitnis's Rajaram, p. 50; Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, p. 24; Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 329, *et seq.*; Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 159; Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VIII, p. 280. For the marriage of Savai Madhavrav, celebrated without Mahadji having his finger in the pie, Rs. 50,000 were spent on cloth alone, and this was under Nana Fadanavis's management. See Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 226, see also in connection with this *Ibid.* pp. 273-74.

¹⁰⁹Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha), pp. 277, 292.

¹¹⁰The son of Samsher Bahadur, who was the son of the first Bajirav by Mastani.

¹¹¹See further Letter &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 278. In the Peshva's Bakhar, p. 143, a separate dinner for Musalman guests is mentioned.

Passing now from this point about dinners, we come to the important point of marriage. And here, too, it appears that the Peshvas on their part initiated a change of custom which, however, failed to get itself established. I am not now referring to Bajirav's left-handed marriage with Mastani; but Balaji Bajirav, who was, of course, of the *Chitpavan* or *Konkanastha* section of the Brahman caste, viz. *Deshastha*.¹¹² And it is said, though no written authority is forthcoming for the statement, that Balaji had also married a *Karhada* girl, in order to secure the ultimate complete amalgamation of three of the great sections of the Brahmans community—viz. *Deshasthas*, *Konkanasthas* and *Karhadas*. The object, however, has not been attained, and it is still usual, to put it in the mildest language, to look askance at intermarriages¹¹³ amongst the several subdivisions.

It is curious to notice that even in the days of Peshva rule, there had come into existence a number of Brahmans who were unable to help in the performance of ordinary religious ceremonies. In the sketch, already once referred to, of the last days of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan, we read that after the fuel had been collected for the cremation of the great warrior's corpse, and some *Bhikshuks*, or priestly Brahmans, had been got together from the village near the place of cremation, the Karkun, Naro Hari Karandikar, wished to burn the body with the proper *mantras* and ceremonies, but a good Brahman could not be secured for the occasion; the Joshis of the village were sheer dunces; and so the body had to be burnt with an unconsecrated fire.¹¹⁴

A similar instance of ignorance, perhaps, however, more excusable than this, is recorded in connection with the death of the famous Svami of Dhavadasi, the *Mahapurusha* of Bajirav I, and others. We read in the Bakhar of Brahmedra Svami of Dhavadasi, that the attendant Brahmans performed the ceremonies consequent on his death, with the Ritual Book in their hands. Even with this aid, however,

¹¹²Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 541. Peshva Sakavali, p. 18. I have recently had an opportunity, thanks to the kindness of Mr. V. V. Lele of the Poona Bar, of seeing a modern compilation from miscellaneous sources known as Pendse's Diary. There as in the two authorities just adduced, only two marriages of Balaji Bajirav are mentioned while reference is also made to Balaji's kept mistresses. There is room, therefore, for reasonable doubt about the statement regarding the Karhada marriage.

¹¹³They do take place, but on extremely rare occasions. The Jnana Prakash newspaper says that even dining together was extremely unusual among these three divisions before the times of Bajirav.

¹¹⁴Letters, memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha) p. 300. The statement in Nigudkar's recently published Biography that Parashuram Bhau was burnt with the usual ceremonies (p. 125) is not consistent with the Sketch referred to, which expressly speaks of a *Bhadagni*. The story mentioned by Grant Duff, Vol III, pp. 185-6 note, about the inhuman treatment of the corpse by the Maharaja of Kolhapur (which seems to have been merely reproduced by Capt. Robertson, in his Life of Nana Fadanavis, p. 1677 without any addition or modification, or apparently corroboration from original documents seen by himself) is not supported by the Sketch of Karandikar. The story offers a curious instance of how error arises from accepting second hand reports not embodying direct evidence.

they appear to have blundered, and after they had declared in answer to a question from Shahu, that the whole of the ceremonial was finished, the Raja inquired whether their book did not contain any direction about the breaking of the Svami's skull with a conch-shell—which he had heard was the proper thing to do in the case of a *Sanyasi*. The Brahmans replied that there was a direction to that effect in their book, but that they had overlooked it through inadvertence, and they were thereupon taken up roundly by the Raja for their ignorance and carelessness. I have said before, that this was, perhaps, a case of more excusable ignorance than was betrayed by the Brahmans concerned in the death-ceremonies of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan. These latter ceremonies are every-day ceremonies, which, one would suppose, ought to be familiarly known to all priestly Brahmans. Those in connection with the death of a *Sanyasi*, on the other hand, might well be unfamiliar, as being only of rare occurrence. Still, the ignorance betrayed even on this latter occasion is remarkable, especially when one has regard to the place and the time where the event occurred. It cannot be, that the ignorance was due to there being no demand for that sort of learning in which the men were found deficient. That is a condition of things, of which some sort of indication is, perhaps, beginning to be visible in some parts of the country at the present day. But its existence in the old days to which these events carry us back is not to be assumed.¹¹⁵ However, whatever may be the true explanation, the facts themselves are worthy of note.¹¹⁶

In connection with these incidents relating to funeral ceremonies, may be noticed one which is stated to have occurred on the death of

¹¹⁵I do not think that much weight can be attached, from the point of view from which the above various incidents have been collected to the attack made by one of the Patvardhan chiefs namely Konherpant on the Matha of the Shankaracharya Svami of Sankesvar; (as to this see V. J. Vistara, Vol. XX, p. 118.; I presume it is the same incident that is referred to by Forbes at Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 134, though it is Parashuram Bhau that is named there); nor to the plundering raid which seems to have once gone against the priests of Kavagaum (see Letters, &c. (K.I. Sangraha), p. 26); nor to that which went against Jayaram Svami's Vadgaum (see Letters &c. (S.K.I. Sangraha, p. 188;)) nor to the people at large making use of English medicines (see Forrest's Selections p. 550. Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 431, and compare Bhonsle Letters &c. (K.I. Sangraha) p. 79; Holkar's Kaifiyat p. 128); nor, perhaps, to the fact, mentioned by Travenier, that some classes of people who would not touch one another under ordinary circumstances, did not scruple to do so in war (see Travenier Vol. I, pp. 245, 254, and compare Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 231, where he complains of the wretched accommodation he and his party got on one occasion, though under the protection of Raghoba Dada's escort, in consequence of the Hindus' fear of contamination). Still these facts are not altogether without interest in this connection. I have not seen any original Indian authority about the Sankesvar incident. There is a further reference to it, and explanation of it, at V. J. Vistara, Vol. XXI, p. 285. And see too Malcolm's Central India, Vol. I, pp. 148, 224.

¹¹⁶With the above instances of the ignorance of Bhikshuks, must be coupled the instances of the laxity, of pandits and Shastris betrayed on the occasion of Shivaji's thread ceremony (as stated in the authorities referred to in notes 59, 72, 75, *supra*, and the remarks in the text to which they are attached) and on the occasion of the adoption of Chimnaji Appa by the widow

the uncle of the famous Bapu Gokhale viz., Dhondopant Gokhale. Dhondopant having been killed by a freebooter, named Dhondi Vagh, in an action in which Bapu Gokhale also was injured and was unable to save his uncle, Bapu cremated the body at the scene of the disaster, and returned to Poona where he wished to perform the residue of the funeral ceremonies enjoined by the customs of the caste. Dhondopant's widow, however, it is said, would not hear of it. She is reported to have spoken very stingingly to Bapu on the occasion, and to have directed that none of the funeral ceremonies should be performed until after Bapu had taken vengeance upon Dhondi Vagh for the slaughter of Dhondopant. The ceremonies were accordingly held in abeyance. Bapu Ghokale did soon afterwards get an opportunity of encountering Dhondi Vagh. Dhondi Vagh was killed¹¹⁷ and his head was carried on a spear's point by Bapu, and shown to Lakshmi-bai, the widow of Dhondopant Gokhale. The lady was satisfied, and the countermanded ceremonies were then finished.¹¹⁸

There is one incident in the Life of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan, which is entitled to notice here, although I have not come across any reference to it in original document accessible to me. The incident itself is pretty familiar to people in the Maratha country, but I take the account of it that is given in the biography of Parashuram Bhau recently published by Mr. B. D. Nigudkar.¹¹⁹ It appears, then, that Parashuram Bhau's eldest daughter, Bayabai, was married into the family of the Joshis of Baramati. She was only about 7 or 8 years old at the time. And her husband died within about a fortnight after the marriage. She, therefore, became a child-widow according to the usual custom. Some time afterwards, Parashuram Bhau

of his nephew Savai Madhavrav. That adoption was afterwards cancelled; Chimnaji Appa performed penance; and the Shastris who advised the adoption were banished. Roberston's *Life of Nana Fadnavis*, p. 118, which is based probably on Grant Duff, Vol. III, p. 145. For original authorities see Chitnis's *Life of Sahu*, II. p. 67. Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha) p. 444; see too, the recent *Life of Nana Fadnavis* by V. V. Khare, p. 203.

¹¹⁷Wellington's Letters &c. by Gurwood, p. 9.

¹¹⁸Of Gaikwad's *Hakikat*, p. 11. The above incident I only know of from *Aitihāsik Goshti* (Historic Anecdotes), one of the many interesting Marathi works, for which we are indebted to one who has departed from among us since this paper was read, and who was, indeed, a living repertory of interesting and varied information the late Gopalrav Hari Deshmukh. I have seen no original authority for the story, and it is not mentioned in the recently published *Life of Bapu Gokhale*, where it is simply stated that Bapu determined of his own motion, not to put on his turban until after he had wreaked vengeance on Dhondi; see *Life*, p. 37. (With this compare Chitrakupta's *Shivaji*, p. 56, K. A. Sabhasad's *Ditto.*, p. 35.) There were some comments in the first edition of that *Life* on Grant Duff's account of the destruction of Dhondi (pp. 98-99) which were not conspicuous for historic criticism. These are not repeated in the second edition, however, so nothing further need now be said about them. For other instances of woman's stern determination, see *Bhau Saheb's Bakhar* p. 14; *Malcolm's Central India*, Vol. 1, p. 107; *Bernier* p. 41; *Hamilton's East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 136; also *Dowson's Elliott*, Vol. VIII, p. 2.

¹¹⁹Pp. 131-2. This book is stated to have been written after reference to some original unprinted papers; and it is also stated that some of these papers were subsequently examined by Rav Bahadur M. G. Ranade, for verifying Mr. Nigudkar's account.

laid the whole of the case of the unlucky girl before the celebrated Ram Shastri, who has been already mentioned in this paper. His heart was touched; and he declared it as his opinion, that there was no objection to the little girl being remarried. Then, Parashuram Bhau sent up the case to Banares, and the opinion of all the Shastris there was obtained in favour of such remarriage. But after this stage was reached, Parashuram Bhau abandoned his intention of getting the girl remarried, because it was represented to him, that the remarriage of widows was against the custom which had existed for many years, and that it was not advisable for him to run the risk of offending his people by taking a departure from such a custom. The result was that the idea was abandoned. But the incident is, nevertheless, of much historic importance. That such a man as Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan, one of the most prominent men at the Court of Peshvas, a man who, as his biographer shows, was at heart a full believer in the religion of his ancestors,¹²⁰ should seriously contemplate such a departure from established rules,¹²¹ is a thing sufficiently remarkable, when we are considering the nature of the hold which those established rules had upon the conscience of that generation. That so venerable and eminent an authority as Ram Shastri, a man widely respected then and since throughout the Maratha Empire, should have lent his countenance to that contemplated departure from established usage, makes the incident still more remarkable. And it is most remarkable of all, that the Shastris of Banares should have afforded the support of their unanimous opinion to such a departure. On the other hand, it illustrates the condition of Hindu Society in reference to such a practical departure, that even with the powerful support¹²² now indicated, and with the proofs in his hand that the current notions rested on no substantial basis, a man like Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan should, nevertheless, have found himself unable, owing to his surroundings, to take the step to which the kindly impulses of his own heart prompted him.

One other incident of this same class I must here notice, though here again I have not been able to obtain any information about it from any of our own original documents. It relates to a matter about which many members of the Hindu community throughout India may be said to be in some degree exercised at the present day. The only information I have about it is contained in the famous *Oriental Memoirs of Forbes*¹²³—who was in Western India in 1766 and for

¹²⁰Ibid pp. 132-4. *Compt. Letters &c.* (K.I. Sangraha) p. 501.

¹²¹We learn from that most valuable treasure-house of information on the condition of India about 1,000 or 1,200 years ago, viz. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, that in the days of Hiuen Tsang widow-marriage was not customary among Hindus (See Vol. I, p. 82).

¹²²A writer in the *Jnana Prakash* newspaper of Poona asserts that Ram Shastri had died before the Benares opinion was received: and that the consequent loss of his support prevented Parashuram Bhau from carrying out his original intention.

¹²³See *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 379. From a later part of

several years subsequently. Forbes relates, that "two Brahmans, whom he (*i.e.*, Raghoba Dada) sent as ambassadors to England, were on their return to Hindustan, compelled to pass through the sacred Yoni, or female Lingam, made of the finest gold. After performing this ordeal,¹²⁴ and making valuable presents to the Brahmans, they were restored to the privileges of their caste, which they had lost, by the impurities contracted in travelling through so many polluted countries." It would thus appear, that in those good old days, when still under the rule of Brahman Sovereigns, the sin of crossing the *Kalapani* was not considered quite inexpiable, and the doctrine now propounded—that a twice born person, who goes out on a sea-voyage, cannot be admitted to the "privileges of his caste," even after a penance—was not the accepted doctrine of the people, and had not the sanction of the then reigning Peshva.

As I have brought together so many instances in which the rigours of existing rules appear to have been deliberately relaxed to a great or less extent,¹²⁵ it is right also to point out one or two instances which, in some respects, may be said to present a different appearance to the view. Thus there can be no doubt that the documents before us show many instances of very early marriages in the Peshva family.¹²⁶ Balaji Bajirav, for instance, was married when he was 9 years old; Vishvasrav when he was 8; the elder Madhavrav, 9; Narayanrav, 10; Sawai Madhavrav a little over 8. And this was not merely the practice in the Peshva's family.¹²⁷ We find from a brief autobiographical sketch of Nana Fadanavis, that he was married when he was only 10 years old.¹²⁸ Again we find a record

the same interesting work, we learn, that Raghoba having gone from Surat to Cambay by sea, "many religious Brahmans and strict professors among the high castes of Hindus, censured Raghoba for undertaking a voyage by sea, in which they alleged he not only deviated from the established laws and customs of his tribe, but thought he acted contrary to the divine injunction." Forbes, Vol. II, p. 8. Those "religious Brahmans and strict professors," would, therefore, have condemned all their brethren, who for many years past have been voyaging up and down the Indian Coasts, from Ceylon to Karachi. Their condemnation was not confined, as that of their brethren of the present day most illogically and baselessly is practically confined, to a voyage to Europe. Raghoba travelled by sea more than once (See Narayanrav Peshva Bakhar p. 13); and Shivaji went by sea to Bednore. See V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, p. 132.

¹²⁴A writer in the V. J. Vistara, Vol. XI, p. 235, asserts it to be a well-known fact that Raghoba's emissary Aba Kale was re-admitted to caste without penance. As usual, no voucher for this well-known fact is adduced. It is not a fact at all according to Forbes's contemporary account.

¹²⁵Compare also, generally, Chitnis's Life of Rajaram, I, pp. 58, 86; Grant Duff, Vol. I, pp. 322, 373n.

¹²⁶See *inter alia* Peshva Shakavali, pp. 5, 10, 14, 22, 33.

¹²⁷See V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, pp. 41, 51; Chitnis's Rajram, pp. 44, 52; Ramdas Charitra, pp. 1, 2; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar, p. 126, for some other cases. And see, generally, Hamilton's East Indies, Vol. I, p. 158; Ovington's Voyage, pp. 321-4; Fryer, p. 33; Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 73.

¹²⁸Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha) p. 34. It would seem that this sketch was not seen by Captain Robertson, Nana's biographer. The original of the Sketch is said to have been taken to England by Mr. Brook; See V. V. Khare's Life, p. 4. From Mr. Nigudkar's Life of Parashuram Bhau Patvar-

of more than one remarriage immediately after the death of a first wife.¹²⁹ As to widows, there is a curious entry in a chronological list of important events which occurred in the last few years of Peshva rule.¹³⁰ On the 12th of Shravan Shudda 1729, it is stated that widows were subjected to the shaving operation at the Nagzari in Poona. One would have liked to possess some further information about this hideous performance. Again it appears that a dancing girl's dance was among the entertainments ordinarily provided at marriages;¹³¹ and that not only a man's wives, but even his kept mistresses¹³² sacrificed themselves as *Satis* upon his death.

Looking at the facts and circumstances here collected as a whole, we may say that we get some slight glimpse of the social and religious condition of Maratha society during the days of the old regime. That many things which exist now also existed then, of course, goes without saying.¹³⁷ That the Brahmanical system existed then in greater strength than at present, is also what might naturally have been anticipated. But that there should have been so many actual departures from traditionary rule, that there should have been such schemes contemplated as some of those which have been here noticed, are facts which are not in harmony with the notion that prevails in some quarters, that laxity in these matters began with the introduction under

dhan, it appears that Parashuram Bhau was married when he was 13 years old.

¹²⁹See *inter alia* Peshva's Bakhar, p. 172; Peshva Shakavali, pp. 15, 35; Chitnis's Rajaram, II, pp. 3, 57; Samrajya Bakhar, p. 103; Vinchurkar's Bakhar, p. 6.

¹³⁰Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha) p. 523. See Ovington, pp. 343-4, and Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 209, for some remarks on the customs as prevalent in their days.

¹³¹See *inter alia* Marathi Samrajya Bakhar pp. 49, 102-4; Peshva's Bakhar pp. 139, 161; V. J. Vistara Vol. XIII, pp. 203-238. See also the Life of Ravji Apaji (K.P.I.S.) pp. 27, 63, and compare Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. I, p. 81. This has precedents of quite respectable antiquity. See Kalidasa's Raghuvansa, Canto III, Stanza 19. Tavernier often mentions such entertainments; see *inter alia* Vol. I, pp. 71, 87, 158, 259, 289, and compare Scott's Deccan, Vol. I, pp. 29, 77; Forbes (Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 53) mentions that loose women used to be in the Maratha Camps, though Shivaji's rule was absolute against it. See Chitrugupta's Life, p. 36 (also p. 150). Fryer's Travels, p. 176; see too, however, Chitrugupta p. 162.

¹³²See the Bhonsle Bakhar pp. 79, 119; Peshva Sakavali, p. 10, compare Dowson's Elliott, Vol. I, p. 6; and Bernier, p. 310. Self-immolation by widows was controlled by the Musalman rulers of India. See Ovington, p. 343; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 210; and see Lord William Bentinck (Rulers of India Series), p. 104. From the Bhonsle Letters &c. (K.I. Sangraha) p. 12, it appears that on one occasion the 13 wives of a man all sacrificed themselves together as *Satis*.

¹³³In Mr. Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, one can see many instances of business being delayed by reason of weddings, and formal mournings, Holi celebrations, and unlucky constellations. See *inter alia* pp. 129, 130, 145, 146, 149, 150, 159, 175, 596. See also Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 22; Dowson's Elliott, Vol. VII, p. 296. At Prof. Forrest's Bombay Selections, Vol. I, p. 489, we find one example of the constellations being given to go-by when met by firmness on the part of the British Officer with whom business had to be transacted. See also Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 473, for another similar case. At Bhau Saheb's Kaifiyat, p. II, we have a recorded instance of how an enterprise commenced under favourable conditions of the constellations, nevertheless resulted in failure.

British rule of Western ideas into this country.¹³⁴ To my mind, the various items above set out indicate a relaxation which had commenced long before that period. And when we have regard to the causes of the relaxation, as indicated in one or two of these instances, the conclusion which they suggest is, that the surrounding conditions, even in the days of the Maratha power, were too strong for the dominion of rules which had had their birth under quite other and different conditions. Originally, I suppose, the incompatibility manifested itself only in certain special instances. But once the solvent, so to say, is applied in that way at one point similar results sometimes follow even at other points, though the conditions are not equally directly favourable.

It will have been noticed that some of the instances above given, of departure from the old rules of conduct, are instances of deliberate departure, consciously made in view of the existing conditions, while others cannot be so clearly traced to a conscious initiative, but seem to form part of what I have called a general relaxation of the rigours of traditionary bonds. In both respects, I am disposed to think, further progress, up to a certain point, would have been achieved, and achieved with comparative ease, if the sceptre of Maharashtra had not passed away from the hands of the Peshvas. Under indigenous rulers, whose fundamental rules of Government have been illustrated above, such progress would have come directly, and perhaps also indirectly, with less friction,¹³⁵ than under a foreign power like the British, governed by the principles which it had laid down for itself; although, no doubt, the silent force of education in Western science and art, in Western history and literature, which the British have brought to bear, must necessarily have been entirely absent under indigenous rule.¹³⁶

The late Sir Henry Summer Maine pointed many years ago, that the operations of British Courts of Justice had resulted in the arrest of the further development of Hindu Law.¹³⁷ It may with truth be said, that the passive influence of British administration generally, has had a somewhat similar effect on the general social development of the Hindus. It is not easy as yet to analyse fully the causes which have so far led or are leading to such a result; nor would this be a proper place to institute such an analysis. But speaking broadly, it

¹³⁴In the *Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar*, p. 10, it is stated that the ordinary conduct of all castes was spiritually unclean under Mahomedan rule. Brahmans did not observe the rules about what to eat and what not. See also the opinions of the Benares Pandits, at pp. 17-8. See further *Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen* (Gramanya) P. 14; V. J. Vistara, Vol. IX, pp. 31-3; Chitrugupta's *Shivaji* pp. 97, 137; Sri Siva Kavya, Part I, pp. 51-2, 107, and compare N. Macleod's *Peeps at the Far East* p. 266, for some remarks by an outsider on this topic.

¹³⁵Compare the remarks, of somewhat similar purport, in Sir H. S. Maine's *Village Communities* (3rd Ed.) pp. 46-7.

¹³⁶This would have been absent in both its aspects as indicated by Sir H. S. Maine in his *Village Communities*, p. 273, and also pp. 270 and 288.

¹³⁷See *Village Communities* pp. 45-7.

would appear, that the general effect of British administration has been to render feeble the various forces, which were, in old days, working from within the community itself as a community;¹³⁸ while, on the other hand, individualism has become, or is becoming, more and more prevailing force. Nana Fadanavis, for instance, when the occasion arose, gave advice as to what was required to be done, even in defiance of what was supposed to be right according to existing traditions. And the Peshva acted on such advice, the Brahmans about him followed the example, and nobody apparently raised any storm about it. It does not appear, that the way out of the difficulty which Nana said would be found after the act itself was done,¹³⁹ had even to be sought after. If it had been necessary to seek after it, it would doubtless have been found—the community being still endowed with vitality as a community; and it would, no doubt, have been a way of the same nature as is indicated by the various instances we have stated. The old rules would, by common, even if tacit, consent, have been gradually relaxed, and in process of time custom would have sanctified everything. Such a process, I believe, is what might have been witnessed under Peshva, and even under what may be called, in the narrower sense, Maratha rule. But such a process hardly takes place at our present stage of progress, or at all events is incomparably more slow and tedious in its operation, whatever British influence is in other respects powerful. The late Mr. Krishna Shastri Chiplokar, thirty years ago, having been supposed to have eaten fruit at the table of a European friend¹⁴⁰ was hauled over the coals in a community where he was a leader of thought. A similar thing occurred since with similar results. It has been said that the first event retarded progress, and whether that is true or not, and whether there has been progress since then or not, it is perfectly clear, that such progress as there has been is extremely slow. And on the other hand it has certainly disclosed the existence of persons, to whom the real gist of the movement under Peshva rule is either unknown or unacceptable.

¹³⁸In the Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar (K.P.I.S.) p. 9 we read that a dispute having occurred in these parts between the Brahmans and the Kayastha Prabhuch, the matter was referred to the Pandits of Benares, and on their decision in favour of the Kayasthas, all people in Western India commenced to act in accordance with that decision, notwithstanding all the previous dissensions. Some recent doings, however, of a different aspect also find their parallel in events of the days of Savai Madhavrav. See Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Gramanya) p. 7.

¹³⁹See notes (103) and (104) *supra*. Yet Nana himself, it must never be forgotten, was not a sceptic nor free-thinker. See Letters, Memoranda &c. (K.I. Sangraha), pp. 34, 39, and V. V. Khare's Life, p. 166, (where the Poet Moropant is quoted in proof of his piety; see also Sri Siva Kavya, XII, 27.) He was, in truth, a thoroughly pious Hindu. The pious of the present day, on the other hand, are still digging into the depths of the Smritis &c. to disinter texts justifying a voyage to England, or saying with decrepit helplessness—the thing is forbidden, and there is an end of the matter as far as we are concerned.

¹⁴⁰See the incident referred to in Dr. Norman Macleod's Peeps at the Far East, p. 68n and p. 375.

I must not, however, permit myself to continue these reflections any further. The main purpose of this paper is to piece together some features of the past, from the scanty and desultory materials available. This having been done, the lessons to be drawn from a study of those features must be allowed to remain over for consideration and discussion elsewhere. I will only, in conclusion, add one line of explanation. The incidents here collected have been drawn from the available records, without any attempt to discriminate between those records, which are contemporaneous and those which are not such. It must, of course, be admitted, that many, even most, of these records are not really contemporaneous. But in dealing with such a theme as that to which this paper is devoted, it has not been thought necessary to take any account of that circumstance. In any case, these records are of value on the principle which Grote applied to the older Greek writings—"the curtain is the picture". And as most if not all the documents drawn upon belong apparently to the period of the ancient regime, their special evidentiary value, as regards the special incidents for which they are relied on, has not appeared to me to be a subject necessary to be dealt with as part of the present inquiry.

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