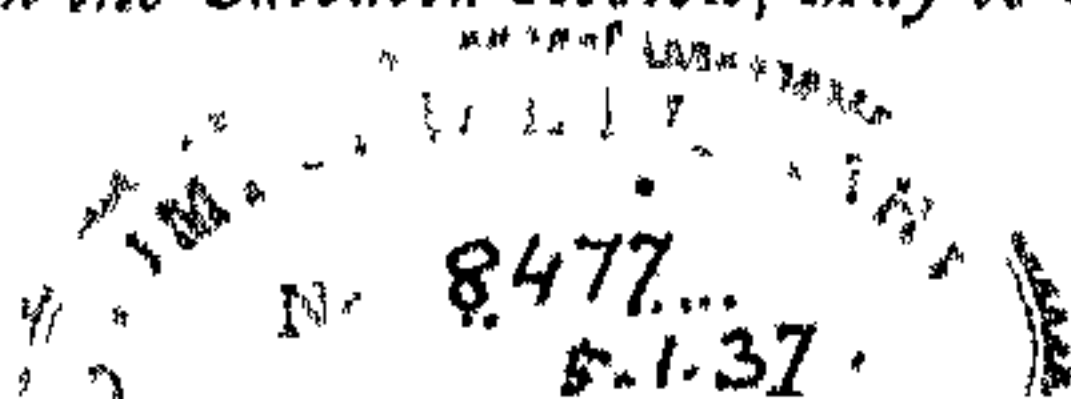


A PRELIMINARY REPORT
ON THE
HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GO

BY

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Reprinted from the Calcutta Review, May to October, 1925



PREFACE

In January last the Post-Graduate Council in Arts granted me six weeks' leave and a sum of Rs. 200 to enable me to visit Goa and study the Portuguese sources of Maratha History available there. I spent about five weeks at Pangim and worked both in the Bibliotheca Nacional and the State Archives. The Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, took a kindly interest in my work and he not only gave me a letter of introduction and recommendation but also secured a similar letter from H. E. the Chancellor. I shall fail in my duty if I do not publicly express my gratitude to both of them. H. E. Dr. Jaime de Morais, Governor-General of Portuguese India, very generously gave me a full and unqualified permission to read and copy all manuscripts in his palace and I obtained courteous and ungrudging help from his Chief of the Cabinet, Prof. Pissurlencar, Sr. Sukthankar and Sergeant Carneiro to all of whom I shall always remain indebted. I am similarly obliged to the officers in charge of the Bibliotheca Nacional, whose courtesy and readiness to help a foreigner I shall never forget. My thanks are also due to Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee for promptly publishing this Report in the Calcutta Review and to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, M.A. for various help I received from him. Dr. P. Bragança Cunha has placed me under great obligations by revising the manuscripts.

The Goa records unfortunately have been sadly neglected in the past. It is only during the enlightened administration of Dr. Jaime de Morais that some arrangements have been made for their sorting and preservation. The old volumes were formerly exposed to rain and the industry of paper

moths has left so many visible marks on them, that I have not been able to take the fullest advantage of H. E. the Governor-General's permission. The time at my disposal was limited and the faint writings on crumbling moth-eaten papers generally took an unusually long time to decipher. I therefore confined myself to one section of the records and left the rest for a future occasion. I do not know when I shall be able to pay a second visit to the delightful little metropolis of the charming district that now forms a part of the Portuguese Republic ; but, in the meantime, I beg to present the following pages to my fellow-workers and colleagues in the domain of Maratha History for their considered opinion as to the value of the Portuguese sources.

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

The Portuguese were the first European nation to visit India by an entirely maritime route. Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498. He was followed by other naval leaders and diplomatic relation was soon established with the petty rulers of the South. They obtained a permanent foothold in India when Albuquerque took possession of Goa for the second time. But they did not confine their activities to commerce alone. Some of the Portuguese adventurers committed piracy in Indian waters, while others found a suitable outlet for their military ardour in the armies of native princes. It is commonly believed that the superiority of European arms and military discipline was for the first time demonstrated in India by the French, when Dupleix repulsed from the ramparts of Madras the numerous hordes of Anwar-uddin, Nawab of Arcot. But long before that event Pacheco and his hundred comrades had earned an eternal fame for their country and countrymen by their gallant defence of Cochin against an army of 50,000 sent by the Zamorin. Portuguese military adventurers were thereafter welcomed by every Deccan prince. They fought for the Raja of Vijayanagar against his Muslim enemies, they entered the army of the Raja of Canara, they served in the artillery of the celebrated Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and the Portuguese pirates soon extended their sphere of activity to the Bay of Bengal. They played an important part in Indian History for more than a century and their records cannot but throw a flood of light on many of its obscure corners. It is well known that Sewel based his classical work on the History of Vijayanagar upon two Portuguese chronicles published by Prof. David Lopez of Lisbon under the title of *Cronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*. Grant Duff makes many references to Portuguese records in his immortal History of the Marathas. The India Office deputed

Frederick Charles Dapvers to study the Portuguese records at Lisbon and Evora and the results of his labours have been embodied in two stout volumes on the Portuguese in India. But much has yet to be done. The old kingdom of Vijayanagar and the now defunct Maratha empire were not the only Indian powers with whom the Portuguese had political and commercial dealings. Their correspondence with the kings of Bijapur, whom they call Idalka or *Idalcão*, cannot be safely ignored by a student of the history of that kingdom. Nor can a historian of Mysore afford to be indifferent to the numerous letters addressed by successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State to Hyder Ali, Tipu, Hayat Saheb, Raghunath Angria, the Admiral of Hyder's fleet and others. What light the Portuguese records, when carefully and critically studied, can throw on the history of our own province has been shown by the Rev. Fr. Hosten, but I cannot pass on without quoting some extracts from one document which has hitherto received but little notice though it has been published in Judice Biker's monumental collection of treaties and peace. The original is in Portugal and not at Goa, but its importance affords ample justification for its reproduction here. It is a treaty between Paramananda, Raja of Chandradwip or Bakla and Dom Constantino de Braganza, Viceroy of India, concluded at Goa on the 30th April, 1559.

I. TREATY WITH THE RAJA OF BAKLA.

Very little is known about Paramananda, except that he succeeded his maternal grandfather Krishna Ballava on the throne of Kachua. Mr. Beveridge writes, "He was the son of Balabhadra Bosu, and with him commenced the Bosu family. Parmanand was succeeded by Jagadanand, who was drowned in the Ganges." It appears that the King of Bakla had sent two envoys, Nematcão and Guannu Bysuar,¹ to Goa:

¹ Can it be Kannu or Gannu Biswan?

The former was undoubtedly a Muhammadan, as his name Niamat Khan¹ shows, the latter name has been however corrupted beyond recognition, but probably he was a Hindu as he is styled in the preamble of the treaty as *Veedor da fazenda de El Rei, Parmananda Ray, Rei de Bacalaa* or the Dewan of Raja Paramananda, King of Bakla. The first article of the treaty provides that, His Highness the King of Bakla will open the port of Bakla or any other port in his kingdom that may be convenient, so that the ships and boats of the Portuguese, as were willing, might go there with his license in the same manner as they used to go to the great port of Bengal (Chittagong) and to other ports of that coast from Paigão to the port of Bakla, with their goods and merchandise, not being spoils of war, and no ship of the said Portuguese nor their goods shall go to the said ports that were on the said coast from Paigão to Bakla and also that the Capitão mor (Chief Captain or Commodore) who leave for Chittagong and the Portuguese ships shall go there no more but all shall go to the said port of Bakla and any one who may do the contrary shall be punished and all persons carrying on trade there (with Chittagong) shall lose their ships and goods which will be confiscated by my master the King and they will be punished as rebels. The port, selected by the King of Bakla for the said purpose shall be such as will afford security to the ships, provided that the above-mentioned limit from Paigão to Bakla shall not be outside the boundary of Bengal and the Chittagong coast.

The second article lays down that all Portuguese and their vessels that may go to the said port of the King of Bakla to buy or sell goods shall pay the ancient custom duties of the said port and the said duties will not be in any way raised or enhanced. According to the third article the King of Bakla made himself responsible for supplying the Portuguese ships

¹ There is a village called Niamati in the District of Bakargungo.

visiting his port with all commodities and merchandise that were manufactured in the whole of the coast land from Paigão to Bakla so that the ships might not return without the cargo that could be purchased in the country or could be procured by an agreement between the Portuguese and the merchants who bring them or the said king and his officers should they happen to possess them. The fourth article lays down that the said king shall not permit any tyranny or injustice to be committed against the Portuguese Captain-mor and merchants in his port and in his lands but he will show them all favour and give them all help that contribute to friendly relations and induce them to come there in the future.

The Portuguese in their turn were naturally willing to reciprocate and the fifth article deals with the concessions that they were to make in favour of the Bengali Raja and his subjects. The Viceroy undertook to furnish them each year with four *cartazes* (passports or naval license) so that four of his ships could freely navigate in different parts of the Indian Ocean. Two of these *cartazes* were for two ships going to the city of Goa where they were to pay the duties for the goods they might carry and in case they failed to come to the said city for loss of time or monsoon or on any other account they might go to any other part of Goa but they were to pay their duties for the cargo at the custom house of Goa as if they had come to that city. One ship of the Bakla Raja was permitted to go to Urmuz (Ormuz) and another to Malaqua (Molucca) but they were not to visit any port belonging to the enemies of the Portuguese. The sixth article says that in case the said king have war with other kings, lords and chieftains, the Captain-mor who may be there shall give him all necessary help with all the Portuguese against his enemies and the said Raja shall pay the expenses of all who enter his service and he will further have to guard against all loss that the Portuguese may suffer in their goods in helping him. The seventh article shows that the King of Bakla was

to occupy a somewhat subordinate position to that of the King of Portugal for he was to pay an annual tribute in the said port and the tribute was to consist of the following articles.

Five thousand candis¹ of good fresh rice for the provision of His Highness's store-house and fleet

One hundred candis of good and packed butter.

One hundred candis of country oil packed

One hundred candis of Tar.

Fifty fardos² of good white sugar.

• Fifty scores of traquetea³ cloths and fifty scores of mazaguayna⁴ cloths.

All these were to be of a quality as one merchant would accept of another and were to be delivered to the Captain-mor who might go there for them or to any other person appointed by His Highness or the Veedor da fazenda da India for this purpose, and if any of those articles were not available in the country, its value was to be paid in such commodities as might be required by the person appointed to collect it. All these articles were to be delivered on the sea coast by the King at his cost between October and November of each year so that they might be embarked and collected in the ships that might be necessary for carrying such articles. The cost of transporting them from the sea beach to the shipyard was to be borne by the Portuguese government. The eighth and last article leaves the Portuguese free to conclude similar treaties with other Rajas of the Bakla-Paigão coast. It runs as follows—If some kings or chieftains of the said coast between Paigão and Bacala want to conclude peace and friendship with His Highness (the Viceroy) and pay other tributes to the King our master to induce (our) ships to visit

¹ The same as Marathi Khandi a measure equivalent to 20 maunds.

² A pack, a bale or burden.

³ A kind of cloth manufactured in Malabar, see Dalgado, Glossario Lusó Asiático Vol II, p. 386.

⁴ A kind of cloth manufactured at Mazagao in Bombay, see Dalgado, Glossario, Vol II p. 46.

their ports, the viceroy shall be able to make such contracts without breaking the present treaty and shall be able to divide the ships available for the voyage in two or three (squadrons) limiting at once the number that was to go to the port of Bakla by others that were to go to other ports. The Captain-mor however should go to the said port of Bakla in the same way as he used to go to the great port (Chittagong). So long as no contract is made with the abovementioned kings and lords, the said ships and the Portuguese shall all be obliged to go to (Raja Paramananda's) port of Bakla or where the said king may ordain and the Raja shall be ever bound to pay the said tributes even if His Highness the Viceroy makes contracts with other kings. If however he pays what these others were to give then all will be reserved for his port and no (contract) shall be made with others.

The importance of this treaty cannot be overestimated. It shows that the people of Bakargunge on that distant date carried on a maritime trade under the protection and patronage of their king. The king himself was eager to secure a monopoly of trade with the Portuguese and thus enhance his financial resources and was prepared to make many important concessions for that purpose. The Raja of Chandradwip did not probably at that date acknowledge Muhammadan supremacy or he would not be in a position to conclude a defensive treaty with a foreign power. What drove him to such a step we do not precisely know. The ambition and the war-like activities of Soliman Shah Kerany does not explain it, for he was not on the throne of Bengal when this treaty was concluded. But the rise of Sher Shah and the fall of Mahmood Shah were events that must have made profound impression on the petty Hindu Rajas of Bengal. Akbar conquered Bengal about 16 years later and Paramananda must have felt justified in taking this precaution which however ultimately proved futile.

The treaty also enables us to identify Bakla with Kachua with some amount of certainty. The prosperous city of Bakla

was visited by the English traveller Ralph Fitch in 1586 or 27 years after the conclusion of this treaty. Mr. Beveridge writes, "This Bacola has entirely disappeared, and it is only a conjecture that identifies it with Kachua, the ancient seat of the Chandrawip Rajas. Fitch does not mention how he came to it from Chatigam—*i.e.*, Chittagong—nor is there any local tradition of there ever having been a town called Bacola or Bakla." But this treaty conclusively proves that there was a port known to the foreigners if not to the natives of the District, as Bacala or Bakla. The king also took his title from the place. When the treaty was concluded the seat of the Chandradwip Rajas was at Kachua. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* "Sarkār Bākla is upon the banks of the sea; the fort is situated among trees." Kachua, now a village of no importance, is on the banks of a fairly large river and very near the sea. So we shall not be far from the truth if we identify the lost city or port of Bakla with Kachua. The "very fair and high-built houses" noticed by Ralph Fitch were probably all destroyed by the terrible deluge mentioned by Abul Fazl and the absence of ancient ruins in the present site need not puzzle us too much.

II. SON OF THE KING OF BUSNA.

Another important piece of information is supplied by Cunha Rivara in his *Catalogo Dos Manuscriptos Da Bibliotheca publica Eborensis* (p. 345) published in 1858. The author of a Bengali dialogue is there described as "that great Christian Cathechist who converted so many Hindus, called D. Antonio, son of the king of Busna." There was one king of Bhusnā whose name is still cherished with reverence and pride throughout Bengal. Is it possible that a son of the great Sitaram was converted to Christianity by the Portuguese Missionaries? The question certainly deserves a careful enquiry.

Enough has been said to convince any serious student of

the History of Bengal that the Portuguese sources may prove invaluable to him. But it was not my main object to examine the Portuguese records from that point of view. The time at my disposal was very limited, I had to finish my work in five weeks and consequently I had to confine myself to my own subject, *viz.*, Maratha History alone. As time did not permit me to examine more than one section of the Goa archives, I confined myself, though reluctantly, to the diplomatic correspondence contained in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* and the following lines, I hope, will show that the work ought to be pursued further. From the time of Shivaji the Portuguese came into intimate contact with the Marathas both as friend and foe and their records show how much we have yet to learn about the eventful career of the great Maratha leader.

III. SHIVAJI'S TREATIES WITH THE PORTUGUESE.

"On the 30th September 1664 Mirza Raja Jai Singh was appointed to put down Shivaji." He believed in promptness. On the 10th February, 1665, he reached Aurangabad and on the 13th of the same month he arrived at Poona (Sarkar, Shivaji 1st ed., pp. 120-121). Raja Jai Sing wanted to accomplish his object in a single decisive campaign and the political isolation of Shivaji was a necessary preliminary of his success. He sent envoys and emissaries to all the petty chiefs in the neighbourhood. Bijapur was both cajoled and threatened and even the European merchant powers were not left alone. Negotiation was carried on with the Portuguese through Francisco de Mello and Diego de Mello, wrongly called Francis and Dick Mile by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (see Biker, Tomo IV, p. 126). In these negotiations also the great Rajput statesman was unwilling to waste much time, for we find the Portuguese Viceroy Anotonio de Mello e Castro writing an apologetic letter to the Mirza Raja as early as the 31st March or within four weeks of his taking over charge from Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

Shivaji had in his army a number of Portuguese officers and it was evidently construed as an overt act on the part of the Portuguese Government. But Shivaji was by no means the only Indian prince to employ Portuguese and Goanese Christian officers; the Emperor of Delhi had welcomed these foreigners as artillery experts. As usual Shivaji had not stopped here, he worked with an open mind and whenever he found a useful institution whether civil or military under the neighbouring Governments, he did not hesitate to introduce in his infant kingdom something analogous. Among his eighteen karkhanas or state establishments Sabhasad mentions *Darukhana* or magazine. Prof. Sarkar has sought in vain for its prototype among the karkhanas of the Muhammadan kings of Delhi. *Darukhana* is an exact synonym of the Portuguese *Casa de Polbora*. The Portuguese were specially noted for their efficiency in artillery and it was natural that Shivaji should organise his artillery establishments on their model.

The Viceroy had however no difficulty in explaining away the seeming delinquency. He had no control over the Portuguese in native service and he wrote to the Rajput general emphatically denying any compliance on his part and disowning all responsibility in the matter. "These territories," the letter ran, "never gave any help or showed any favour to Shivaji. That Shivaji has some Portuguese in his service is not enough to presume my approval of it. For there are many Portuguese without my permission in the country of the Moghul king. Some (migrated) for crimes committed, others (went away) oblivious of their duty and it is not within my power to punish them. As Your Excellency knows many Portuguese will, in the same way, be found in Golconda, Canará and with Idalsha." But the Portuguese were no longer in a position to give offence to the mighty Moghul and the Viceroy addressed another letter on the same date to the Portuguese and Christian officers in the Moghul army in which an identical protest was made almost word for word.

Jai Singh compelled Shivaji to sue for peace and ultimately induced him to undertake that perilous journey to Agra. On Shivaji's return to the Daccan, the Portuguese Government were probably again approached by the Moghul diplomats and the Viceroy (João Nunes da Cunha) offered naval co-operation against the Marathas, provided the Moghul would bear the expenses, in a letter, dated 29th April, 1667 to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. (Biker, Tomo IV, pp. 131-132.) We do not know whether this letter reached him at all, for in May of the same year he was replaced by Prince Muazzam and the Moghul prestige in the Deccan at once sank low. Moreover the Portuguese subjects were suffering from Maratha depredations and on the 5th December, 1667 a treaty of peace and amity was concluded between Shivaji and the Portuguese Viceroy. Shivaji denied all knowledge of and responsibility for the inroads made by his people and promised to release without any ransom all men, women and children carried away by his people on the 9th November, 1667 and restore all cattle and transport bullocks (boiadas) belonging to the subjects of the King of Portugal. The Portuguese Government on their part undertook to prevent Lakhm Savant and his partisans from giving Shivaji any trouble from their safe shelter, in the Portuguese territories and to compel them to live in the Island of Goa for effectively checking their mischiefs. Article 3 provides for freedom of commerce and articles 4 and 5 provide for amicable settlement of all differences that might arise between Shivaji and the Portuguese.

It is doubtful whether this treaty was faithfully observed by the two signatory powers, for on the 18th May, 1668 or within six months of the conclusion of the treaty, the Viceroy in a grandiloquent letter addressed to Aurangzib himself (Biker, Tomo IV, p. 134), once more offered him naval co-operation against Shivaji and we read in the preamble of the next treaty concluded on the 10th February, 1670, that Shivaji's Captains continued to be a source of trouble to their Portuguese

neighbours. Shivaji had plundered Portuguese subjects and captured and detained in his ports many Portuguese vessels. The Portuguese had on their part also captured and detained ships belonging to Shivaji and his subjects. From the scanty materials at our disposal it is impossible to say who offered the first provocation and who retaliated. But probably Portuguese objection to free navigation was the real cause of this breach of peace. They insisted on their right of search and compelled every ship navigating the Arabian Sea to seek and carry their *cartaz*. As may be easily imagined this could not be tolerated by any self-respecting power and led to frequent friction. Shivaji tried to secure Portuguese alliance against his Muhammadan enemies of Delhi and Janjira. A born diplomat and judge of human character he knew that his object could best be achieved by playing upon the fears and anxieties of the Portuguese. One of the most inveterate enemies that the Portuguese then had was the Imam of Muscat. Shivaji wrote to the Viceroy that the Imam had proposed a defensive and offensive alliance with him against the Portuguese. Whether the proposal was really made or whether it was a clever hint that Shivaji could make himself doubly dangerous by co-operating with the Imam at sea we do not know. A fresh treaty was concluded. But the Portuguese were no longer in a position to defy the Emperor of Delhi or the Admiral of his fleet, nor were they inclined to concede to Shivaji the much coveted right of free navigation. Only small boats carrying food-grains, salt and other drugs of different kinds were permitted to ply from Caranja to Goa without any *cartaz* but big ships, Galvats, and other coasting vessels of any considerable dimension were denied that privilege. Shivaji's subjects, however, could obtain under the new treaty *cartaz* for any port, other than those of the enemies of the Portuguese, on payment of the customary fee and in this respect they were to be treated in the same manner as the subjects of the Moghul Emperor. Shivaji on his part was to provide shelter and provision in his ports to

Portuguese ships in distress. He also undertook not to construct any fort or stone building on the Portuguese frontier unless the site was separated from the boundary line by a river. As the Portuguese were unable or unwilling to break their existing treaty and friendly relations with the Moghuls, they offered to mediate between Shivaji and his enemy the Siddi of Janjira.

IV. THE ORIGIN OF CHAUTIL.

This practically exhausts the published Portuguese sources. Of the unpublished Portuguese records in the Goa archives I am now in a position to deal with those embodied in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* alone. The first volume of the *Reis Visinhos* opens with a letter to Sambhaji, dated the 1st December, 1667. It is a formal letter dictated probably by the courtesy that the Maratha Prince could expect from his Portuguese neighbours. The new Viceroy informed Sambhaji of his safe arrival at Goa. It is probable that Sambhaji as heir-apparent then enjoyed some influence and power in his father's Government or the Viceroy could not go out of his way to address this short but formal letter to him. On the same date Girmaji Pandit Subedar of Bicholy was informed that Shivaji's envoy Pitambar Sinay (Shenvi) could visit Goa as often as he liked. Who was this Pitambar? It is not unlikely that we meet here for the second time the selfsame diplomat who came to Shivaji's Court as an envoy from Kudal, the same, Pitambar Shenvi who was contemptuously called a fish-eating Brahman by the punctilious Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad. Shivaji knew how to recognise and employ merit even when discovered in an enemy employee. A notable instance of this is furnished by the case of Baji Prabhu Deshpande who was originally in the employment of the Deshmukh of Hirdas. He had not only been appointed to a high command in Shivaji's army but it is now well known how Baji Prabhu had sacrificed his own life to secure the safe

retreat of Shivaji. It was on a delicate mission that Pitambar Shenvi was employed by Shivaji. Probably Pitambar had earned Shivaji's good opinion by his tact and ability while acting on behalf of his former master, the Desai of Kudal, and as Pitambar, an inhabitant of Kudal, was likely to have an accurate knowledge of the inner politics of his Portuguese neighbours, it was but natural that Shivaji should select him for his envoy at the Portuguese head-quarters. Like many of his caste-fellows, Pitambar probably was a good linguist (this is however a conjecture) and possessed some knowledge of the Portuguese language, a necessary equipment for his new office. Everyone cannot convert enemies into loyal friends and herein lies the greatness of Shivaji. People who once came in contact with him were at once carried away by his irresistible personal charm and magnetism.

The first service rendered by Pitambar was, as these old records tell us, the restoration of a dancing girl to liberty. She was probably attached to a temple, for both Annaji Datto and Moropant Pingle interested themselves in her cause. But it was not for this trifling end that Pitambar had been deputed to Goa. His task was as important as delicate. Shivaji demanded *Chauth* from the Portuguese on account of some villages near Daman over which a local Raja had once exercised some sort of overlordship.

According to Grant Duff, Shivaji demanded Chauth from the Portuguese for the first time in 1674 on account of Bassein. "It is not known," he says, "by what means they evaded the payment. The Mahratta histories of Shivaji's life do not state that the Portuguese ever admitted the 'Chouth' but frequent mention is made of their having paid tribute, and probably some compromise was made on this occasion." Prof. Sarkar mentions a Maratha raid against Daman in 1676 but opines that no permanent gain resulted from this campaign. Whether any permanent gain resulted from this expedition it is very difficult to say but it is almost clear that Pitambar's embassy to Goa

was certainly the direct outcome of the apparently fruitless campaign. Chauth had been demanded by Shivaji and raids had been made to enforce his demand and then probably the Portuguese offered to discuss the vexed question and amicably settle it. Prof. Takkhav goes nearer the truth when he says, "The territory of this prince (the Raja of Ramnagar) comprised a few mountain forts, the outlying territories on the sea-coast forming the district of Damañ, being under the Portuguese. The latter were accustomed to pay an annual tribute to the Raja to secure their immunity from his incursions. Shivaji having occupied these mountain forts turned upon the Portuguese power at Daman. The Portuguese * * * sent an officer to inquire what errand Shivaji's men had come upon. They made answer, as they had been previously tutored, that they had come to enforce and confirm the annual tribute to the lord of Ramnagar. The Portuguese willingly consented....." Let the old Portuguese records tell their own story now.

On the first of December 1677 the Portuguese Government sent Pitambar Shenvi a free permit to visit Goa; on the 10th of the next month (January 1678) the Viceroy, Pedro d'Almeida, Conde de Assumar, addressed the following letter to Shivaji,— "Pitambar Shenvi, the envoy of Your Highness, gave me a memorial on certain negotiations that * * * * some letters delivered to the Viceroy my predecessor to which he had given no reply * * * for he was occupied with some business; and I immediately ordered a diligent search for them in the Secretariat and I shall try to ascertain the particulars of which they treated, so that I may confer with Your Highness. And now the said envoy has delivered to me the much esteemed letter of Your Highness, in which Your Highness expresses satisfaction at my arrival, informing me of your good news and the progress of your arms which delighted me much * * * also it deserves the excellent friendship that Your Highness had with this State and Your Highness may be certain * * * * of the continuance of the good relation

that should exist between us without any speech on my part
 * * * the Prince my master recommended to me.
 Your Highness asks me to write to the Captains of the
 fortresses of Bassein and Daman that they should pay to Your
 Highness the Chauth(?) that has always been paid to the
 Choutia(?) as Your Highness is now in possession of his
 territories. I order the said captains to inform me (that in this)
 * * * (?) information that till now I have regarding this nego-
 tiation, having arrived here only a few days ago; and in reply
 I shall write to Your Highness to send a person with authority
 to make a settlement with the people I nominate, after examining
 the terms of the contract by which the said Chauth was
 settled and with which it is conceded, and Your Highness
 shall be positive that it being clear that Your Highness is
 absolute * * * there should not be any doubt that what
 we paid to the said Choutia shall be paid to Your High-
 ness, and as to the rest that Your Highness tells me in his
 letter, I observe to Your Highness that the Portuguese are
 better as friends than as enemies and as Your Highness is
 so wise he should consider these things with care that between
 us may be preserved and augmented our friendship and Your
 Highness will always find in me a faithful friend. May God
 illuminate the person of Your Highness in His grace. Goa,
 10th January, 1678. Dom Pedro de Almeida. (Reis Visinhos,
 Vol. I, fol. 2).

On the same date two letters were addressed to Annaji
 Datto and Moropant Pingle. Annaji is styled as Surnivis
 Subedar mor das terras de Conção and Moro Pant is address-
 ed as Pessua e Pradano de Sivagi Raze. The letter written
 to Annaji unfortunately could not be deciphered, but in the
 epistle addressed to the Peshwa reference is made to his
 demand for Chauth and the answer is exactly similar to that
 in the letter quoted above. The Viceroy had arrived in India
 only recently and he was, as he himself writes, making enquiries
 about the justice of the Maratha claims. In the meantime

Moro Pandit was requested to send a man with necessary power to confer with the Portuguese officers. About the same time (the date is obliterated) a letter was written to Girmaji Pandit, Subedar of Bicholy, in response to some complaints made by him about which the Viceroy promised to make an enquiry.

On the 15th of January, 1678, Almeida wrote a second letter to Shivaji. "I have already written to Your Highness another letter, in response to two of yours, which I delivered to Pitambar Sinay, Your Highness's envoy. And I thought (it proper) to write this letter to offer my thanks to Your Highness for the demonstration with which Your Highness welcomed my arrival which I shall reciprocate with loyal friendship, preserving for ever the (good relation) that Your Highness has with this State as Your Highness, will experience throughout the whole period of my administration as well by the special affection that I have for Your Highness, for I had already heard much of your great qualities while yet in Portugal * * * as by the great earnestness with which I was charged by the Prince my master. And as regards the business on which the abovementioned envoy came I shall order to answer Your Highness with all possible brevity as Your Highness (sees) in this letter. The abovementioned envoy will be able to assure Your Highness of the good will that he finds in me and the expedition that I have given to the letters I ordered to be written to Moro Pandito and Anagi Pandito in reply to those of theirs and to the Captains of the fortresses of the North to inform me with all veracity about the particulars of which I asked them to make enquiry regarding the Chouth and their answer I shall send to Your Highness; and in the said letters I have ordained them to have good relations and amity with the Subedars of Your Highness and not to permit in our lands the malefactors of the Colkes and Choutia so that they may not create disturbance or commit robberies in the territories of Your Highness. I expect Your Highness will also on

your part ordain the said Subedars to have the same relations and good amity with the said Captains so that there may not be between us any occasion for resentment or grievance. May God illumine the person of Your Highness in His Grace. Goa, 15th January, 1678, Dom P. de Almeida (Reis Visinhos; Tomo 1, Fol. 3).

The Conde de Assumar, however, did not stay in India long enough to settle this important question. He arrived at Goa on the 28th October, 1677 but left for Mozambique on the 27th January, 1678 where he died on the 22nd March of the next year. "During the absence of the Viceroy, the Government of India was administered by Dom Fr. Antonio Brandão, the Archbishop Primate, and Antonio Paes de Sande, who had been named in the Patent of Succession, together with the Chancellor Francisco Cabral de Almada, who was now deceased." (Danvers, Portuguese in India, Vol. II, p. 366.) The next letter on this subject was signed by the second of these commissioners Antonio Paes de Sande and was addressed to Shivaji's envoy Pitambar Shenvi. It is dated 12th July, 1768 and runs as follows:—We have received the letters that Pitambar Shenvi wrote to me and to the Archbishop Primate, in which he represented to me that he came to this city in connection with the subject of the payment of Chauth of the territories of Daman that used to be paid to the king Choutia. The Viceroy Dom Pedro d'Almeida answered him that he would send for information (on this subject) from the Captain General of the North and from that of the fortress of Daman, and when the said information came he would advise Sivaji Raze to send a person with authority to settle this business with the said Captains after examining the terms under which the said Chauth was created but the said advice had not come and the decision that was expected has been delayed. To this my answer is that the cause of this delay arose from the embarkation of the said Viceroy for Mozambique and on that account the said Captains neglected to send the information.

he asked of them. It was not therefore possible to inform you that this state is not tributary to any neighbouring king. As however I desire to preserve peace and amity with Sivaji I do not take any notice and pretend to be ignorant of the information that the said Captains gave me. From that information it is clear that the said Chauth had its origin in the covenant that the villagers (Vazadores das Aldeas) of the district of Daman made of their own initiative with the King Choutia, without informing the past Viceroys and Governors to avoid the loss and robbery that his subjects used to commit in those villages. From that covenant a contract has been solemnised with various conditions that were to operate between them, and I have no doubt that in conformity with them the said Chauth will be paid to Sivaji Raze as it was paid to the King Choutia, as I am told in his letters that it is in the possession of his kingdom. To settle this business Pitambar Shenvi may advise Sivaji Raze to send on his behalf a person with proper authority for I write here upon this subject, after consulting the Captain of the fortress of Daman and examining the terms under which the inhabitants of the said villages subjected them to the payment of the said Chauth. The consideration of this affair is entrusted to the judges deputed for it, so that after the said villagers are heard and the common law and known custom relating to the Chauth are considered the final decision of this business may be made with justice. Shivaji Raze may be informed of this that I on my part do not lack the desire of seeing his claim decided so that our friendship may go on increasing. Goa 12th July, 1678. Antonio Paes de Sande (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 1, fol. 12.)

In the meantime the Portuguese were still enforcing their naval supremacy upon all vessels belonging to other nations but they were inclined to be lenient to Shivaji's subjects. In a letter dated 12th March, 1678, Tanaji Ram, Havaladar of Vingurla, is informed, in reply to his letter for the restoration of a Manchua, captured and detained by the Portuguese, that the vessel was

captured as it did not carry a *cartas* but in view of the friendship and amity that existed between the Portuguese state and Shivaji Raze the vessel was ordered to be restored. Tanaji Ram was further informed that henceforth Shivaji's subjects will have nothing but friendly treatment from the Portuguese while in their territories. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo I, fol. 4). On the 23rd May, 1678, Pitambar Shenvi was informed in reply to a similar application for the restoration of a Parangue that he ought to know that no vessel could navigate the Indian Ocean without a *cartas* from the Portuguese. (R. V., Tomo I, fol. 9).

The relations between the two powers were certainly being strained. Pitambar Shenvi was dead and it appears that no new envoy or plenipotentiary had been appointed in his place while Shivaji's people were being harassed by robbers and marauders from Portuguese territories and their patience was sorely tried by interference of the Portuguese fleet in the sea. Antonio Paes de Sande contended that he and his colleagues were doing their best to preserve the good relations hitherto prevailing between the two states, but Shivaji's Subedars thwarted their pacific attempts. The letter Sande wrote to Shivaji in this connection is certainly interesting. It runs as follows :—Received Your Highness's letter and rejoiced to find it accompanied by the excellent news of Your Highness's health and every time I shall get them the greater will be my satisfaction. In the same letter Your Highness acquaints me with the desire that the good relation and friendship that now subsist between the vassals of Your Highness and those of His Majesty the Prince my master may continue. I am not less anxious that this friendship should be preserved and should for ever increase as I have demonstrated on all occasions afforded by the Captains of Your Highness. Your Highness has written me that some malefactors from our jurisdiction go over to that of Your Highness to commit robbery and other misdeeds. My diligence to prevent this injury and the orders I have passed on the subject are well

known to the Subedar of Bichely, and it cannot be * * * * that I have sanctioned it and permitted so bad a thing that is of no use but a disturbance to the State. It is a fact that at times the negligence of the Captains is the (real) cause of such excesses. For times I have often advised them to get some of these malefactors arrested so that they might be tortured to confess (and betray) their companions to be punished in an exemplary manner or to inform immediately and send a messenger to the Captain nearest our territories so that he may go in pursuit of the band of persons from these territories in order that they might be identified, etc.' This letter need not be quoted in full.

Antonio Paes de Sande goes on to point out that no minister had been appointed in the place of Pitamba Shenvi who died and it stood in the way of prompt transmission of letters. Shivaji was requested to remove this difficulty by appointing a new minister. Sande concludes this letter by explaining how difficult it was to stop all migration or immigration from and to his jurisdiction.

The next letter that Antonio Paes de Sande wrote to Shivaji dealt with the capture of some Maratha vessels by the Portuguese Armada (dated 17th November, 1678), Reis Visinhos, Tomo 1, fol. 18). These vessels according to the Portuguese version were trading with cities of Canara then at war with the Portuguese. Shivaji had evidently complained to the Goa authorities against the unfriendly conduct of their naval officers but Paes informed the Maratha King that he had been misinformed by his Captains and Subedars who were not well disposed towards the Portuguese and who were not at all inclined to continue the peace and friendly relation then subsisting between the two states. Bitterness of feeling continued to increase and the Portuguese suspected, as the next letter of Sande shows, Shivaji's ministers of secretly helping their enemies in various ways (Letter dated 11th January, 1789, Reis Visinhos, Tomo 1, fol. 24) The last letter of this series



addressed to Shivaji tells us that the Maratha naval officers had in the meantime retaliated what they rightly or wrongly regarded as a hostile action by capturing in their turn some Portuguese ships. This letter, written on the 20th of March, 1679, also refers to Shivaji's demand of Chauth from some villages under the jurisdiction of Daman and I shall quote here only the relevant portion, "Received the letter of Your Highness, delivered by Ganu Chaty (Ganesh Sheth?), on the subject of sending Your Highness the Chauth that some villages under the jurisdiction of Daman used to pay to the King Choutia as Your Highness is now in possession of those territories. Pitambar Shenvi, the envoy of Your Highness, discussed this subject in this city with the Viceroy Pedro d'Almeida and after his departure and after I had succeeded him in this Government, I solicited Your Highness as a friend to settle (this question) and to send to that end, a person on your behalf with all necessary power to treat of the form and conditions of payment. For this contribution was paid by some villages of the said Daman under certain conditions to be observed by the two parties, in which this State did not otherwise participate except giving them that permission. All these have been shown in the letter I wrote to the said envoy to be presented to Your Highness. I now remit to Your Highness a copy of that letter so that it may be seen that I have not in any way failed in the observance and preservation of peace and amity and in offering good will to Your Highness.

Things having pursued this course, Your Highness and his ministers failed on their part (in this respect) by capturing against public faith, while in peace and amity, the vessels and goods of merchants of this city who went under our banner of the Armada of the North and were assembled in the river Zamquizara (Shankheswar) in a port of a friendly Prince. I wrote to Your Highness on this subject and Your Highness gave a reply my letter being wrongly informed. It was a falsehood to

assert that the vessels entered your port, for the truth was that the Arabs were cruising (?) in the sea where Your Highness had no jurisdiction, neither has Your Highness any jurisdiction over the Portuguese or the Arabs " (Reis Visinhos, Vol. I, fol. 29).

In the next letter of the series, dated 8th May, 1680 addressed to Rayagi Pandito, Subedar mor de Sambagy Raze we read of Shivaji's death. The Portuguese had been preparing for a war with him. What the immediate provocation was these letters do not reveal, but it is sufficiently clear that both the parties had enough grievance against each other. When the news of Shivaji's death reached the Portuguese Government they at once suspended their hostile preparations and hastened to offer Sambhaji their condolence and assure him of their friendship. (Reis Visinhos, Vol. I, fol. 42).

These few letters show us only one side of the shield. Neither the original Marathi letters of Shivaji nor their Portuguese translation are now at Goa. A large number of records were sent from Goa to Lisbon many years ago and for all we know, these valuable documents may still be lying unheeded in some dark corners of the Record rooms of Lisbon or Evora. But one-sided as these letters necessarily are, the information yielded by them does not lack in either importance or interest. They certainly throw a sidelight on the origin of the Chauth hitherto regarded as an invention of that resourceful founder of the Maratha Empire. But it appears from the letters quoted above that the Chauth existed long before Shivaji rose to power.

According to Prof. Takkhav the Raja of Ramnagar used to receive an annual tribute from the Portuguese of Daman. Shivaji claimed this tribute after his reduction of the territories of the Koli Raja. In the Portuguese letters this Raja is styled as Rei Choutia because the tribute he received was Chauth or *Chouto* as the Portuguese called it. The Raja Choutia may therefore be reasonably identified with the Koli Raja of Ramnagar. There are many letters in the first volume of *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* addressed to El Rei Choutia, but time did not

permit me to go through them. Since I left Goa, these letters have been carefully studied by Prof. P. Pissurlencar and he informs me that the Raja Choutia was no other than the Raja of Ramnagar. The next question to be settled is when did those "villages under the jurisdiction of Daman" agree to pay the contribution called "Chouto" to the Raja of Ramnagar. I have no doubt that the exact date can be ascertained by an enquiry in the Archives of Daman, but that the arrangement was made long before Shivaji's birth is evident. Danvers tells us that "In 1615 a treaty of peace was concluded by Gonzalo Pinto da Fonseca at Daman, between the Portuguese and King Choutia, with whom there had been some differences on account of the latter having laid claim to certain lands which were also held to belong to Portuguese territory." (Portuguese in India, Vol. II, pp 177-178.) The arrangement which earned the Raja of Ramnagar his title of Choutia must have been concluded earlier.

Let us now see when Shivaji first began to claim Chauth from his neighbours. Both Grant Duff and Ranade agree that Chauth was for the first time claimed by Shivaji in the year 1665 when the treaty of Purandar was concluded. It is however noteworthy that Sardeshmukhi had been claimed fifteen years earlier in 1650. This claim was repeated in 1657 for the second time, but on neither of these occasions any mention of the Chauth was made. I have said elsewhere (*Administrative System of the Marathas*) that Shivaji's claim to Sardeshmukhi was based on a legal fiction, but he compelled his neighbours to pay Chauth as a price of security from plunder and for an identical reason the Portuguese subjects of Daman also had agreed to pay Chauth to the Raja of Ramnagar. In the year 1664 Shivaji had passed through the territories of the Koli Rajas of Jawhar and Ramnagar on his way to Surat and probably on this occasion he had learnt of the Koli practice of levying Chauth from their Portuguese neighbours. In 1672 the Koli country was conquered and Chauth was demanded not

only from the Portuguese but also from the people of Surat. In the first letter of Dom Perdo d'Almeida we find a corroboration of Giant Duff's statement that Chauth was demanded on account of Bassein as well. This claim was probably dropped later as no mention of it is made in the letters of Antonio Paes de Sande to Pitambar Shenvi and Shivaji where the justice of Shivaji's claims against Daman is admitted. Shivaji did not invent the Chauth, he found the practice of levying Chauth already in existence and he quickly realised that the practice could be easily extended to other hostile territories to his great financial benefit.

The Portuguese did not address either Shivaji or Sambhaji as Chhatrapati. They were invariably styled in the Portuguese letters as Shivaji Raze and Sambhaji Raze although Shahu and even the powerless potentates of the Kolhapur branch at a subsequent period were addressed in the Portuguese letters as Xatrapaty. Annaji Datto and Moro Pant also, it should be noted, are styled as 'Surnivis' and 'Pessua' respectively, for their new designations of Sachiv and Mukhya Pradhan had evidently not yet gained any popularity among strangers.

V. HOW THE MARATHA ENVOY WAS RECEIVED.

Pitambar Shenvi and after him Ganu Chaty or Ganesh Sheth went to Goa as Shivaji's envoy. We also read of Isaji Gambhir Rao, envoy of Sambhaji Raze. How were these envoys received by the Portuguese Governor-General and his subordinates, what formalities were observed, how many salutes, if any, were fired on the occasion of their visit, we do not know. Biker has published an extract from an interesting document under the heading "Tratamento que se dá ao Enviado do Sevagi"¹ But as the date of this paper is 1705, the honours and formalities mentioned therein were doubtless meant for the envoy of Shivaji the Mad, the grandson of Shivaji the Great and son of Rajaram and Tarabai. The extract runs as follows :

"On his arrival at Bicholim or Sanquelim, or Ponda or at any other place, the envoy informs the Viceroy how he is lodged there, by letters and epistles that he brings in his charge soliciting an audience. On getting this information the envoy is provided with houses with six chairs, one footstool, one side board and a skiff, he is advised as to the day he should come, assigning the place where he should come, and on the day fixed, a Manchua of the state or of the treasury, equipped with awnings of scarlet cloth and curtains of silk is sent to bring him. The Captain of the Manchua, and an Adjutant go in it and lead the envoy between them to the landing place, whence word is sent to the Viceroy or Governor, and some men of high rank and noble birth who attend the house and some Ministers attending the Viceroy come to receive him at the stairs. The envoy enters, bows thrice and delivers to the Viceroy the letter and presents he brings, which the Viceroy receives on foot below the canopy and at once hands them to the Secretary of State, who is on his right. After dismissal the envoy comes to lodge in the houses appointed

¹ Biker, Vol. V, pp. 12 13.

for him accompanied by two mounted Adjutants, and the Factor of His Majesty sends him some refreshment of fruits to the value of sixty Xerafins. From there he solicits audience which is given without further formalities and he is always received on foot. On the day of his departure, when the envoy comes to the presence of the Viceroy, the Secretary delivers to the Viceroy the reply and the present and he gives them with his own hands to the envoy who receives them with salutes and some courteous words. If he wants to go by sea the envoy is given a ship, and two Adjutants or one accompany him according to the wish of the Viceroy; and the same is done if he goes by land to the frontier of our territories. Only after the wars, the Conde de Alvor¹ received the envoy of the said Shivaji with the title of ambassador with the same treatment as is accorded to the ambassador of the King of Canara.

VI. NAVAL ACTIVITIES UNDER SAMBHAJI.

Conde de Alvor had to fight desperately against Sambhaji for the defence of Goa. The war, however, was of his own seeking. The Viceroy had imprudently identified himself with the Mughal cause and Sambhaji could not afford to see Goa converted into a Mughal naval base. In science, of course, the Marathas were no match for their western enemies, but Sambhaji was a better strategist than the Count of Alvor. He led his army with so much resolution that many towns in Portuguese India were captured and the safety of the metropolis was seriously threatened. It was saved only by the sudden arrival of the Mughal reinforcement, called to the scene in the nick of time, as the fervent Christians of those days believed, by the celebrated Saint Francis Xavier, to whose care the despairing

¹ Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor, was Viceroy of Portuguese India from 1681 to 1686. The war mentioned is the one Sambhaji waged against him. The word Shivaji therefore stands here for Maratha kings in general.

Viceroy had confided the defence. The details of this war are so well known that I need not deal with them here, most of the records bearing upon the subject have been published by the celebrated Luso-Indian scholar, the late Sr. J. A. Ismael Gracias. I propose here to confine myself to the letters embodied in the second volume of *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*.

On the 28th of July, 1682, a letter was addressed to Sambhaji (R. V. Tomo. II, fol. 16) offering congratulations on the birth of a son. As Shahu was born in December, 1680, or about twenty months earlier, he could not be the prince whose birth offered the Portuguese a suitable opportunity for making friendly overtures, for in this letter the Portuguese had expressed their desire for friendship and peace. Their merchantmen were being harassed by the Maratha navy, as we read in a previous letter addressed to 'Essaji Gambhir Rao,' envoy of Sambhaji, that some Galvats belonging to Portuguese subjects had been captured by Sambhaji's Subedars and Havaldars (fol. 14). The Portuguese were quite willing to make some concessions to Sambhaji to purchase his friendship. From the time of Shivaji to the days of the Peshwas the Marathas had often to purchase powder and balls from their Portuguese neighbours and Sambhaji needed a large quantity of ammunition for his war against the Mughals. He had entrusted this business to Essaji Gambhir Rao and the Portuguese, as another letter addressed to Sambhaji on the 28th July 1682 shows, were quite willing to give him every facility for purchase and transport of war materials he needed. The letter runs as follows :

After the envoy Essaji Gambhir Rao had delivered to me Your Highness' letter of welcome, he gave me another letter, in which Your Highness informed me that Your Highness had ordered two farms under the jurisdiction of Bicholy and Curalle to manufacture powder and purchase artillery, sulphur, saltpetre and other things ordered to be manufactured in the ports of Canara and Malabar, requesting me to direct the

Captains of the Armada of this State not to obstruct those ships (carrying the munitions) and to let them and also the provision that Your Highness' subjects may take from Canara for the ports of Vingurla and Banda pass freely. As I desire to maintain friendship with Your Highness, I have given to your Highness' envoy the necessary order to that effect, in conformity with Your Highness' request. I do not, however, experience similar treatment from Your Highness', Subedars and Ministers, who cause much harm to the subjects of this State, by capturing their ships in the Northern parts while on their way from one part of this State to another with cargo. The ships as I have signified to Your Highness' envoy.....and should order the said ships to be restored, directing your Subedars and Ministers not to commit similar outrage and violence and to behave only in such a way as (contribute to the) preservation of amity...for it can be but ill preserved, as I (have ?) just shown Your Highness in all brevity, by treatment of other sort as these hostilities May God illumine Your Highness' soul ! (fol. 16).

On the same date a third letter was addressed to Sambhaji (fol. 17) in which the Portuguese Government complained that a merchantman with cargo bound for the port of Cambay was captured by four or five ships, of the Maratha fleet near Chaul and the captured vessel with all its cargo was taken to the port of 'Canssou,' on the plea that the ship belonged to the merchants of Cambay, though in fact it was the property of one Rachandrassa Bagagi, Captain of the Gujrati merchants of Goa and a vassal of the Portuguese State. The Portuguese authorities pointed out that the ship and its cargo should be restored to its rightful owner in conformity with the friendship that then prevailed between the two States.

But this was by no means the last letter that the Portuguese authorities sent to Sambhaji on the 28th July, 1682. The Viceroy Francisco de Tavora had to put his signature to yet another epistle addressed to the Maratha prince. This letter shows that Sambhaji had formed an alliance with the Arabs,

who at that time contended for the sovereignty of the Indian Ocean. He had made some commercial concessions in their favour and, as was alleged by the Portuguese, he shared with them some of their spoils taken from Portuguese subjects and this naturally called forth a protest from the Viceroy. But let the letter relate the obnoxious incidents. The Viceroy wrote :

"I have answered two letters of Your Highness that I received sometimes ago and I am now replying one that was delivered to me a few days ago by the envoy, Esaji Gambhir Rao, in which Your Highness gives me satisfaction on.... I complained to the envoy of the friendship your Highness had (evinced) for the Arabs, the enemies of this State, by inviting them for your service and offering them factories in your territories and also by keeping the diamonds taken from the merchants of this city; and yet Your Highness tells me that the information I got about the Arabs was not correct and they had only gone to your ports to sell horses, though the information I had, convinced me to the contrary....."

The letter could not be fully deciphered, but the Portuguese Viceroy makes here a reference to the good relations that existed in the past between the Portuguese State and Sambhaji's father, Shivaji. He requests the Maratha prince to restore the diamonds to the merchants, their legitimate owners, and urges him to instruct his Subedars and Ministers not to offer any more vexation and create fresh cause of discord. A letter to the same effect was written to Nilcanta Moresoar (Nilkantha Moreswar), 'General e Secretario de Sambagy Raze' (fol. 26).

These letters and expostulations were not altogether fruitless, for we find in a letter, dated 16th November, 1682 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo II, fol. 26), a reference to a letter of Esaji Gambhir Rao, Sambhaji's envoy. The Maratha envoy informed the Portuguese that "his master had been informed of the bad proceedings of Subedar Givagi Naique and had dismissed him. In his place the old Subedar Moro Dadagi was appointed."

But the Portuguese had not relied on mere epistolary expostulations. They had retaliated by capturing and detaining Maratha ships. We read in a letter addressed to Gano-Ram, Subedar de Curalle, dated 14th April, 1683 (Reis Vioishos, Tomo II, fol. 33) that the Manchuas captured on their way from ports of Canara would not be returned to Vingurla until ships belonging to Portuguese subjects were restored and their losses were fully compensated. But retaliatory measures had not the desired effect, as we read in a letter (dated 16th May, 1683) to Esaji Gambhir Rao, that the ships and cargo had not yet been restored. A similar letter was addressed to Ramchandra Pant on the 17th of February, 1683, prior to the angry answer given to the Subedar of Kudal, in which it was specifically stated that in spite of the friendly professions made by Sambhaji Raze, the Manchuas and Galvats captured in the North, had not been returned, and no compensation had been paid to the villages under the Portuguese jurisdiction plundered by the Marathas.

These few letters are enough to show that busy as Sambhaji was on the land, his naval officers were not altogether idle, and the period between Shivaji's death and the rise of Kanhoji Angira was not altogether a blank in the Naval History of the Marathas. On the high seas the Maratha fleet still held their own as in the days of the great Shivaji and the Portuguese maritime power had very little or no terror for the brave Maratha sailors. To a modern reader their capture and detention of inoffensive merchantmen may appear as a high-handed act of piracy. In fact the Maratha Admirals have often been called pirates by European writers of all nationalities, but as we shall see later on, they had learnt this practice from a European nation and they rightly or wrongly thought that any ship of any nationality, other than their own, formed their lawful prize unless she carried a Maratha passport.

VII. RAJARAM.

The first few years of Rajaram were fraught with difficulties. For eight out of a reign of eleven years he was besieged by his Mughal enemies in the fort of Jinji in the Madras Presidency. His country had been wholly overrun by the Mughal cavalry and most of his hill forts had been captured and garrisoned by the Mughals. But harassed as the Marathas were in their own land their army and navy did not cease to be a source of annoyance to the Portuguese. Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor, had left India in 1681 and for the next seven years there was no Viceroy, the Portuguese Estate in India was ruled by Governors and Commissioners. The next Viceroy, Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha, Conde de Villa Verde, arrived at Goa in 1693 and was in India for the next five years. During his Viceroyalty Ramchandra Pant Amatya acted as Rajaram's representative in Maharashtra and we come across many letters addressed to Ramchandra Pant, his lieutenants and their Mughal adversaries in the third volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*. We find a reference to the depredations of the Maratha fleet in a letter addressed by the Count of Villa Verde on the 15th June, 1695 to Ganessa Ragnato, (Ganesh Raghunath) the newly appointed Governor of Konkan. The Viceroy wrote :

"I am very glad to hear of the selection of Your Honour by Ramchandra Pandit for the Government of the territories of the Concan and I am very pleased to find that Your Honour evinces in his actions a desire for amity with this Estate. The Portuguese always admit to their friendship all who desire it and so also will Your Honour experience. I cannot but express my great surprise that Ramchandra Pandit should pose as a friend of this Estate while in all his actions he shows that this desire is not real. He allows the Galvetas of the Subedars under him, over whom he has authority, to infest our seas and make prizes of our Parangues. This makes me unable to

understand whether he desires my friendship or makes war against me. And for this reason I went to Rajapore to look for the Arabs. Moreover if the Prince Raza Rama desires to be our friend, he should not permit our enemies in his ports, for he who helps our enemies does not keep peace with us. I am ready to accept the friendship of Prince Raza Rama if the actions of his captains and officers are those of true friends, but in case they lack in fidelity and the Galvetas of these thieves continue their robbery, I shall have to punish them. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo III, fol. 24). On the same date the Count addressed a similar letter to the head of the Maratha Government, Ramchandra Pandit, in which also he complains that while the Marathas verbally profess a desire for his friendship their actions betray a different intention.

The Count of Villa Verde had every reason to be vexed. The sea was no longer safe for Portuguese merchantmen and considerable loss was caused to their trade by English and Arab pirates. He could not therefore be indifferent to the amicable relations that then existed between the Marathas and the Arabs. Shivaji had once hinted that he could easily find a willing ally in the Arabs against his Portuguese neighbours; his sons demonstrated by their pro-Arab policy that the threat, veiled though it was, was neither empty nor impracticable. But while the Arabs could harass the Portuguese trade in the sea only, the Maratha Generals could fall upon the defenceless villages in Portuguese India and plunder them at their will. That they did so not infrequently can be shown from three letters addressed to Rayagi Shamraza (Baji Sham Rao?) at different times by the Viceroy from November 1694 to November 1695.

The date of the first letter is illegible (Reis Visinhos, Tomo III, fol. 15), its language leaves no doubt, however, as to the irritation of the writer. "From letters I got sometime ago from Your Honour, Ramchandra Pandit and Santagi Gorpada, I learnt that Your Honours are my friends, for so assert all in

the letters mentioned above but I find the contrary, for Your Honour entered our territories with the sole intention of committing robbery with the people of the Ghats and this action is very bad and so disgusted me that a.....order (has been sent ?) to Chaul for taking the island of Undry and not to allow it any provision, and send (to arrest ?) (prisoner ?) all Marathas found in our territories and to go to your sea ports and burn them." (The rest of the letter is illegible. The day and month cannot be deciphered at all, but the year is 1694, as the letter on fol. 18 and 19 is dated 13th of November, this must have been written some time previously.)

The strong language and the undoubted energy of the Viceroy created an impression on the Maratha Government and the next two letters indicate a negotiation for amicable settlement. An Indian diplomat seems to have been employed by the Portuguese Government. His name was Ramchrisna Naique and one Apagi Hiro was requested in a very courteous and complimentary letter to co-operate with him on this occasion. We learn from this letter that Ramchandra Pandit himself had solicited peace and the Viceroy was quite willing to accept a compensation, as his next letter to Rayagi Shamraza, dated 15th November, 1695, shows.

From the letters that I received from Your Honour before your descent from the Ghats I understood that (you came) as a friend, but from the information I got, I find that contrary (was the case) as your men entered our territories and robbed our villagers of some cattle; I believe you will some other time return them as also the sum of three Rupees per head, you exacted from the villagers. I have already sent Ramchrisna Naique to make this complaint to Your Honour and I am still in doubt whether your soldiers committed (this plunder) without Your Honour's consent. I shall, however, believe that Your Honour is in heart a friend, if Your Honour and his men return immediately the abovementioned money that they unjustly took and do not (in future) venture to enter our country,

as such actions are not permissible among friends. As I have written to you I shall settle this matter and I hope you will also on your part try your best. Goa, 15th November, 1695. Conde de Villa Verde (Reis Visinhos, Tomo III, fol. 19).

What exactly came of this negotiation we do not know, but the Portuguese had to again complain five years later against the depredations of the Marathas both on land and in the sea. This time the letter was addressed to Parissaram Panta, (Parshram Trimbak Pratinidhi) Vallido de Rama Raze : "Received a letter from Your Honour but find in it scanty reason for the entry that the fleet made in the river Zanguizara, and I estimate the good relations that this Estate always had with Ramraja finding all (to the contrary), as experience has shown me, for twice during the last year (your people) entered our villages of the North and robbed and harassed the villagers. (Your) Galvetas harass our Parangues that go from this city with provision and (still) Your Honour contends that peace has in this manner been observed." The letter ends with a threat of condign punishment and hostile treatment. This letter was written on the 23rd March, 1700 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo a vi fol. 23) and on the 14th of the next month the Portuguese his serment informed Sidy Iacut Can, the Abyssinian Chief vei Janjira, that their military preparations were meant "to cause harm to the villages of their common enemy Sivagi and were not intended" to prejudice him in any way."

The Marathas had obtained signal success against their Mughal enemies and were now in a position to defy the Portuguese with impunity. But Rajaram died in 1700, a minor was on the throne and for the next two years at least, as appears from the contemporary letters, amicable relations subsisted between the two States. On the 20th April, 1702, Bauanji Mohite (Bhavanji Mohite) Subedar of Sindedurga, (Sindhudurg or Malwan, the headquarters of the Maratha navy) was not only thanked for returning a Manchua belonging to the Portuguese Government but he was assured that the

Portuguese would ever reciprocate such friendly treatment. A similar message was also sent to Parasharam Trimbak Pratinidhi. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 62). The Marathas, as the next letter shows, were seeking the friendship of their Portuguese neighbours and hence this uncommon courtesy and conciliatory attitude on their part.

The Viceroy, Caetano de Mello de Castro, who wrote the letter, mentioned above, was a man of resolution and energy. He arrived in India in the latter part of the year 1703 and took over charge of the Government on the 2nd October. "His administration was chiefly noted for an endeavour to consolidate and extend Portuguese power in the districts bordering upon Goa." He waged war against the Angria and the Bhonsla of Sawantwari and reduced many strongholds belonging to the latter. The King of Canara agreed to pay a tribute to the Portuguese Government and for a short while its prestige was restored (Danvers, Portuguese in India, Vol. II, pp. 375-376). His correspondent was Hindu Rao, a brother of the celebrated general Shantaji Ghorpade, who was for so many years a terror to the Mughals in the Deccan. It appears that Hindu Rao had taken the earliest opportunity of addressing a letter to the new Viceroy for the answer is dated 14th of December, 1703¹ (?). It runs as follows :

Received two letters that Your Honour wrote to me. I did not respond to the first immediately as I was informed that Ganneça Vital (Ganesh Vithal) the courier would soon arrive at this city with the second. He came and delivered the letter which Your Honour wrote me. I understand that you wish to preserve between this Estate and the dominions of His Most Felicitous Chatrapaty the friendship that formerly existed and which was firmly observed when my father was Viceroy of this Estate of India. Those memories oblige me to what Your Honour so prizes and is so desirous of—preservation

¹ The date given in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* is 1702 but Danvers says that the Viceroy did not arrive in India before the latter part of 1703.

of good relations between us. Your Honour will experience (the same desire) on my part and you on your part will direct (your men) not to commit in these lands and these seas the least violence to the Portuguese, the subjects of the King our master, and to give them the help and shelter they may require in your ports, as a pact of amity demands, for I have also in the same manner ordered that the people of your territories should not suffer any loss in the districts of these dominions or in the sea, should they there encounter my Armadas and should be thus favoured and not maltreated. I am glad (to receive) the account that Your Honour sent me of the brilliant successes in your war that commenced with the victories of the strongholds in the neighbourhood and (I hope) the successes will well continue and the army recover the loss (of the past) as Your Honour expects. Ganecça Vital has already twice spoken to me and he is in this city of Goa and I shall favour him in everything that he may want and I verbally told him about some particulars communicated to me. The said Ganecça Vital will inform Your Honour of the falsity of all that as well as some matter that I communicated to him and which may be useful in the confirmation of the good relations which I hope will be continued. Goa, 14th December, 1702 Caetano de Mello de Castro (R. V., Tomo IV, fol. 62).

Friendly relation between the two states, however, was not destined to last long as is evident from other letters addressed to Hindu Rao and that celebrated Maratha naval leader, Kanhoji Angria.

VIII

FRESH TROUBLES

On the 28th September, 1703, or exactly nine months after the friendly letter addressed to the Viceroy, the Portuguese had again to complain of Maratha depredations in the sea. By this time the great Maratha Admiral Kanhoji Angria had risen to power and he was most probably responsible for these fresh troubles. But it will be more convenient to devote a separate section to the Angrias. The Portuguese Government wrote to Hindu Rao, demanding compensation for the excesses committed at the port of Mellondim and the Isles of Candery (Maratha Khanderi, better known as Kenery). "Your Honour's letter and that of Custaji Pantta" (Krishnaji Pant) so the letter ran, "have been delivered to me and from them I understand that you desire to continue the good relations between the Maharaza and this State. Yet you do not comply much with the high purpose of the same (desire for friendship) and give satisfaction for the excesses committed in the port of Mellondim and in the Isles of Candery, as that must be well known to Your Honour. I do not demand such satisfaction, but expect that all that has been robbed from our subjects should be restored to them without delay." (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 74.)

The next letter that Cactano de Mello de Castro wrote to Hindu Rao Ghorpade also refers to the troubles created by the Marathas whom he angrily calls the "thieves of Sindi Durga, Undry and Candry." "Received a letter of Your Honour that Ballagi Ram and Apagi Nilcanta delivered to me, I feel much obliged and beg to signify,

(my obligation). I esteem very much Your Honour's recollection of the favour and good treatment that Custagi Panta received from my predecessors when he was in the neighbourhood of this State and the same friendship will Your Honour experience though I justly complain of the robberies and insolence repeatedly committed by the thieves of Sindi Durga, Undry and Candry. The Majestic State of the North has not punished them, expecting satisfaction from Sambagi Raze, from whom I got a letter a few days ago to which I responded telling him (everything) about these (robberies) so that he might order the restitution of the spoils to the vassals of this State and prohibit the repetition of the said robberies, so that the peace and friendship between this State and the said Sambagi Raze may in this manner be preserved. As for the offer Your Honour made me, I have already inflicted sufficient punishment on Qhema Saunto (Khem Savanta) As regards (?) other similar thefts, although he earnestly solicited my pardon promising amendment (of his conduct) I am not prepared to forgive him, and as he is an enemy of little power I do not require any help for his reduction. It is for this reason that I do not avail myself of the offer that Your Honour made. I shall not forget the good will underlying the said offer and all that I may do Ballagi Rama and Apagi Nilcanta..... they will inform Your Honour so that you may concede what may be useful.....Goa, 2nd November, 1704. Caetano de Mello de Castro. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 105.)

This letter shows that the hostile activities of the Maratha fleet did not materially affect the good relations between the two neighbouring powers. The Portuguese Government had written to Krishnaji Pant urging Hindu Rao to punish the rebel Khem Savanta (3rd October, 1703, Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 102), and it was probably in

response to this letter that Hindu Rao had offered to assist the Portuguese in a punitive expedition against the Savanta and put a stop to his piratical exploits. The Viceroy in person led an expedition against Bicholim, one of the strongholds of Khem Savanta, and the castle was captured and destroyed. But it is difficult to understand how Sambhaji Raze comes to be mentioned in this letter. In 1704, Shivaji II was still on the throne and he was not replaced by Sambhaji II, his step brother till 1712. The reins of the Maratha Government were held by the ambitious dowager queen Tarabai, the reigning prince's mother, and it does not seem probable that she should permit her step-son a formidable political rival, considering the tendencies of those times, to have any share in the administration or to carry on open correspondence with the Portuguese. Is it by a mere copyist's mistake that Sambhaji's name has been substituted for that of Shivaji? The published Marathi records throw no light upon this question, but if a revolution had really taken place at this date it is impossible that the contemporary Marathi records and the Maratha chronicles should be absolutely silent about it. The question demands further enquiry.

It is well known that Shivaji not only employed a number of Muhammadan sailors in his navy but conferred some important naval commands on Muhammadan officers like Dariya Sarang and Daulat Khan. From the unpublished Portuguese records it appears that Muhammadans continued to hold high offices in the fleet of Shivaji II as well. Two letters were addressed to one Dauda Can (Daud Khan), (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fols. 105, 107) in the first of which his designation is given as "Sarnobata da Armada" while another Muslim officer Sahida Mera (Syed Meera), by name, is styled as "Subedar." In the second letter Daud Khan is addressed as "Subedar da Armada do Sivagy." Probably the Subedar held the chief command of the fleet and the "Sarnobat" was his

second in command. So far as my knowledge goes, the term "Sarnobat" is not applied to a naval officer in any Marathi document. The first letter which was written on the 2nd of November, 1705, runs as follows :

Letter of the Secretary of State to Daud Khan, Sarnobat of the Fleet and Syed Meera, Subedar.

"The letter of Your Honour that Custtagi brought has been presented to the Most Excellent Senhor Viceroy and when the Portuguese and the mariners of the yawl arrive at this city, the said Most Excellent gentleman will be made acquainted (with the facts) not however without some comments from the robbed (persons) though Your Honour exculpates the people of Ratranguery, who urges other causes for which they will not deliver (the ship) at the request of the Portuguese and the mariners ~~the yawl as they left it wrecked on a coast.~~ But this excess of other thefts that are committed on this coast the Most Excellent gentleman intends to punish and this can no longer be delayed. Your Honour has assisted our Men of War in the earning of Canara in pursuance of the good relation and friendship and you have with this State and the Most Excellent gentleman gratefully acknowledges this kindness. He has ordered all our battleships to treat your Men of War in a similar fashion, helping them in all that they may need, for the Portuguese know how to show their gratitude to those who sincerely serve them as well as to punish those who being friends act as pirates whenever they can. Goa, 2nd November, 1705."

It may as well be noted here that as close neighbours the Portuguese had diplomatic relations with the Kolhapur princes till the firm establishment of the British supremacy in India reduced Shivaji's descendants to the position of feudatory princes and deprived them of their diplomatic freedom. Even in the first decade of the 19th century, as late as 1812 Shivaji Raze of Kolhapur solicited Portuguese aid against the well known Appa Desai of Nepani, but the Portuguese prudently refused to interfere in a matter involving hostility with the

Peshwa, then a subordinate ally of the English. They pointed out that compliance with the Chhatrapati's request would mean breach of existing treaty obligations with the court of Poona, which the Goa Government were unwilling to risk (Letter, dated 2nd June, 1812, Reis Visinhos, Vol. 14, fols. 102-103). It must not however be supposed that from the time of Shivaji II downwards the Kolhapur princes have always been friends with the Portuguese of Goa. Sambhaji II had frequent differences with his European neighbours, but both the States had declined in power and prestige and the results of such differences were seldom so serious as to attract outside notice.

IX

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEA, AS EXERCISED BY THE PORTUGUESE AND THE MARATHIAS

We have found so many references to Maratha depredations in the sea that it may not be irrelevant to discuss their nature and extent here. In the letter addressed to Hindu Rao we have seen that the Portuguese Viceroy regarded the Maratha seamen of Sindhudurg, Henry and Kenery as pirates. The terms "pirata" and "leyantado," pirate and rebel, have been frequently used by the Portuguese while writing of the Angrias. The English also regarded them as corsair chiefs. Yet from a close and dispassionate examination of the facts it appears that they were guilty of only two offences. They captured and appropriated merchantmen that sailed without their passport and they also took possession of all vessels wrecked on their coast and the cargo found in them. This practice was strongly resented by the mercantile nations of the West and they made repeated attempts severally and jointly to reduce the Angrias, but the Marathas were simply imitating the Portuguese and exercising, as they thought, in a legitimate way their right of sovereignty in the sea.

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

After their establishment on the Western coast of India the Portuguese became easily the greatest sea power in the Indian Ocean. This ascendancy they exercised in a high-handed manner and jealously guarded. They compelled even friendly states to seek their Cartaz or passport before sending their ships on a voyage in the Indian Ocean or the Arabian Sea. We have already seen that in the treaty concluded with the King of Bakla it had been clearly laid down that only four ships belonging to that prince will be given Cartazes for visiting Molucca, Ormuz and Goa. The friendly nations of Europe were not treated better as we learn from the accounts left by many adventurous travellers who were lured by the vague rumours of the fabulous wealth of the gorgeous east in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian era. Writes William Hawkins¹—"The next day, going about my affaires to the great mans brother, I met with some tenne or twelv of our men, of the better sort of them, very much frighted, telling me the heaviest newes, as I thought that ever came unto me, of the taking of the Barkes by a Portugal Frigat or two and all goods and men taken, only they escaped. * * * It was my chance the next day, to meete with a Captaine of one of the Portugal Frigats, who came about businesse sent by the Captaine Major. The businesse, as I understood, was that the Governour should send me as prisoner unto him, for that we were Hollanders. I understanding what he was, tooke occasion to speake with him of the abuses offered the King of England, and his subjects: his answer was, that these seas belonged unto the King of Portugall, and none ought to come here without his license. I told him, that the King of Englands license was as good as the King of Spaines, and he that saith the contrary, is a traytor, and a villaine, and so tel your great Captaine, that in abusing the King of England, he is a base villaine, and a traytor to his King, and that I will maintaine it with my sword, if he dare come on shore." But

¹ Purchas, His Pilgrimes, Vol. III, pp 4-5.

neither the strong protests that the good Captain made nor the 'kind' treatment he subsequently accorded to a Portuguese officer availed him much as he tells us — "before he (the Portuguese officer) departed the Towne, my men and goods were sent for Goa."

The incident mentioned by Hawkins occurred in 1608. Three years later the Portuguese Admiral, a more polite man than Hawkins' acquaintance, would not allow Sir Henry Middleton to enter the port of Surat. "The six and twentieth, betweene nine and ten of clocke wee weighed, having a gale of wind which brought us into the roade of Surat, we ridde by the three Indian ships in seven fathom. A mile from us ridde seven sayle of Portugall frigats or men of Warre: there were thirteene more of them which were within the river of Surat; The Portugalls long before our coming thither, had intelligence that we were in the Red Sea, and bound for this place, so that these Frigates were purposely sent to keepe us from Trade at Surat, or else-where, upon the Coast. The Captaine Major¹ of them is called Don Francisco de Sote Maior, is intituled Captaine Major of the North, he reapeth great benefit to himselfe by giving cartasses or Pasports to all ships and Frigats, which trade upon that coast, Any ship or Frigat which hath not the same passe are confiscate or lost."²

How rigorously this rule was enforced can be guessed from what Middleton says next. "The nine and twentieth, there came a small Portugall Frigat from the Admirall of the Armada (as they terme them) wherein was one Portugall and his Boy who brought me answere of my Letter sent the day before from the Captaine Major, wherein hee used some complements certifying me that he was glad to heare I belonged to a king a friend, and that he and his would be readie to doe mee service in anything he might, provided I brought a Letter

¹ Portuguese "Captain-major."

² Pinchas, His Pilgrimes, Vol. II, p. 172.

or Order from the King of Spaine, or the Vice-Roy, for my trading in these parts, which if I could shew him, he would willingly obey: if otherwise, he must guard the port he had in charge, where the King his Master had his factorie."¹ Even the Mughal officers had not the courage to support Sir Henry Middleton against the unreasonable interference of the Portuguese.

Ceasar Fredrike also found the Portuguese claiming the sovereignty of the sea and exercising it in the abovementioned manner as early as 1563. He wrote: "Diu is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small citie, but of great trade, because there they trade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these ships belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores cannot trade neither saile into these seas without the licence of the Vice-roy of the King of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises."² Ralph Fitch seems to echo the Italian traveller when he writes twenty years later—It (Diu) is but little, but well stored with Merchandise, for here they lade many great ships with divers commodities for the straight of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these bee ships of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a Pasport from the Portuguals."³

It is needless to quote more witnesses, sufficient evidence has been produced as to the Portuguese naval policy and how it was enforced against Asiatic and European nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We will now turn to published and unpublished Portuguese records on the subject and find out how far the Marathas trod in the footsteps of their Portuguese neighbours and to what extent their conduct

¹ *Ibid*, p. 173.

² Perohas, *His Pilgrimos*, Vol. X, p. 80.

³ *Ibid*, p. 100.

could be held as piratical. It is needless to point out that they should be judged by the standard of the seventeenth and not of the twentieth or nineteenth century.

We have seen previously how Shivaji had tried in vain to secure what may be termed the freedom of the sea, for although the Portuguese made some minor concessions in favour of coasting vessels and river crafts they were determined not to permit any big ship or sea-going vessel to sail without their Cartaz. If the concession was not made in favour of the Marathas neither was it made in favour of their Muhammadan enemies the Siddis of Janjira. In a letter addressed to Sidy Iacat Can, on the 3rd of April, 1700 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo, IV, fol. 28) we find reference to the capture and detention of a vessel belonging either to the Siddi or to one of his subjects. The Portuguese Government protested that it was captured on legitimate grounds, *viz.*, failure to carry their Cartaz, but the ship was restored to its owner in consideration of the friendship then subsisting between the Portuguese and the Mughal. The letter concluded with a significant sentence that reminded the Siddi that the Portuguese were "the sovereigns of the seas and not pirates." Another letter on a similar subject was again addressed to "Sidy Acut Can, General da Armada delRey Mogor, on the 16th December, 1715, which runs as follows: Received a letter of Your Lordship in which you request (the restoration of a) boat captured by one of the frigates of this State in Calicut and I am much surprised at the special reasons for which Your Lordship is not offended in this matter with as much sincerity as it deserves:

First of all there is no prince in Asia who does not know that the Most High and Mighty King of Portugal is sovereign of the Seas of India and the same is acknowledged by His Majesty the King of the Mughals and the Magnificent Monarch of Persia inasmuch as their vessels take Cartazes and observe all that they are ordained to do thereby." (Reis Visinhos, Tomo VII, fols. 26 and 27.)

Let us now see on what terms these Cartazes were granted and to what obligations the grantee was subjected. A number of typical Cartazes has been published by Judice Biker, in the fourth volume of his collection.¹ These will serve our purpose quite well, but the large masses of unpublished Cartazes still available in the Archives of Goa may yield information of no little value or interest.

On the 9th August of 1613, a Cartaz was issued in favour of ElRey Idalxā or Adil Shāh, the Muhammadan Sultan of Bijapur. It runs as follows: I Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo cause it to be known to all who may see it that in consideration of the ancient amity that ElRey Idalxā has with this State and as by the terms of the treaty he has concluded (with us) license and safeguard are granted to him to enable six of his ships to visit Mecca, Ormuz and other places, I have great pleasure in giving the present license and safeguard at the prayer of his ambassador to his ship Mamody (Muhammadi) by name, that carries four thousand khandis (of goods), of which the Nacodā is Melique Ambar aged thirty years and has for her defence twelve swivels of iron, twenty muskets and many moorish weapons that go in it, so that she may start from the port of Dabul where she is during the present monsoon for Juda and return to (Dabul) without taking or bringing any prohibited goods, to wit Greeks, Turcs, Abyssinians, cinamon of Ceylon lead, tin, brass, timber,² planks, saltpetre, sulphur, bamboo³ and other things prohibited by the Government. Neither will she (be permitted to) carry Portuguese nor bring horses without any license and she will be (allowed to) bring slaves, male and female of her nationality only. (But) if there is any suspicion or information that some of these (slaves) are Christians or children of Christians,

¹ Biker, Vol. IV, pp. 181-188.

² Nacoda—Captain of a Merchantman.

³ Madeira, and the original for wood in the above is Matp.

⁴ The original has bambus machos, the last word means any piece of timber, iron, etc., that is to be fitted into another.

there will be an open enquiry about them in the Provincial Council, even if such children are not baptised and before the said ship leaves the port of Dabul, she will be inspected and searched by the Feitor of His Majesty who is there and she will take his certificate on the back of this Cartaz. On these conditions, her voyage both outward and homeward will be without any impediment from the Captain-mors of the Armadas of this State or any other Captain or persons, and all who are hereby enjoined will fulfil and observe these terms without any question. This shall be sealed with the signet of the royal arms of the crown of Portugal. Belchoir da Silva drew it at Goa on the 9th of August 1613 and I Secretary, Affonso Rodrigues Guevara caused it to be written. Viso Rey (Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo). It must not be supposed that a friendly prince could get such Cartazes for the mere asking. Another Cartaz was issued only three days previously in favour of the Sultan of Bijapur who wanted to send from the same port of Dabul one of his ships Abdul Hadi to Tennassarim (Tenaserim). The request of the Bijapur ambassador was complied with, but it was clearly stated in the Cartaz that "this was a new request not hitherto made or conceded," and "license was given for this occasion only" in order to please the Sultan and in consideration of the amity that existed between the two States.

The terms of the Cartaz granted to the King of Canara a year later were certainly more stringent. It is as follows :

I Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes, (member) of His Majesty's Council of State, Viceroy and Captain General of India, etc., make it known to all who may see it that as the King of Canara has sent for a Cartaz to enable one of his boats to navigate, I do him the favour for this occasion only of granting license and safeguard. As his said ship Parmesuari (Parmeshwari) by

name, studded with nails, having a capacity of six hundred khandis of Goa and having for her Nacodā Hansamma Bapa, Currane¹ Pundallica, Pilot Mahama Dagi, Condestavel² Salu, Sarangue Ismal, Tandel³ Abdul, and other persons for her navigation, carrying for her defence twenty-five pieces of artillery, thirty muskets, thirty swords, fifty lances, five anchors, the necessary (quantity of) powder and ball besides other munitions of war, to enable her during the monsoon of the month of March or April of the present year 1714 to make her voyage from the port of Mangalor to the ports of Congo and Ormuz. She will not carry slaves or Christian slaves or Christian children and if we have suspicion or information that such (persons) are on board, an open enquiry will be made in the Provincial Council even if such children are not baptised. Nor will she take or bring Abyssinians Greeks or Arabs belonging to the territories owing allegiance to the Imam of Muscat. Neither shall she take a cargo of iron, steel, sulphur, timber, bamboos-machos for trade nor goods belonging to Arabs even if they are not prohibited, nor shall she take any Portuguese nor shall she go to any port that acknowledges the authority of the Imam of Muscat or that of the Angria or of any other prince or rebel with whom this State may be in war. Though it is (generally) prohibited this ship will bring horses as a special favour conceded to the said King that his ship may bring them from the ports of Congo and Ormuz. On her arrival at that port she will unload the goods she carries in that Factory and Custom house and pay there the usual duties for which she will take from our Factor a receipt on the back of the Cartaz with a declaration as to the horses she took in those ports so that there may not be any

¹ The same as Bongali karam or ships clerk.

² Constable, probably a petty supervising officer.

³ Marathi tandel and Indo-English tinda, a bontawain.

doubt that they were embarked there and not in other ports or in ports belonging to the Imam of Muscat. If she does anything contrary (to this) or goes to the prohibited ports and takes or brings forbidden goods, this Cartaz will not be valid and the ship shall be seized and forfeited to the *Fazenda real*. I thus notify the Generals and Captain-mors of the Armadas of this State, other Captains, officers and persons concerned to fulfil and observe these conditions in this manner and allow the ship to make her outward and return voyage without any impediment. After the lapse of a year this Cartaz will not be in force. It will be sealed with the seal of the royal arms of the Crown of Portugal and it is declared that this is the seventh Cartaz issued this summer for which no fee will be paid in accordance with one of the articles of a treaty concluded with the King of Canara. Gregorio Mascarenhas drew it at Goa on the first of March 1714 and I Secretary Joao Rodrigues Machado caused it to be written. Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes. By the decree of the Most Excellent Senhor Viceroy and Captain-General of India dated the 27th February of 1714.

The royal personages, seeking Cartazes generally according to treaty rights, and occasionally as a matter of courtesy were doubtless leniently and courteously treated, but from the two Cartazes quoted above it is clear that even these ships could be confiscated and appropriated by the Portuguese Government if they were detected in any offence mentioned in the Cartaz. Let us now examine a Cartaz granted to a private merchant and for this purpose we give below the text of one granted to one Govindadas Nana a Gujrat merchant and published by Biker.

The Governors of India,¹ etc., make it known to all who

¹ The Government of Portuguese India was at this time vested in a commission consisting of following members, Dom Antonio Inezinda Nôva Brum da Silveira, Arch Bishop; Joao Baptista Vaz Pereira, Chancellor of the State; Dom Joao José do Mello, Controller General of the Exchequer. This commission was in charge of the Government from 1706 to 1708 and for the next seven years Dom Joao José do Mello acted as sole Governor.

may see this Cartaz that as Govindadas Nana a Gujrati by nation, merchant and an inhabitant of Thana in the territories of the North, owner of a Gurab or Pal called *Savay*, of the capacity of one hundred and fifty khandis of Surat has solicited Cartaz for the same vessel we do him the honour and favour, for this occasion only, of granting license and safeguard to the said Gurab or Pal called *Savay* of the capacity of one hundred and fifty khandis of Surat having for her ballast six anchors big and small one Sarangue Abdul Raiman by name, one Tandel called Ballu, one Gujrati Carane and two Muhammadan pilots, and for her defence nine pieces of artillery, eleven sepoy with their Caitocas¹ and Catanas² and the necessary (quantity of) powder and ball, to enable her to sail in the following summer to some ports of the friends of this State. She will not go to a port belonging to princes and rebels with whom this State may be in war and she shall not either take or bring on her board Turks, Abyssinians and Greeks nor carry a cargo of iron, steel, sulphur, copper, timber, bamboos-machos, nor will she take any Portuguese nor bring horses without our permission. She is permitted to carry slaves male or female of her own nation only and if there is any suspicion or doubt that any of the slaves (on board) is a Christian, or son of a Christian, an open enquiry about it will be made in the Provincial Council, even if the children have not been baptised. If anything is done to the contrary, this Cartaz will not be valid and if she goes to prohibited ports or bring prohibited goods or being of the tonnage (mentioned) the vessel carries more than hundred and fifty khandis of Surat it will be confiscated to the Fazenda real. He paid for the duties of entry and parting thirty xerafins³ at the rate of twenty xerafins per hundred khandis of cargo not of

¹ A kind of musket used by the Marathas and manufactured in India.

² A kind of long and big sword.

³ An ancient coin current in Portuguese India. The Portuguese Zerafin was originally a gold and afterwards a silver coin. It was worth 300 Reis (pees) or annas 6 only the word is probably derived from Persian Ashrafi, see Dalgado. *Glossario Luso Asiatico* Biker, Vol IV, pp. 185 and 186.

commodities. Notice is given to this effect to the Generals and Captain-mors and other Captains and persons concerned that they should observe and fulfil these terms and let the same vessel make its outward and return voyage. At the expiry of a year this Cartaz will not be in force. This is the first (Cartaz) issued for the next summer. It will be sealed with the seal of the royal arms of the Crown of Portugal. Mathias Phellipe Rebeiro drew it at Goa on the 15th of July 1766. The Secretary Henrique José de Mandanha Benevides Cirne caused it to be written.—Arch Bishop Primate—Joao Baptista Vaz Pereira—D. Joao José de Mello.

By virtue of the decree of the most Excellent Governors of India, dated the 11th July, 1766.

As Govinda Das Nana was a resident of Thana he was a Maratha subject. We come across in Biker's collection a similar Cartaz issued in favour of one Bapugy Gopal of Rajapur under the Government of Puna. His boat was a very small one as it paid only 4 xerafins and its capacity was therefore twenty khandis only. This boat therefore could not afford to employ a number of Sepoys and carry for its defence a number of artillery and a quantity of munition as did the *Savay* of Govinda Das Nana. But from a blank form of Cartaz published in the pages of Biker¹ it appears that merchantmen were generally well armed and well prepared for an encounter with hostile powers or pirates in an age when the peace of the high seas was by no means secure.

It is clear from these Cartazes as well as from contemporary letters and travellers' accounts already quoted that the Portuguese insisted that even friendly potentates and their subjects should take their Cartaz before they permitted any of their ships to sail even when the port of their destination and the port from which they originally started were outside Portuguese territories. While the friendly powers were

¹ Biker, Tomo IV, pp. 185 and 180.

entitled to a certain number of Cartazes according to the terms of the treaties they had concluded with the Portuguese, their subjects like Govinda Das Nana and Bapugy Gopal had to pay a fee of 20 xerafins per hundred Khandis of their cargo for the Cartaz and if they omitted to provide themselves with such license and safeguard before venturing out on the high sea their ship, and its cargo could be captured and confiscated by the Portuguese fleet even though their mission might not have been anything but peaceful trade. No doubt on the representation of the Government of their respective country the ship and the goods so confiscated might be as a matter of favour restored to their owners, but the Portuguese, as we have seen in a letter addressed to Siddi Yacut Khan, did not regard such confiscation as an act of piracy, it was to them nothing but a legitimate expression of the sovereignty they claimed to exercise in the Indian Ocean. It is needless to say that the terms laid down in the Cartazes quoted above were considered vexatious by other nations and it is only their weakness that compelled them to seek their Cartaz and thereby acknowledge their sovereign claims.

The Marathi word *Armar* is certainly derived from Portuguese *Armada* and it is quite likely that the Marathas imitated the Portuguese in their naval practice. The Angrias as the hereditary heads of the Maratha fleet also claimed sovereignty of the sea and they could also retort like the Portuguese that they were sovereigns of the sea and not pirates. They knew in what particular manner the Portuguese, the first European nation to establish their supremacy in the Indian Ocean, exercised their sovereignty and they also demanded that other powers should seek their Cartaz after paying a stipulated fee while sailing in the sea over which they claimed to have established their jurisdiction. After the reduction of the Angria's power the same right was claimed and exercised by the Peshwa's Subedar of the *Armar* or Admiral of the fleet. Although Marathi records do not throw much light on the

subject, the correspondence that passed between Gangadhar Pant Subedar of Gheria or Vijayadurg, the Maratha naval headquarter and the Portuguese Government in February, 1791, leaves no doubt as to the real nature of the Maratha claim and its origin.

The Governor of Goa in a letter, dated 17th February, 1791, complained to the Subedar of Gheria that Maratha Captains had captured without cause some Merchantmen belonging to Portuguese territories. The same complaint was repeated in a letter of the Secretary of State to Bahiropant Mehendale (Biker, Vol. IX, pp. 185-186) in the following way.

"The vessels of the Sarkar took in the port of Angediva, a loaded Merchantman belonging to a merchant of that place and at Chapora they robbed the canoes of the fishermen without leaving even their small sails, besides other incidents to which I do not refer, for it seems that some of them and other hostilities which I do not mention here, might have been committed by the Bhonsla, Melondim and the Angria of Colaba who use the banner of the Most Felicitous (Peshwa)."

In reply to the above complaint Gangadhar Pant wrote to the Governor of Goa on the 21st February, 1791 (Biker, Vol. IX, p. 187) as follows: "The said vessel was in the sea and it got no Cartaz nor had it a passport nor the banner of Your Excellency. It was, therefore, justly captured nor does it seem to belong to the dominions of Your Excellency and I am much surprised that under these circumstances Your Excellency wrote about the release of this ship." It is significant that the Maratha officer lays emphasis on the absence of Cartaz and passport in this case. We learn from the published documents of the Peshwas' Daftar that it was one of the duties of the Admiral of the fleet to grant passport to Merchantmen sailing within his jurisdiction. Moreover, we should not forget that the merchantships in those days were not unarmed and when they omitted to procure the passport of a power claiming sovereignty over a particular part of the.

sea, their act could be construed as a deliberate defiance. Merchantships belonging to European Trading Companies often put up a stiff fight before surrendering to the Marathas and considering the practices of the time that permitted even vessels of the East India Company to rob ships belonging to other nations the Marathas should not be condemned as pirates. They had the example of the Portuguese before them and they thought that they were quite within their rights when they took possession of a merchantman that did not carry their Cartaz and further aggravated its offence by opening fire when challenged.

This conclusion is further confirmed by an unpublished letter addressed to Raghuji Angria of Colaba, on the 2nd of May, 1782. The document (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11) is sadly mutilated and some words in it has been so thoroughly obliterated that it is impossible to decipher them and reconstruct all the sentences. Fortunately however the most interesting portion has been preserved. A negotiation was going on between the Goa Government and the Chief of Colaba for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and Raghunath Angria had suggested some modifications in the terms proposed. What his suggestion was can be inferred from the reply he got which runs as follows :

"While (you suggest) for the preservation of unity and amity, that with the exception of His Majesty's ships belonging to Goa, Diu and Daman, all vessels of the merchants shall take the Cartaz of the Magnificent Ally (Angria) and the ships of your merchants shall take mine. I am unable to accept this article and it is impracticable, for the Crown of Portugal has the sovereignty and the dominion of the Sea of Asia by first occupation and conquest, by possession and immemorial custom, and we cannot compel the subjects of the Majestic State to take the Cartazes of any other potentate."

But in the closing years of the 18th century the sovereignty of the sea had passed into other hands however

tenaciously the Portuguese might cling to a point of prestige and although they deemed it humiliating on their part to seek Cartazes from an Indian prince they were not unwilling to waive the rights of sovereignty they had hitherto so rigorously enforced. The Governor and Captain-General¹ therefore wrote:

I desire to preserve amity with the Magnificent friend on terms that will not be much onerous to either party. I shall not do anything to your merchants even if they do not possess my Cartaz. In the same manner the fleet and the ships of the Magnificent Ally should not interfere with the merchants of the Majestic State even if they do not possess the Cartaz of the Magnificent ally.

So by common consent the omission to take a Cartaz from the dominant sea power was regarded as an offence punishable with confiscation and forfeiture of the offending ship. The Angrias were denounced as pirates and rebels by the Portuguese and other European nations on no graver ground than the enforcement of this sovereign right in the high seas. The practice to quote the Portuguese Governor and Captain-General had the sanction of "immemorial custom."

In this connection it will not be irrelevant to take notice of another common naval practice of the Marathas. They claimed the possession of ships wrecked on their coast with whatever cargo they might carry. The English obtained an exemption in favour of their own ships and those of the Bombay merchants by peaceful negotiations, but against others this right was very rigorously exercised by the Maratha Admiral of the Fleet. In the 11th volume of *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* we find a protracted correspondence between the Portuguese Governor and the Maratha Admiral about the restoration of a wrecked Manchua which the Marathas had appropriated to their own use.

¹ Dom Frederico Guilherme de Souza, Governor and Captain General from 1779 to 1780.

On the 10th of June, 1780, Dom Frederico Guilherme de Souza wrote to 'Dulopo' (Anand Rao Dhulap) "I solicited a sanad for the wrecked Manchua of the State which was conducted to that port.¹ I am sending it (the sanad) enclosed (herewith) for Your Honour so that Your Honour may promptly restore (?) the said Manchua" (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol. 4).

This Sanad had not however the desired effect for it appears from a letter addressed to Ananda Rao on the 4th February, 1782 (R. V. Tomo 11, fol. 135) that the Manchua had not yet been restored. In the meantime one Iokru, Serang was driven by some adverse circumstances to take shelter in Goa with five Gallivats of Gheria. This offered the Portuguese an excellent opportunity for retaliating if they had been so disposed, but the Serang was very kindly treated and supplied with everything he needed. This news was communicated to Ananda Rao in the abovementioned letter and we learn from a letter addressed to Madhav Rao Narayan (fols. 138-139) that the Serang was permitted to depart peacefully with the squadron under his charge on the 8th of February 1782. This made a good impression on Ananda Rao and the wrecked Manchua was probably restored; for in a mutilated letter addressed to Narana Sinay, the Portuguese envoy at the Poona Court, on the 3rd June, 1782, occurs the following: "Ia vos ordeney que pella rest.....chua naufragada que fez." It is not difficult to guess that we find here a reference to the restoration of the wrecked Manchua.

We should not forget that the Marathas did not hesitate to restore ships belonging to a friendly nation, if captured under a misconception or under doubtful circumstances. The Portuguese Government of their own initiative sometimes wrote to the Maratha officers for extending their protection to Portuguese subjects and their ships in Maratha waters. One such letter was addressed to the Sarsubedar of Bassein on the

¹ The document is damaged and I am therefore unable to say which port exactly is meant.

31st March, 1783, requesting him to give his protection to a Pal belonging to a vassal of the King of Portugal. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 12, fol. 39). From letters addressed to Ananda Rao Dhulap and Naraen Sinay on the 7th of June, 1781, we learn that five Maratha Gallivats belonging to the fleet of Gheria had robbed certain Parangues belonging to merchants of Portuguese India and the total loss sustained by them on this occasion amounted to Rs. 11,780,000. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11). On the 16th August, 1781, or only two months later Narayen Sinay was informed that a Shibar captured on the above occasion had been restored to its owner with a money compensation for the lost cargo. From this letter it is apparent that the matter had been amicably settled.

The Portuguese documents present to our view only one side of the shield. We hear complaints of one party alone, we do not know what justification the other party could offer. Still we occasionally come across cases of restoration of captured ships and payment of compensation for lost cargo. It will be, therefore, rash to condemn famous Maratha naval leaders like Kanhoji Angria and his sons without carefully examining the naval customs and usages of the time. The European merchant nations had no reason to admire their prowess, for their trade suffered heavily and the sea had been rendered insecure for their ships by the Angria's fleet. But whenever they condescended to open negotiations with him they consciously or unconsciously recognised his authority. Like other Maratha feudal chiefs Kanhoji Angria also derived his authority from the supreme head of the Maratha empire. The Portuguese styled him as a pirate and rebel in their letters to the Siddi and other Mughal officers, but whenever they wrote to him or to his sons courtesy demanded that he should be addressed as Grandioso Amigo or Grandioso Canogi Angria. After treaties and alliances had been concluded between the Portuguese of Goa and the Angrias of Colaba, the former willingly or unwillingly conceded a status of equality to the latter

and it was illogical thereafter to regard their new ally as a mere pirate, particularly when his naval practices were in complete conformity with the usages established by the Portuguese themselves. Now that we have some idea of the principle underlying the apparently piratical activities of the Angrias and the true character of their power, let us see what light the Portuguese records throw on the history of the rise, decline and fall of this powerful family.

X

THE ANGRIAS

"The Angrias," wrote the Marquis of Alorna in his excellent report, "are the scourge of this coast from the point of Diu to Calicut. They came into prominence a little before the administration of Senhor Viceroy Caetano de Mello de Castro." The original surname of the family was Sankapal as the Kaifiyat Yadi account informs us, but nothing is known about Kanhoji's ancestors except that his father had served in Shivaji's Fleet. Downing says that Kanhoji's father was, according to one account, "an Arabian *Cofferey*, one that renounced the *Mehometan faith*." "Other accounts say, that he was born a *Kenerrey*, by a Portuguese *Cofferey* and a *Kenerrey* woman, on the Island of Bombay." It is hardly necessary to enter into an examination of the reliability of these stories. Suffice it to say that Kanhoji like his father took to the sea and rose from one command to another until his daring and ability secured for him the chief command of the Maratha fleet during the reign of Rajaram. Those stirring times offered excellent opportunities to ambitious men for proving their metal and rapidly rising to prominence.

In the first letter addressed to him by the Portuguese Government, which we find in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*, Kanhoji is called Canoji Ango Rao (Reis Visinhos, Tomo, IV. fol. 72). Mr. Sardesai is of opinion that the new surname of

the family was derived from their old village Angarvadi. In this letter, however, for reasons unknown to us, Kanhoji's designations are entirely omitted. In the next letter he is styled "Subedar da Armada do Sivaji." The Marathas, as we have already seen, were on friendly terms with the Portuguese during the early years of Shivaji II's reign and the letter addressed to Kanhoji Angria, on the 8th November, 1703, by the Viceroy Caetano de Mello de Castro also testifies to their amity. "The letters of Your Honour have been delivered to me and I am glad to recognise the good wish with which you desire to favour (me) in everything. I did not approve of the Balandra (?) for reasons I have already mentioned and on the same grounds I did not permit its sale to the merchants of this city, but wishing that Your Honour should get this profit, I have given you license for its purchase by the merchants of Chaul (?). As that port is closed to foreign nations, I expect that Your Honour will view with pleasure for the great favour I have done you and I have also instructed to give all help and assistance to the people who came in the Balandia." The letter also mentions some presents that the Viceroy proposed to send and an arrangement for the sale of some commodities which the Viceroy has asked the Veedore da Fazenda to make.

But the good relations between the Angria and the Portuguese could not be expected to last long particularly as the former wanted to establish his authority over the Arabian sea. In 1713 we are informed by Sr. G. Saldanha (*Resumo da Historia de Goa*, Bastorá, 1898, p. 179) that Kanhoji seized a port in the neighbourhood of Chaul and the Portuguese Government, unwilling to have such a formidable rival in such close proximity of one of their important naval stations, did their best to oust him from this new post, but all their attempts proved futile.

The Portuguese accused the Siddi of Janjira of criminal indifference to the depredations of the Angria. In a letter

addressed to one Dom Diogo Menedes (in the army of the Moghul Emperor) on the 15th of May, 1715, the Viceroy complains of "the treaty that the Siddi had concluded with the Angria, the pirate who oppresses the subjects of the Mughal king by his repeated robberies and totally ruins the port of Surat. If the Siddi had made some movements by land last year, when I besieged the Angria by sea at Colaba, it is certain that this rebel would have been annihilated." (Ismael Gracías, *Uma Dona Portuguesa no Corte do Grão Mogor*, p. 139) or the 16th of December, 1715, the Viceroy wrote to the chief of Janjira—"It does not seem proper that Your Highness, who is a vassal of the Mughal Emperor and the admiral of his fleet, should permit the Angria to be an instrument of his (Mughal Emperor's) subjects' ruin. You saw him with your own eyes enter Colaba with the vessels of Surate he had sieged, without trying to rescue them and fitting your vast fleet for that purpose. And if Your Highness had not cherished so much friendship for this pirate, you would have co-operated with your ships and men for his destruction and ruin when I sent Captain-mor Antonio Cardim against Colaba two years ago. This conduct scandalises all in Asia and particularly me, for in consideration of the amity of the Mughal Emperor, I send a fleet to Surat every year not only for guarding it against any enemy" (Reis Visinhos, *Tomo VII*, fols. 26 and 27) A month later the Viceroy wrote to Asad Ali Khan, offering him naval assistance for the destruction of the Angria. (See Gracías, *Uma Dona Portuguesa no Corte do Grão Mogor*, p. 156).

But the Portuguese did not rely on the Muhammadan enemies of Angria alone. Though originally a partisan of the Kolhapur claims, Kanhoji had lately been induced by Balaji Vishwanath, the celebrated founder of the Peshwa family, to offer his allegiance to Shahu and swear fealty to him. This naturally incensed his former patron, the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, and he willingly concluded an alliance on the 23rd March, 1716,

with the Portuguese, to punish this defection as the principal clauses quoted below will show.

1. That Sambhagy Raze will wage by land and sea (all possible) war against the Angria to take from him all the fortresses he holds as a rebel chief in the coast of the North, particularly the fortress of Griem (Gheria or Vijayadurg) which belongs to the said Sambhaji, and for effecting this object the (Portuguese) State will assist him with Men-of-War.

4. That the ships of this State and its subjects shall be able to navigate freely without being seized by the ships of Melondim, and so that there may not be any deception, they shall navigate with passports : those of the North with the passports of the General of that region or of the Captains of the strongholds or fortresses of that coast ; those of Goa with the passports of the Government ; and those of the South with the passports of the Captains and Factors. The same practice will be pursued with regard to ships from ports belonging to Sambagy Raze, that may come to trade with the ports of this State, carrying Cartazes as is the practice. And neither our nor Sambagy's ships will pay anchorage (a duty imposed on ships for anchoring in a harbour).

6. That if Sambagy Raze wages war against the rebel Angria and needs powder and ball and wants to purchase the same of this State, the Government will send him all (powder and ball) that it (can spare).

9. That this State shall give Cartaz to a ship of Sambagi Raze, with license to bring horses from Bassora or Congo. It will take a certificate of the Factor that this State has in that port ; for if it appears that horses have been embarked at Congo or Bassora and the ship has not brought such a certificate it may be seized as forfeited, for it will then be assumed that horses have been embarked at a port belonging to the Imam of Muscat with whom this State is at war."

This treaty was signed and ratified by one Hari Pant on

behalf of his master with the exception of one clause only, which was left for the decision of the Chhatrapati.¹

It does not appear that this new alliance had the desired effect, for Sambhaji of Kolhapur was hardly competent to deal with a "maritime power which had defied the efforts alike of the Portuguese, Dutch and Mahrattas." The Angria's fleet rode the sea boldly seizing Merchantmen of all nationalities and the Goa Government had to look for new allies more powerful and more resolute than the Siddi of Janjira or the powerless potentate who then occupied the throne of Kolhapur.

The Portuguese were not the only European nation whom the Angria had offended, the Dutch and the English Merchantmen also had suffered at his hands and they made repeated attempts to reduce his power and destroy his fleet. "In November, 1712, Kanhoji captured the (English) Governor of Bombay's armed Yacht, together with the *Anne* Ketch of Carwar." About the same time he had inflicted serious loss on a Portuguese fleet and the Portuguese at once wrote to the Bombay Government proposing a joint attack on Angria. Governor Aislabi preferred peaceful negotiation and declined their offer. Kanhoji was either pacifically inclined or he dreaded an Anglo-Portuguese alliance and friendly relations were soon established between him and the English Government of Bombay. Peace however did not last long and the Angria again resumed his hostilities. Aislabi's successor Charles Boone was a man of more resolution and warlike disposition. On his arrival at Bombay he set himself to the difficult task of rendering the Indian Ocean safe for the East India Company's ships and fitted out a fleet for the annihilation of Angria and other sea powers of the Malabar coast. As a detailed account of Boone's expeditions is available to all English-knowing readers in the

¹ Condicoes com que Sambaji Raze ratifica a paz e amizade que tinha com o Estado, violada por alguns dos seus Capitães das fortalezas dos portos do mar, principalmente pelo Japitao e Governador da fortaleza de Melondim—Bikar, Tomo, VI, pp. 2-4.

pages of Downing, Low and Biddulph, it is needless to repeat it here, it may be mentioned that his efforts met with no more success than those made by the Dutch and the Portuguese before him. In 1721 a squadron under the command of Matthews arrived at Bombay. Matthews was a naval leader of considerable experience and had served in Europe under Admiral Byng. His presence at Bombay naturally infused fresh enthusiasm and vigour into the heart of the Bombay government and they decided to make fresh attempts against the Angria and recover their lost prestige. But their recent experience had taught the English seamen to respect the Angria's power and ability and they deemed it unwise to launch upon a fresh enterprise against his seagirt rocky strongholds single-handed. Seven years previously Governor Aislable had rejected the proffered co-operation of the Portuguese. But in 1721 his successors had grown wiser and had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Goa Government against their common enemy the Maratha Admiral of Colaba. The full text of the treaty has been published by Biker and an English translation is appended below.¹

There will be an offensive and defensive alliance in this (continent of) Asia against all Asiatic (powers) that may be enemies of the two crowns of Portugal and Great Britain, except the Mughal Emperor and the kings of Persia, Arabia and China. The two nations will immediately commence a vigorous war against the Angria. In concluding any treaty the Angria will not be heard and neither of the allies will listen to anything touching peace unless the term proposed is simultaneously presented to both the allies and nothing will be decided without the compliance of both the nations.

2. If in a given case the enemy of one of the two crowns happens to be the friend of the other, the alliance will be only a defensive one. But neither party should fail on any pretext to help the other when attacked in case of any invasion.

¹ Biker, Tomo III, pp. 242-244.

3. As regards the union of the British and the Portuguese forces for operation by land as well as by the sea, the same rule will operate between the two powers as was followed in the last war against Spain, to wit, the Generals of the two nations shall command on alternate days, provided that the Viceroy does not come to the camp and in the same manner the troops of the two crowns shall occupy the place of honour, one in one battle field and the other in the next.

4. That the auxiliary troops that may be sent for succour (reinforcement) in all detachments and on all occasions of fighting shall be commanded by officers holding higher commissions whether they are English or Portuguese.

5. The auxiliary troops shall be paid and maintained by their own sovereign as well as on land as in the sea.

6. That all that may be captured in this war in the sea by the two allied nations on the same occasion, shall be by them divided [not excluding] even the munitions and things of importance, the said spoils being first conducted to a port in the Portuguese dominion, and next to a port in the dominion of Great Britain, and all other things will go alternately (to the ports of the Portuguese and the English). The same practice will be pursued on the land only with this difference that the spoils will be taken to the camp where everything except cattle will be equally divided between the two nations. The cattle will be divided by the officers and soldiers of the two nations.

7. That in case goods belonging to any of the (two) nations enter the ports or strongholds that may be taken from the said enemy (Angria), they will not pay duties for the commodities they may carry there, but duties will be taken only for what is sold in the said ports and strongholds.

8. That each nation shall put in the field two thousand infantry with officers in proportion, and with cavalry that may be ready. If necessary a bigger body of infantry will

be put in the field by both the parties. In the sea five Pallas will be put by each side with smaller vessels as may be necessary.

9. Each corps whether on land or on the sea shall spend (use) munitions on its sovereign's account. In case one of them requires while the other possesses it, the necessary quantity shall be given at a just price.

10. That the fortress of Colaba and the district under its jurisdiction shall belong to the Crown of Portugal, the subjects of Great Britain shall maintain there a house like it (the fortress ?) The fortress of Griem and the district under its jurisdiction shall belong to the Crown of Great Britain and the subjects of the Crown of Portugal shall maintain there a house like it. In case the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain desire to demolish the said fortress of Griem, it will be done by both the nations and in that case the artillery and the munitions shall be partitioned by the two nations and an equivalent (share) will be given to the subjects of Great Britain out of Colaba and its jurisdiction, in which the Island of Candrim (Kenery) will be counted.

11. That all soldiers who may desert from one dominion to the other shall be restored without taking them into service. More than one representation from the governor of the country whence they have fled to the governor of the country where they have fled, forgiving the deserters their offence will be necessary for their restoration.

12. If spoils are taken from the country of either of the nations, it will be after proper proofs have been produced at once restored to the owner.

13. That those deserters, who may seek the protection of either of the crowns, after committing in the country they had left, a capital offence, shall not be restored.

14. That after these fourteen articles, of the alliance have been ratified the execution of the project will be undertaken, reserving for Their Majesties of Portugal and Great

Britain for ever all the rights they claim.—Goa, 20th August, 1721, João Rodrigues Machado.

Biddulph writes: "Long before Matthews' arrival, negotiations had been opened between the Portuguese Viceroy, Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro, and the Bombay Council for a joint attack on Colaba. Through the management of Mr. Robert Cowan, who had been deputed in March to Goa for the purpose, a treaty of mutual co-operation had been drawn up by which the Bombay Council undertook to furnish two thousand men and five ships. The Portuguese authorities undertook to furnish an equal force."

But the joint expedition was not destined to achieve better success. The morale of the Bombay men "habituated to defeat in their attacks on Angrian strongholds" was naturally not very high. The first serious reverse so infuriated Matthews, always violent and overbearing, that he threw the whole blame on his Portuguese allies and wantonly insulted the General of the North. His demeanour towards the Viceroy could hardly be called courteous or even polite. It is needless to say that the highly bred and proud Portuguese officials could not tolerate the ill-manners of the English Commadore. "A little more enterprise on the part of the Mahrattas," observes Biddulph, "would have destroyed the whole force."

Kanhoji was not a mere seaman, he was a diplomat of no mean ability and he did not fail to exploit the difference among his enemies. We are told by Biddulph—"Angria saw his opportunity of breaking up the alliance and opened negotiations with him. On the 17th, the Viceroy wrote to the English, proposing a suspension of arms. With a bad grace they were obliged to consent, seeing in the negotiation, which was against the compact that neither should treat separately, further confirmation of their suspicion of treachery. Angria granted the Portuguese full reparation for injuries, and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with them. The English were left to shift for themselves. Full of wrath,

"they embarked at once, and sailed for Bombay on the 28th."

Let us now hear the other ally. On the 14th September, 1722, the Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro addressed a letter to the King of Portugal about the war with the Angria in which he offers the following explanation for his failure:¹

"As the Angria got the information (of the intended expedition) months before (it was undertaken), he opened his treasury and invited his relatives and allies, who are more powerful than he and solicited Shahu Raja (son of Sambagi who, in the days of Viceroy Conde de Alvor, waged a cruel war simultaneously against Goa and its islands, Saloete² and Bardes, and all our strongholds of the North) (to help him). Before I reached Chaul, Pilagi Zodô (Pilaji Jadhava) came to help him with two thousand cavalry besides a force of infantry. Notwithstanding his opposition, I fixed my camp and fought several actions with reciprocal fortune inclined to our favour. A few days after seven thousand cavalry arrived with Baji Rao, the Generalissimo of Shahu Raja, and subsequently more cavalry came and their number exceeded twenty-five thousand. No pitched battle was fought between the two armies not only because I was laid down with a severe fever that then raged in our camp and which aggravated so much that I was compelled to withdraw to my ship, but also because the said Generalissimo invited me to conclude a peace. In these circumstances as his army was much bigger than ours, and I was in the abovementioned condition, I considered it prudent to accept his proposal and I concluded the treaty (with articles) a copy of which is herewith sent. The said Baji Rao, perhaps at the instance of the Angria, was unwilling to conclude a treaty with the English and I did not come to terms with the Angria directly but with Shahu Raja."

¹ Biker, Tomo III, pp. 300-301.

² This is different from Salsette near Bombay.

So the Viceroy had observed the letter of the treaty of alliance though it was certainly violated in spirit, but probably he had no other alternative. He was no friend of the Angria and long before the joint expedition was ready ; Angria had sent him a proposal of peace through the General of the North.¹ Had he been so inclined the Viceroy could certainly secure favourable terms without shedding a drop of Portuguese blood and without spending a *rei* of Portuguese money. His sincerity therefore was above suspicion. A student of Maratha History cannot but take notice of one fact in this connection. Whereas Balaji Baji Rao invited the English to join him in an expedition for the ruin of Tulaji, son of Kanhoji, Baji Rao stood firmly by Tulaji's father when attacked by the allied Anglo-Portuguese army. Both the chiefs still remembered that they served a common master and the same empire.

After Kanhoji's death, the reputation of his house was maintained by Shekoji, Sambhaji, Tulaji and Manaji. But there was no unity among the brothers and their disunion ultimately caused their ruin.

From a manuscript in the public library of Evora quoted by Ismael Gracias in his *Catalogo dos Livros do Assentamento da Gente de Guerra que veio do Reino para a India desde 1731 até 1811* it appears that a Portuguese fleet that had left the mother country in the previous year encountered in 1739 Sambhaji Angria's fleet of seven Pals and ten Gallivats and inflicted a defeat on it near the southern coast 13'-54". Marquis of Lourical reported on the 3rd January, 1742 another victory against Sambhaji's fleet on the 22nd of November, 1741, in the same letter the Marquis tells us that a vessel belonging to Labourdannais's squadron was captured by the Angria while going south from Goa and conducted to Rajapur. These victories however did not render the sea sufficiently safe for Portuguese Merchantmen, for in 1740 the Angria had

¹ Dapvois, Portuguese in India, Vol. II, p. 801.

destroyed a Portuguese fleet (Diogo da Costa, *Relação das Guerras da Índia* quoted in Teixeira de Argao's *Descrição das Moedas*, Tomo III.) and on the 12th of September, 1744, the Senate of Daman represented to the Goa authorities that they were suffering terribly on account of the Angria's depredations. (Moniz, *Noticias Documentos para a Historia de Damão*, Tomo I). So many naval actions between the Portuguese and the Angria's fleet are mentioned, that space forbids even a brief notice of them here.

But it will be a mistake to think that the Angria brothers had always been unfriendly towards the Portuguese. With the death of Kanhoji and the gradual transfer of the Chhatrapati's authority to the Peshwa's hands, the relation between the hereditary Admiral and the hereditary Prime Minister became more and more strained. It appears from the letters in the eighth volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* that while Chimnaji Appa was engaged in the memorable siege of Bassein both Manaji and Sambhaji were carrying on friendly correspondence with the Portuguese, and there is reason to believe the Portuguese got from time to time welcome supplies of provision from Sambhaji. On the 2nd of December, 1741, the Marquis of Loureçal wrote a letter to Sambhaji Angria evidently in response to his request for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance.

"The letter dated the 12th of November, that I received on the 25th of the same month, gave me much pleasure as I found that Your Honour remembers the friendly relations that existed between me when for the first time I governed this Majestic State and your father the great Canogi Angria and as in those days I had so many experiences of the firmness of his word I hope that Your Honour also will show the same fidelity and sincerity that I may on my departure convey to the feet of the throne of the King of Portugal my master." The Viceroy requested Shambhaji to depute a reliable person to Goa (who will always be well received) for concluding a treaty •

against their common enemies. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IX, fol. 148).¹

From Sambhaji let us turn to his brothers Tulaji and Manaji of whom we find the following estimate in the Report of the Marquis of Alornas.

"The Angrias.....by their piracies rose to such power that to-day they are dreaded and respected by all. These two brothers (have) divided their dominion in two parts. The first called Tulagy Angria who has made his headquarters at Gheria is the nearest neighbour to Goa and is very powerful. The second called Managy Angria has established himself at Colaba near Bombay. The latter, (who) is near the Province of the North, has his dominions encircled by the possessions of Nana and has always solicited our friendship and desires anxiously that we should recover that province so that he may have in us a better neighbour than the Marathas from whom he has received continuous insults. Since I arrived here, there was not a single occasion when he did not offer me his maritime forces for some enterprise principally against Nana. Never did I give any positive reply nor omit to thank him for his good wishes and I was keeping up friendly correspondence with him. I did not (venture to) enter into negotiations with him, for I happened to know that he is always drunk and does not know how to read or write. All his negotiations are made through his Brahmins who dominate and hoodwink him, for he cannot by himself examine or decide them, and any negotiation, had it been proposed to him, would be known to Nana through these (same) Brahmins. In these circumstances, I do not know under which class, that of friends or that of enemies to place this chieftain, but it is safest to count him a neutral so long as his difference with Nana lasts.

During the last four years Tulagy Angria has proposed peace on several occasions for seeing the fair success that

¹ Volume IX of Reis Visinhos is so much damaged that only a few letters could be with difficulty deciphered.

Divine Providence gave us against the Bhonsla, he proposed to me that we should both unite to attack the common enemy. I replied that if through God's grace we had obtained what we wanted without his help, we needed it much less now. When the French squadron came to winter in this port, he feared that we might come against Gheria in alliance with the French and persistently repeated the same proposal and further extended it so that he not only solicited peace with us but also wanted that I should act as a mediator for the treaty that he contemplated with the French. From this I perceived that in this "proposal" it was fear that prompted him rather than a desire for peace.

When reinforcement arrived in 1748, supposing it of greater strength than it really was, he urged me anew for an alliance soliciting from me help for a united attack on the fort of Monsurem, which place the Bhonsla had taken from him by surprise a short while ago, and desiring that I should sell him the stronghold of Neutim, and the Kailim river which he had lately conquered. This proposal I at once rejected on various pretexts, for the place is only ten leagues from the Bar of Goa and because the neighbourhood of the Angria is more perilous than that of the Bhonsla. I listened to his other proposals being certain that they would have no effect. I replied that as the expedition would be to his interest only and not to ours, he must pay the expenses of the Fleet and the munitions. He generously said that he was ready to meet all the costs and enquired about the amount to remit it. I asked of him two hundred thousand rupees to which he replied that he would at once put himself in the field in order to march, that I should send the reinforcement, and added that what touched the payment of expenses between friends could be adjusted after the action, which was the most clever way of saying that he would not pay anything, and as I perceived this I kept him in suspense about this negotiation without definitely.

concluding it either way. In the meantime he paid our vessels some attention. His envoy is actually waiting for our answers and the final conclusion (of the treaty). Your Excellency will find the proposal for peace he made in the Secretariat and whatever it may be, Your Excellency may be sure that it will not have more duration, firmness and subsistence than the opportunity it offers to the interest of this chieftain and whatever may be the promises and oaths of treaty there is no faith nor law that predominates his convenience."

The Marquis counselled his successor to advance^a a loan to Tulaji and thereby purchase the security of the Portuguese Merchantmen.

Apart from the drunkenness of Manaji and the untrustworthiness of Tulaji there was another impediment, by no means trifling, that stood in the way of a Portuguese alliance with the Angrias against the dreaded Peshwa of Poona. By the fifth article of their capitulation in 1740 (of Basscin) the Portuguese had undertaken to help the Peshwa with their fleet if he waged a war against the Angria.

A treaty was concluded with Tulaji five years after the Marquis of Alorna's departure from India, on the 5th November, 1755. Tulaji stood in sore need of an ally, as the Peshwa was determined to effect his ruin. The Angria chieftain tried his best to conciliate the English at this crisis, but the Bombay Government, now conscious of their increased strength refused to 'take passes of any Indian nation.' Tulaji had no other alternative but to turn to his other European neighbour the Portuguese and his approaches were not repulsed by the ruling Viceroy, the Conde de Alva, the only Portuguese Viceroy who was killed in action on the Indian soil. A treaty was accordingly concluded. The text may not prove altogether uninteresting to a student of Maratha history although the purport of the treaty is already well known.

• I. The Most Illustrious and the Most Excellent Sr. D.

Luiz Mascarenhas, Conde de Alva, Viceroy and Captain General of India, having attended to the demonstration with which His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel sent to represent what pleasure he will derive from peace and amity with the Majestic State and having expressed his genuine repentance for the past discords has forgotten them all and conceded to him (Angria) his (Viceroy's) protection and support.

II. To prevent the peril with which His Highness (O Grandioso) Tullagi Angria Sarquel finds himself threatened in (his) war with Balaji Bagi Rao, the Most Illustrious and the Most Excellent Sr. Count Viceroy grants him a reinforcement of five hundred men to be employed principally in the defence of his stronghold and to be quartered in his Capital at Griem, and never on any occasion should the corps of reinforcement be separated without the order and consent of its Commandant.

III. His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel will pay the same troops punctually through his Estate in accordance with the lists of pay that will have to be given him by the Matricula geral of the State, copies of which will be taken by the Commandant.

IV. He is equally bound to quarter the troops with all possible convenience in the fortress of Griem, in separate places from Hindus and Muhammadans, in conformity with the mode of living of the Christians, and they will have the necessary liberty for the exercise of the Catholic religion and the cult Divine.

V. The necessary foods and provisions will be supplied them at the order of His Highness Angria Sarquel at the price current in this city of which an authentic report also will have to be submitted and as porks, kids, wheat, baked rice (arrozcozido) and cocoanut oil cannot be obtained in his territories, these will be transported from this city to the said stronghold in a corresponding ship supplied by His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel.

VI. Payment shall be made to the officers of the

troops in this city to enable them to purchase necessary provision for their subsistence and it shall be transported in accordance with the preceding article. His Highness Tullagi Angria shall be obliged to receive all our munitions and to return the same quantity without any diminution.

VII. His Highness Tullagi Angria shall pay to the Fazenda real two lakhs of Rupees.

VIII. To assure the last, and other articles of the treaty discussed, the abovementioned envoys shall remain as hostages in the city till the return of the troops that may be sent as reinforcement at the end of the present summer.

IX. On the payment of the first (instalment of) one hundred thousand Rupees in the Fazenda real the Majestic State shall immediately send one company of Grenadiers to reinforce the said stronghold of Griem, and on the payment of the second (instalment of) (of the same sum of) one hundred thousand Rupees at the latest twenty days after (the first payment) as His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel is bound (to make), the rest of the reinforcement shall go.

X. The Portuguese will not fight with the English in the sea to effect the introduction of these troops in the stronghold of Griem, for that will be an infraction of the peace existing between the Portuguese and the English both in Europe and in Asia.

XI. Another copy of this treaty shall be made with the same terms and after both have been confirmed by signatures and seals, one shall be sent to be kept in the Secretariat of the Majestic State and the other shall be sent to His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel, having in this form settled about the despatch of the auxiliary troops the benefit of this treaty will be an efficacious means for a firm friendship between the contracting parties. Drawn in the Secretary of State's office and signed on the 5th of November, 1755. Seal of the Royal Arms. Belchoir José Vaz de Carvalho. Ramagi Ráo Rane Canó Panta—Custangi Zaetapurcar.¹

¹ Baker, Tomo VII, pp. 80-88.

In the negotiations of this treaty one Ismael Khan (possibly the Governor of Goddo mentioned by the Marquis of Alorna) seems to have played an important part. (See Tulaji's letters, Biker, Tomo VII, pp. 39-42.)

The treaty was signed on the fifth of November and it speaks volumes for the efficiency of the Peshwa's intelligence department that he obtained so early information about it that he was able to send a protest on the ninth, only four days later. To this protest the Viceroy replied in the following manner on the 4th January, 1756:

"The news of Your Highness (literally great friend) are always pleasing to me. Tuca Sinay has communicated to Your Highness all the circumstances that led to the proceedings in which Tullagi Angria solicited the protection of the Majestic Estate. I did not permit myself to be persuaded of his friendship, nor did I desire to prepare a way that might alter the amity and good relations that the Majestic State has with Your Highness, and while the cause would not be justified, the knowledge of Tullagi Angria's lack of faith is enough for me. He has kept his faith in a manner as has compelled me to order the return of the few persons that I sent him for guarding his family and (to direct) that they may return in such a manner, as he had often indicated to me, to avoid during their passage any molestation for stopping this small favour, that in no way will they oppose the progress of Your Highness. You may remain sure that I, on my part, entertain an equal desire for our friendly relations which may daily increase and augment more and more."

On the same date a letter was addressed to the Peshwa by the Secretary of State in which he said:

"As regards the information sent by the Captain in the Angria's (territories) to Your Highness that the Majestic State has despatched a reinforcement to the said Angria for the defence of his lands, I can assure you that there is little truth in it. Even the guard that Ismal Can has sent to the

above mentioned Angria was only for the defence of his family on the express condition that they will not fight against the troops of Your Highness or of any other Captain who is in peace with us."

On the 29th of January Tulaji was informed by the Count of Alva that as the articles of the late treaty were not being loyally observed by the Angria, the alliance should be considered to have come to an end.

In the same year the Peshwa's General with his English allies invaded Tulaji Angria's territories. Gheria was captured by the English and Tulaji surrendered to the Marathas. The Peshwa contributed to the downfall of the Maratha naval power. The Maratha banner was no more dreaded in the sea and the name of Angria became only a legend and the sovereignty of the sea so long contested by Kanhoji and his valiant sons definitely passed into the hands of a power who half a century later occupied Poona and pensioned off the ruling Peshwa.

The Colaba branch of the Angria family still continued to enjoy their feudal rights and privileges and they maintained a fleet, but their old prestige was entirely gone with the decline of their power.

In January 1778 a treaty was concluded between the Goa Government and Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba. It shows how anxious the Portuguese were to maintain a friendly relation with Raghuji though he could inflict little loss on the mercantile navy of Portugal.

1. If the fleet of the Majestic State or any men-of-war of the fortresses of Diu and Daman meet the Fleet of Colaba, it will send a small boat to give information for reciprocal treatment in demonstration of the existing amity.

2. The ships of Colaba shall be able to come freely to this port of Goa and to go to Daman and Diu for the benefit of their commerce, with the passport of His Highness Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, to show that they are his subjects.

3. In the same manner ships belonging to the subjects of the Majestic State, either of this city or of Daman and Diu, shall freely continue their trade with the ports of Colaba with the passport of the State and of their respective government.

4. When by some chance the fleet of Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, comes to this port of Goa or to those of Daman and Diu it will be given a good reception permitting it to purchase at a just price all commodities that it may need, and the same treatment shall be accorded in the ports of Colaba to the fleet and other vessels of Goa, Daman and Diu.

5. If the fleet of Colaba enters any of the ports of Goa, Daman and Diu with any prize ship or other vessels not belonging to the dominions of the Majestic State, no obstruction will be offered and in case the Armada of the Majestic State meets the said Armada of Colaba with such prize in the Southern or the Northern coast, they will hoist their banners and pursue their course after making a signal of a cannon shot and without making any enquiry about each other or about their prize.

VI. When His Highness Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, requires the help or assistance of the Majestic State, he will demand and it will be accorded. The Majestic State in its turn will do the same in case it has the same need and the two powers will observe this article with reciprocity.

Two copies of the present treaty will be drawn up with the same terms for being sealed and signed and for reciprocal observance and perpetual fulfilment and for the preservation of a firm amity that should subsist between the two parties, one copy will be sent to His Highness Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, and the other will be preserved in the Secretariat of the Majestic State. Goa, 7th of January, 1778. The Red mark of the Governor, D. José Pedro da Camara.

The good relation so established seems to have continued undisturbed, for Raghunath was not in a position to pursue the aggressive policy of his famous predecessors. In the 12th volume.

of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* we find a letter addressed to "Grandioso Ragogi Angria Vazarat Mav Sarquel Rezidente da Ilha de Culabo" (fol. 12) on the 14th December, 1782. We need not quote the whole letter which testifies to the amity that then existed between the Governments of Goa and Colaba. The following extract will illustrate the spirit that runs through it : "I am sure that Your Highness will not have to reject the friendship of the Majestic State, that is to the interest of both the parties, till we can submit to His Majesty...more favourable terms according to your Highness's desire.....the decision of my sovereign."

We cannot conclude this section without making a reference to another Angria who bore the same name as the Lord of Colaba. We come across three letters addressed to him in the 11th volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*. He is differently called Raghuji and Raghunathji, but he is styled as '*Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly Can*' or Captain of Haidar Ali's fleet. It is possible that a scion of the Angria family had entered Haidar's service after the fall of Gheria. We know nothing however about Haidar Ali's Captain Raghuji. It will be somewhat rash to identify him with the Lord of Colaba. For while the one is distinctly styled as *Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly*, the other is always mentioned as Lord of Colaba probably to distinguish him from his less exalted namesake. He might be closely related to Tulaji whose line became extinct according to the Patre Yadi account. It is needless to say that Haidar would gladly welcome an Angria in his country and put him in charge of his fleet as the reputation of this family of seamen as intrepid naval leaders had spread all over the Deccan.

XI

THE PESHWAS' ARMY.

The Portuguese papers could not be altogether silent about the Maratha army. The Marathas were the most formidable enemy they had in India. Chimnaji Appa had conquered Salsette, Bassein and the neighbouring districts from their Portuguese rulers and the papers regarding that campaign published by the Late Sr. Ismael Gracias throw much light upon the military organisation and the military tactics of the Marathas while at the zenith of their power. Quoted below is an estimate of the Maratha army from the pen of an able and intelligent Viceroy, the Marquis of Alorna. It should be noted that the defects of the Maratha military system did not escape this intelligent foreign observer :

"From what experience I have of it, I do not consider that the army of the Marathas and of other princes, that has by rumour such an age-long reputation in this part as in (the rest of) Asia and in Europe, is anything more formidable than a rabble. I would have no hesitation with a corps of five thousand regular soldiers to attack such an army though fifty thousand (strong). The disorder that they have in their army is the same they observe in marching and in encampment. Their army differs little from that of the Gypsies ; each one finds out a place, a shade or a tree that suffices to accommodate him, they have little vigilance of guards or sentinels and are in this respect very easily (to be) surprised. This militia is divided into three corps, cavalry, infantry and armed elephants. The cavalry is composed of a few good horses and an infinite number of sorry jades called nags. Some soldiers of this corps are armed with lances, others with large swords. The Sipaes of the infantry are armed with Caitocas which is a kind of small firearm carried by them much more frequently than our arms, and some with one or two long and large swords and

others with bow and arrow. An infinite number of men called Fakirs always follow the army, who are not men of arms, nor fighters by profession, but who only rob and ravage the country they pass through. The elephants, taught and trained for war, are of the greatest value to the Hindus, when they are intrepid and not afraid of noise. Princes, generals and distinguished persons mount them; they are used to attack the enemy carrying different platoons of men armed with bow and arrow. When infuriated they cause great harm with the trunk. There are elephants (when they have all the necessary qualities) that sell for twenty thousand rupees. These troops are not such as can get a firm footing (against) an enemy, and attack him with an intrepid resolution. All their operations consist in sallies, surprises and ambuscades; and in woods and defiles, supposed to be safe, they are terrible and very formidable on the road (after rout); finally these troops are a kind of Pendhari with less ferocity and courage but exceedingly cunning to find out any disorder or advantage. The more important of their enterprises terminate more in causing harm, robbery and devastation of the country than in fighting battles decided by sword, by fire, and causing great horror.

The dread that all have for the Maratha spreads before their armies and announces to the provinces through which they pass and at greater distances the loss with which they menace them. This compels them to send immediately emissaries to the armies to escape by (giving) many lakhs of rupees the ruin with which they are threatened. When the expedition is finished, the armies gather without unsheathing the sword, an immense spoil and wealth which at times are not equivalent to the expenses incurred for the allied troops to whom one rupee per day is paid for each man and five hundred rupees for each horse that is wounded, lost or killed in the invasion. If similar troops had discipline and courage in proportion to other circumstances, they would be invincible. None endure so many hardships as these: they do not require military

uniforms for they travel naked from waist upward, with three or four *apas*, a kind of cake made of rice or wheat which they get for eating for a number of days and for this reason it is excused from the great embarrassment of carriages that a big army requires for carrying provisions. By extensive and repeated incursions, the Marathas have inspired such terror and panic in the whole of Asia from the Indus to the Ganges that all yield to them and none resists them. Many times they have arrived to touch with their lance the walls of Delhi and Agra, capitals of the Grand Mogul. The kingdoms of Cambay and Gujrat, the provinces of Arcot and the Carnatic and all the districts of Bengal have recently been the pitiful theatre of their destructions, whence they have extorted and actually carried away immense wealth thereby making the treasury of the same Mogul diminish considerably."

This is the estimate of the strength and the weakness of the Maratha army that we have from a very shrewd foreign observer whose interest it was to secure reliable and accurate information.

Though the Marathas had their own cannon foundries, they relied more upon a supply of artillery and ammunition from their European neighbours than on their own manufactures. The fifth article of a treaty concluded between the Portuguese Government and the Peshwa Baji Rao on the 9th January, 1722 (just after the joint Anglo-Portuguese expedition against Kanhoji Angria's head-quarters) permitted the Peshwa to purchase artillery, ball and powder in Portuguese territories at a just price (Biker, VI, pp. 10-12). Naran Vithal Dumbo, the Portuguese agent, was asked by the Poona Government to inform the Viceroy that the Peshwa wanted a supply of big and small bronze cannons of the latest type with necessary munitions, balls and powder in view of the likelihood of a war (Biker, VIII, p. 236). From a letter addressed to Ananda Rao Dhulap on the 2nd September, 1782 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol.no. obliterated) it appears that he had asked for a supply

of sulphur and the Portuguese authorities had promptly found the quantity required. Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan also, while engaged in the siege of Dharwar had approached the Portuguese authorities at Goa for the munitions he wanted and as the Goa merchants were not then in a position to supply any gunpowder, twenty-five Khandis of powder was given gratis out of the Government stock (Biker, Vol. IX, pp. 212-213). A letter in the tenth volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* shows that Mahadaji Sindhia also purchased powder from the Portuguese.

But it is not artillery, balls and powder alone that the Marathas purchased from their Portuguese neighbours. In 1760 Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao formed an alliance with the Portuguese for the conquest of Janjira. The Portuguese Government undertook to send at the Peshwa's expense a Portuguese auxiliary force to co-operate with the Marathas in the projected expedition. The Maratha disaster at Panipat saved lucky Janjira from conquest and annexation. During the civil war that distracted Maharashtra after the murder of Narayan Rao both of the contending parties sought military aid from Goa. In a memorial presented to Nana Fadnavis by the Portuguese agent, Narana Rao Vithal, it was mentioned as a proof of their friendship that the Portuguese had refused the assistance solicited by Raghunath Rao and had delivered into the hands of the Maratha authorities, Tulagi Panvar, a criminal guilty of '*lesa magestad*.' (Biker, Vol. VIII, p. 249.) They were willing to assist the ministerial party provided they offered a sufficiently tempting price as we read in a letter addressed to "O Ilustre Honorado e valoroso Mhadagy Sindô, Superior de grande Exercito de Milicias" (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol.). "In consideration of the amity that prevails between the Majestic State and the Most Felicitous Madou Rao Naraen Pradan, I am prepared to help him against his enemy, His Highness Ragoba, with the troops of the State if the Most Felicitous

Peshwa orders the restoration to this State its ancient dominions, the fortress of Bacaim (Bassein) with all its jurisdiction and all the villages of Daman after a settlement convenient to both the parties" (8th July, 1780). What reply Mahadaji Sindhia, then the mainstay of the ministerial party, vouchsafed to this letter we do not know, but it is apparent that the price demanded by the Portuguese was deemed exorbitant by the partisans of the young Peshwa.

Space does not permit me to quote here the full text of a treaty concluded between the Portuguese and the Peshwa in 1779 when the Poona Government ceded the Pargana of Nagar Haveli to the Portuguese Government. Its terms are somewhat analogous to those of the treaty concluded by the Portuguese with Raghuji Angria, Lord of Kolaba, and provides for reciprocal friendly treatment between the two States and their respective subjects. A Portuguese translation of the original Marathi text by Ananta Camotim Vaga, a Shenvi linguist in the Portuguese service will be found in *Noticias e Documentos para A Historia de Damão* by Antonio Francisco Moniz (junior) (pp. 207-211).

Most of the treaties that the Portuguese concluded with the successive Peshwas provided for freedom of trade and it appears that the Peshwas' officers did not forget to secure trade facilities for their own countrymen. Thus, the treaty of peace and amity between Senhor M. da Silveiro de Menezes, Captain General of the fortresses and territories of the North and Senhor Chrishna Rao Mahadeo, Governor of Galliana (Kalyan) (1731-1732, 30 January-10 February) not only provided for the free movement of merchantmen but also laid down that after the terms of the treaty had been ratified the merchants of Kalyan and Bhivandi would be allowed to have a bazar in the city of Bassein where they required one for their trade. (Biker, Vol. VI. pp. 175-178.) The following unpublished letter from the 11th volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* may not prove altogether uninteresting as it tells us how silk

and other products of China found their way to the Maratha holy place of Pandharpur through the enterprise of Portuguese and Maratha subjects. "To Naraena Sinay. Dumo: Gopala Naique Canado, Bapugi Naique Canado, and Bapugi Naique Parque, merchants of Pandarpur, purchased from the merchants of the State a large cargo of silk and other stuffs of China that the tradesmen of Macau brought to this capital in their boats last year. It did not appear to me that they traded with the English. It is certain that both Macau whence these stuffs came and this city where they were sold belong to the Royal Crown of Portugal. From the representations made by the said merchants I learn that the said stuffs are now deposited at Sangolim. I am writing to the Most Felicitous Madou Rao Narana for permission to disembark them in consideration of the excellent amity that exists between the two powers and to allow the said merchants to carry on their trade in this city. And I direct you to apply to the (Peshwas') Government and urge them to permit the disembarkation of the said stuffs and a Sanad for the same merchants for freely continuing their trade in this city. Goa, 16th October, 1781, F. G. de Souza. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol. 125.) A letter, as the above epistle tells us, was written to the Peshwa also and the request of the Portuguese Government was granted (22 February, 1782, R. V. 11, fol. 143.)

The Portuguese records do not fail to throw light upon other aspects of the Maratha Government. Their religious policy was liberal and tolerant and Christian subjects in Bassein and other places were permitted to exercise the old rights that they enjoyed under the Portuguese Government. On the 3rd July, 1801, the Sarsubedar of Bassein was informed by the Peshwa Bajirao II, "The Honourable Vital, Rao Gorqui, the agent of the Portuguese Government at Goa, represented to the Government (the Marathi original must be Huzur) at the residence of Poona, that since the District of Bassein passed from the Portuguese Government to that of the Sarkar, the

administration of the churches, maintained in this province from ancient times, have been conducted by the Padres and their disciples have been directed and punished in conformity with their religion without any impediment from the Sarkar, and he begged that this order should be sent for the conservation of this practice. We have decided, as the Padres may kill cows, to prohibit that practice entirely. As for the religious usages, the Padres will instruct their disciples according to the observances practised from ancient times and those who do not go to the mass will be punished as in the past without any impediment from Your Honour." (Biker, Tomo X, p. 276.)

Before concluding we may observe that the Portuguese politicians had not failed to find out the real source of Maratha weakness. While Vyankat Rao appeared at Margao, the Portuguese addressed a number of letters to Naro Ram Mantri and they tried their best to exploit the difference that existed among the principal Maratha officers. They even attempted to alienate Shahu from his too powerful Prime Minister. This policy was pursued even after the death of Shahu as we learn from the instructions that the Marquis of Alorna left for his successor. It is no wonder that the Portuguese or the English should try to take advantage of the jealousy and misunderstanding that prevailed among the Maratha chiefs, but what is surprising that not only Naro Ram who had no particular reason for identifying himself with the Peshwa's cause but even Bahiropant Mehendale and Anu Bai, the sister of Baji Rao, should constitute themselves the guardians of Portuguese interest at the Poona Court. Bahiropanta Mehendale is styled as "procurador" (Agent or Attorney) of the Portuguese Government at Poona, in a letter of the Secretary of State to Naraina Sinay and also in a letter addressed by Gangadhar Panta, Subedar of Gheria, to the Governor of Goa (Biker, Tomo IX, pp. 176-177). When Tenente Coronel J. Phillipe deLandreset was sent on an embassy to the court of Balaji Baji Rao in 1759, he was told

by his official superiors : " you will be assisted at the court of Puna by some persons devoted to the Portuguese Government as well as by Anu Bai, aunt of Nana (Balaji Baji Rao), and her son Naraena Venkata Rao and the Nabobo Mujefarganga and others whom you must treat with the greatest urbanity." (Bikee Vol. VII, pp 159-165) In March 1, 1791, Nanan Vithal, the Portuguese Agent at Poona, wrote to his employees that the best way of getting anything achieved would be to make presents of precious clothes. This is also confirmed by the evidence of English writers like Fryer and Broughton. The Maratha officer was open to bribe and when he got a present he was quite willing to oblige the party that gave it irrespective of his nationality and without pausing to consider the interests of the State. In short personal interest preponderated over that of the State and as the feudal organisation of the Maratha empire had led to the creation within its fold of a large number of semi-independent states, it steadily declined in power as its solidarity was being unmistakably and quickly impaired.

This report does not claim to be exhaustive and it aspires only to indicate what new light the Portuguese records can throw on Indian History. I examined, as I have previously stated, some of the published records and only one section of the unpublished records preserved at Goa. I had no time to go through the *Livros dos Monçoes*, *Livros dos Pazes* and *Livros dos Cartazes*, but it has been amply demonstrated that the students of Maratha History cannot be indifferent to the original Portuguese sources and as very few of these records have hitherto been published, the Portuguese archives still offer a fruitful field for study and research to all students of modern Indian History.

