



13 Dec. 1680 ]

## English Records

CSL

he came aboute, keepeing a watchfull eye upon him least he should be sent rather for a spy then what he really pretends, and which wee are not a little perswaded of. However, let it be with that caution as not to give him the least mistrust thereof, and allthough wee wish you were speedily rid of him, yett if that cannot conveniently bee without an absolute difference with the Siddy, endeavour to delay and temper things soe that nothing inconvenient may happen thereby with you from the one nor hindrance to us in the ladeing of ships from the other, which when dispatch-ed shall take into our further consideration to settle these inconveniences better for the future; in the meane time make the Siddy as sencible hereof as you can, and bring him to obledge himself per writeing to such conditions as may be to the better sattisfaction of the Rajah, from spoyleing or disturbing his country within the Bay, which if he shall either refuse or make a breach of lett him be made sencible thereof in that manner not to endanger the Companys affaires here, butt soe that he may if he please make his complainte to this Governor, when our reasons may be better heard, which now will not, approveing much of your care and watchfullness upon the present dangers which soe highly threat'ns your quiett. [This same letter is dated 28 Dec. in F. R. Surat, Vol. 90 pp. 5-6].

( )

F. R. Bombay, Vol. }	HUGLI TO BOMBAY	{ Dated 13 Dec.
19, p. 6 ( 2d set ) }		1680

(EXTRACT)

Sevagio hath dyed so often that some begine to thincke him immortall. Tis certaine little beleife can be given to any report of his death till experience shews it per the waining of his hitherto prosperous affaires, since when he dyes indeed it is thought he has none to leave behinde him to carry on things att the rate and fortune he has all along done.

( 526 )

F. R. Bombay }	SURAT TO BOMBAY	{ Dated 27 December
Vol. 19, p. 4 }		1680

(EXTRACT)

The Siddy having wrote to the Governour and cheife Customer here to desire intercessi[o]n to us for a recommendation to you to treat him with friendshipp and kindness, upon their greate importunity this is only to pleasure them, referring you to our late directions sent you for your government both as to him and his enemy Sombagee Rajah your troublesome neighbour.





( 527 )

(S) F. R. Surat, Vol. } SURAT TO BOMBAY { Dated 16 February  
90, Part II, Fol. 14 } 1680/1

(SUMMARY)

Mentions the ill behaviour of the **Siddy** and counsels treating him according to his desert so that the ( **Siddy** ) may **complain to Governor** of Surat against Bombay when Surat President expects a better hearing than if the Pr. himself complained.

( 528 )

(S) F. R. Surat, Vol. } SURAT TO BOMBAY { Dated 25 June  
90, Part II, Fol. 46 } 1681

(EXTRACT)

Wee send you the ballance of Mr. Mitchells books according to your desires with a copy of **Sevagees accounts** as it stands, in the **Rajapore books**, which wee wish you may have the good successe to cleare with his soone.

( 529 )

(S) F. R. Surat, Vol. } SURAT TO THE COMPANY { Dated 23 Jan.  
90, Part III, } 1681/2

(EXTRACT)

[Fol. 13] Your ffactory of **Rajapore**, wee have at last (tho not without great difficulty ) wholly with drawne.

[Fol. 17] Your island Bombay is much more a greater burthen upon us then all your other affaires; besides lying surrounded with soe many ill neighbours as **Savagee**, this king and the most insolent **Protuguese** who all in their severall conditions continually minister to us most unexpressible difficultys of living in peace with them; for as to **Savagee** or as now (more properly) **Sombajee** his sonne, in the unhappy difference of **Hendry Kendry** where **Laiut. Thorpe** soe inconsiderately and rashly, with divers others lost their lives and wherein seems to be charged some errors upon your President and Councill, in not giving you the grounds and reasons of his difference with us, for those (till then) disregarded and barren rocks which wee were not then able to doe nor now, further then an ambitions and politick aime to lead him; and whereas to **Thorps &c.** losse wee are soe farr from any just blame therein, that untill the advise of his miscariadge wee knew [Fol. 18 ] not of **Savajees** possession of the place; as **Mr. Henry Oxinden** (then your Deputy Governor there and now at home) can well informe you; notwithstanding it fell out about your shippes arrivall from England, at which time (if any) had been





17 April 1682 ]

English Records

CSL

most proper to have employed them; which wee could not then direct, nor was any motion (to that purpose) made from thence until John Child going downe Deputy Governor on the new London; after the despatch of the *Anne* and *Bengalla* downe the coast of India, and who only proposed your ships battering the place might reduce it; but was found more difficult; for this kings fleete consisting of severall shippes of good force, with divers small vessells well manned, your gunns could neither damage them ashore nor hinder recruits or provissions from the maine. The place being soe situated; and unaccessible for large shipping and but one small place with security for boats to land at soe that whatever should have been done in that perticular, would have proved but a dangerous attempt, and wherein found ourselves not fully impowered; though provided for in charter par[t]ly. Yet if you will be pleased to cause to be laid before you, and reade the severall letters that past on that occasion from your Deputy and Councill to your President and Councill here with our answere from the 27th of August 1679 to the 31st of January 1679/80 the time of advice of the conclusion of peace with Sevagee wee hope you will finde that wee proceeded by such fitt measures as your then affaires most justly and urgently required from us, and which wee hope hath been succeeded, much more considerably to our advantage then vainly employing your shipping to the great disappointment not only of their ladings but hazard of dispatch home; notwithstanding wee must confesse if you resolve to continue the possession of your island Bombay, and that its revenue should any wayes answer its charge, you must not only unvest Savagy from Kendry and the king from Hendry; but bring the Portuguese to some better termes and friendly behaviour towards us, otherwise that most unhappy incomparable place will prove nothing but a constant trouble and damage to you.

( 530 )

F. R. Surat, Vol. 4, } A PETITION TO SURAT { Dated 17 April
Part III, Fol. 35 } COUNCIL { 1682

( SUMMARY )

A petition of Lucia de Souza (the late Arrack Rendeiro considered by Surat council on 17th April 1682) shows that her income was affected by reason of the warrs and troubles with Sevagee. (probably refers to Henry Kenry affair).





1641-1664

**Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's Account of Sivaji**

I have made two journeys to Goa—the first was at the end of the year 1641, the second at the beginning of the year 1648. The first time I only remained seven days, and I returned to Surat by land. From Goa I went to Bicholly, which is upon the mainland; from thence to Bijapur then to Golkonda, Aurangabad, and Surat. I could have gone to Surat without passing through Golkonda, but I was obliged to go there on business.

From Goa to Visapour, which is generally accomplished in eight days, 85 coss. Visapour to Golkonda, which I travelled in nine days, 100 coss. From Golkonda to Aurangabad the stages are not so well defined, for sometimes it takes sixteen, sometimes twenty, or even twenty-five days. From Aurangabad to Surat the journey sometimes takes twelve days, but sometimes it is not accomplished in less than fifteen or sixteen.

Bijapur is a large town which has nothing remarkable about it, either as regards public edifices or trade. The King's palace is large enough indeed, but badly built, and what causes the approach to it to be difficult is, that in the moat which surrounds it, and which is full of water, there are many crocodiles. The King of Bijapur has three good ports in his kingdom; these are Rajapur, Dabhol, and Kareputtun. The last named is the best of all, and the sea washes the foot of the mountain, where, close to land, there is from 14 to 15 fathoms of water. On the top of the mountain there is a fort with a natural supply of water, and although not commanded by anything and by nature impregnable, since the King has been at peace with the Portuguese he has abandoned it.

Kareputtun is only five days' journey from Goa northwards, and Raibagh, where the King of Bijapur disposes of his pepper, is about the same distance from Kareputtun to the east. The King of Bijapur, like the King of Golkonda, was formerly a tributary of the Great Mogul, but is so no longer.

This Kingdom has been in trouble for some time on account of the rebellion of Nair Sivaji, who was, on the establishment of the King of Bijapur, what we call in France, Captain of the Guards. His father had been guilty of misconduct, for which the King arrested him and put him in prison, where he remained for a long time till he died. The young Sivaji, his son, thereupon





conceived so strong a hatred for the King that he became a chief of bandits, and as he was both courteous and liberal he had as many followers, both cavalry and infantry, as he cared for, and in a short time he got together an army, the soldiers, on the report of his liberality, coming to join him from all sides. He was thus in a position to undertake some enterprise, when the King of Bijapur died without children, and accordingly, without any great difficulty, he became master of a portion of the Malabar coast, including Rajapur, Rasigar [?Rajagadh], Kareputtan, Dabhol, and other places. It is said that during the demolition of the fortifications of Rasigar he found immense treasure, and with this he supported his forces, by whom he was well served because they were always very well paid.

Some years before the death of the King, the Queen, as she has no children, adopted a boy, upon whom she had bestowed all her affection, and she brought him up, as I have already said, with the greatest care in the doctrines of the sect of Ali. On the King's death she caused this adopted son to be declared King, and Sivaji, as he then possessed an army, continued the war, and for some time caused trouble during the regency of the Queen. A treaty was concluded on condition that Sivaji should retain, as vassal of the King, all the country which he had taken, the King recovering half the revenue. When the young King was, by this peace, established on the throne, the Queen, his mother, undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, and while I was at Ispahan she passed through on her return.

*Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier.*

Translated by V. Ball, 2nd ed.

Edited by Sir Wm. Crooke,

Vol. I, pp. 145-148

( 532 )

1655

**Extracts from the travels of Peter Mundy, Vol. V**

( by Sir Richard Temple for the Hakluyt Society )

RELATION XXXVI.

THE THIRD VOYAGE TO EAST INDIA.

10 [October 1655]. Wee anchored in Rajapore; rode 2 mile shortt of Jettapore towne.

\* \* \* \* \*





This place is under the King of Viziapore, one of the Decan kings.

\* \* \* \* \*

Here att Rajapore 15 of the said pice make 1 sere; 40 seres 1 maen; 20 maen 1 candee; 555 *ll.* English.

\* \* \* \* \*

This place may affoord yearly aboutt 3000 ckandeas of pepper, near 1000 tonnes, att 14 C[wt.] to a tonne, aboutt 9 larrees per maen, near 27 *ll.* Eng[lish].

Cardamome worth aboutt 6 *ls.* 12s. the 1 c[wt.] or 3 maen Suratt, itt may affoord 300 quintalls per annum.

Saltpeter about 1000 candeas, this waightt att 12 Ps.  $\frac{3}{4}$  5s each per candee, near 12 s. per c[wt.] E[nglish].

Gumlacke: 25 tonnes att 25 Pagodes a candee: a pagode 10 larrees, aboutt 45 s. per Eng[lish] c[wt.].

Turmericke, 200 maend att 2 larrees per maen: a maen 27 *ll.*, a lb. 10d English.

Myrhe [blank] att 45 to 50 larrees per c[wt.] or 3 Suratt maens or 4 Rajapore.

Course cloth, as dungrees, purcallas, lunghees, allejaes, etts: great quantities.

Custome 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  per centum: A gunny is an ore lading: I conceive aboutt 10 Suratt maens.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our house at Rajapore was pleasantly seated on the bancks of the River (although otherwise ill conditioned), beetweene which and the house (rightt under and adjoyning to it) was a prettie gardein with strange trees and rare plantts of fruitts, flowers, etts. Among the rest one very high, which beareth a large yellow flower with a pleasantt smell, like wall jilliflowers; it is called Champa. Allsoe another tree bearing the fruit called azofeifas in Spanish, thatt country affording the same as bigge as damzens, in coullor and tast like an apple, and there, by the Portugalls, called mancanas, or mansanas. Our house aforesaid stands in a good ayre and delighttsome for prospectt, viz. to a grove of mango trees, cocotrees, plantaines, etts., in a pleasantt spacious meddow over the river rightt against our habitation, [running] allsoe to the towne of Rajapore, standing on the side of a hill, as allsoe to the hills farther offe theraboutts. Likewise [it has] the sightt of all vessells which passe to and fro, up and downe the river. And the





view of the Bundar of Custome House and plaine adjoyning. It is  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from our house to the towne, if you goe aboutt by the bridge and  $\frac{1}{4}$  if you goe (or are carried) over the little river, and lesse if you take boate and land att the Bundar or Custome House plaine.

\* \* \* \* \*  
14 [November 1655]. Wee wentt aboutt a mile above the towne, soe crossed over the river by boate and came to a hotte bathe. It runs with a good streame as bigge as a man's arme in a stone gutter (like our shoots in Penrin) into a little tancke; the water in my opinion as hotte (if nott hotter) as that of the Bath by Bristoll. Itt lies near the water side in a pleasantt grove of mango trees.  
\* \* \* \* \*

17 [November 1655]. Captain Taylor seized on a Mallabare juncke, which came in the river to trade; butt the Governour and country people beeing discontented theratt, finding obstruction in our businesse in generall, after two or three daies detention shee was released againe. The Mallabars are our mortall enemies in these parts, beeing piratts many of them.

18 [November 1655]. Wee went to see some superstitious ceremonies of the Jentues, viz, By Tambaes. In Rajapore is a smallle pagode or Chappell of Nanncio, or Nino, aboutt which and in it were assembled near 300 persons of all sexes and sizes. First came a fellow on whose naked backe others fastned iron hookes I know nott how, butt there was neither bloud nor signes appeared. On the hookes were fastned a line, which another held in his hand, following the first att a distance; so they went 3 times aboutt the said pagode or chappell and every time hee came against the dore hee prostrates himself att length on his belly upon the ground ( which I conceave is the ancient manner of worshipping). When hee arose from the earth hee would putt his hands downe to the ground; then joyning both hands together hee would kisse them and soe putt them on his head. This hee would doe 3 tymes as aforesaid, and after one had don, others performed the like. There wentt before them a piper and 3 or 4 drummes. This worship was don to an image aboutt a cubitt long. It had the face of a woman of silver or silvered over. This stood within, rightt against the doore aforesaid. I must putt off my shooes if I meant to com near it, which I did.

Aboutt this time a woman burned her selfe alive with her dead husband. This I saw not; butt the manner is much different





from thatt I saw att Surratt as in folio 31. Here they dig a pitt, laying therein much wood and combustible stuffe with the body of the dead husband, which beeing fired, shee casts her selfe into the flame to her husband, uppon whome they cast more wood etts., and there they are both quickly consumed to ashes. These Jentues, as the Banians, burne their dead, if they bee people of any quallity. Their freinds doe putt into their mouthes gold, pearle, corral, and the most pretious things, which burneth with them. Woemen thatt burne with their husbands as abovesaid have a little monument of stone sett up in their remembrance. I saw divers of them.

Aboutt this tyme allsoe they shotte and killed a couple of leopards having fitted a cow for baite. I saw it nott.

Bodleian Library, Oxford,

*Rawlinson MS. A. 215,*

fol. 226.

( 533 )

1657-1680

**Robert Orme's Notes ( Derived from Various  
Printed Accounts ) on the Life of Sivaji**

If any portion of history merits more attention than others, it should seem that the period of a revolution in the State or the progress of the foundation of a new one demand the strictest investigation. Sevagi was the founder of the Morratoe Dominion in the Peninsula of India, and hitherto we have no account, either sufficiently accurate or sufficiently connected to follow his life. I write June 26, 1779.

At the end of the book titled " *Histoire des deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont subjugué La Chine, par le R. P. Pierre Joseph D'Orleans de la Compagnie de Jesus. A Paris. 1688. Octavo* " is a little tract entitled " *Histoire de Sevagi et de son Successeur Nouveaux Conquerans dans les Indes.* " This tract is only of 37 pages large print, which certainly is as little as can [be] given to a history of two such men.

Father Orleans says the Relation came from Goa, that although similar in the beginning to what he had read in Thevenot the Younger and Bernier, yet their accounts wanted explanations which this new relation furnishes, although it omits some events mentioned by the others.





1. Sevagi was the subject of the King of Viziapour, whom Maffei calls Idal Can.
2. And was a Captain of Cavalry in his troops.
3. He was a little lively restless man.
4. And receiving some disgust quitted the Court.
5. And retired with a troop of determined vagabonds, which he had assembled, into the mountains towards Malabar, from whence they desolated the country of Viziapour, and soon became powerful enough to make a little State of the cities he had taken from the King. (No mention is made of the places of retreat in the mountains, nor of the cities which composed this new State).
6. The King died as he was making great preparations to reduce Sevagi.
7. The Queen widow pushed Sevagi with some vigour, but wanting to fix a young man whom she and the King had adopted for want of children, she made peace and acknowledged Sevagi lawful possessor of all he had conquered. Here then the State, at least in the extent it then held, is founded on dismemberments from Viziapour, but it must be examined whether the mountains of the first retreat were dependent on that Government.
8. Sevagi after the peace began to disturb the territories of others.
9. And even made incursions into the lands of the Great Mogul, and increased his State with some of his places.
10. Aurengzebe at first regarded Sevagi as of little consequence.
11. But at length roused by his progress in the lands of the Empire (p. 9).
12. Sent his uncle Chatescan (Chaescan) [Shaista Khan], who commanded a powerful army in the Decan, to reduce him.
13. Chaescan without fighting, spread his army at the foot of the mountains and confined Sevagi in the strongholds above, intending to reduce him by famine.
14. Sevagi with 500 determined men descends and falls upon the camp in the night, gets to the tent of Chaescan, who is wounded defending himself and hardly escaped away.





His son was killed by his side. The confusion was so great that Sevagi took the treasures and a daughter of Chaestcan.\*

Thevenot§ relates this more circumstantially: that Sevagi employed one of his officers to ask leave of Chaest Can to take service with the Mogul at Delhi. He was permitted to come with the troops he commanded, and Chaest Can, instead of sending him to Delhi, detained him to serve in his own army, where he continued foremost in all enterprizes against Sevagi's possessions, which gained him the confidence of Chaest Can. At length this officer informed Sevagi of the night when he should be on guard at the General's tent, and on that night Sevagi appeared with so much success.

15. Sevagi treated the daughter of Chaest Can with all respect but wrote to him to beware of farther stratagems he had in store. Scarcely probable, though Thevenot says so too, that a General should be moved with such threats. However, Chaest can having ransomed his daughter, moved away with his army (pp. 14, 15).

16. Sevagi at liberty, soon after plundered Surat. This was in 1664. See the articles of this year in this note book.† See likewise the account in the Relation of D'Orleans and Thevenot. Here too he employed **another stratagem**, sending before 2000 men who were in the city, disguised as merchants and seamen. They could scarcely pass as seamen at Surat without being so. Sevagi followed with his main body. They plundered the city which then had only mud walls and continued in it three days. The booty was computed at more than one million sterling. He did not molest the European Factories because, (the Relation says) they stood on their defence, nor a Capucin missionary, in respect to his virtue, how that may be, I don't know. All who had time saved themselves and effects in the Castle, which Sevagi did not attack, meaning only to get the plunder of the town, not

---

\* The whole of this pamphlet has been translated and will be found incorporated in the present volume, immediately next to this extract.

§ For full copy see the extracts included in Sen's '*Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*' pp. 173-184.

† There are no more "articles" in this volume relating to the year 1664.





to keep it and so signalize an insult on the Mogul's Government in return for the war carried on against himself by Chæst Khan.

Thevenot does not mention the merchants and sailors in disguise, but that Sevagi himself, some time before the enterprize, went into Surat in disguise and staid long enough to examine the ways of the city.

17. Aurengzebe, irritated by the insult on Surat, sent the Rajah Jessugn with a formidable army, which, with more success than Chæst Cans, pushed Sevagi to the retreat of his best fort, and then making offers and assurances, which were followed by letters from Aurengzebe himself, Sevagi was induced to take service with the Mogul and went to Delhi.

Thevenot makes no mention of the military expedition of Jessugn against Sevagi, nor even his name, but that Aurengzebe determined to get him into his power, and laid the misfortune of Surat on the governor, and by his signification all the principal Rajahs at the Court wrote to Sevagi of the Emperor's sentiments, on which Sevagi came to Delhi accompanied by his son. This [was] in 1666. So there was time at least for the expedition of Jessugn.

I have not yet consulted Berniers account of Sevagi. But Dow, Vol. III, page 342 to 344, tells the expedition of Chaista Khan against Sevagi in a very different manner from any yet quoted. He places the expedition, at least the beginning of it, in the year 1661, but makes it more than one. Chaista i.e. Chæst Khan takes Chagna[Chākan] with a paper kite. Chagna, I make no doubt by the correspondence, is the Janeagur[? Junnar] at which Doctor Fryer was in 1672. It was then under the Moguls Governor, who had sent for Fryer to cure his sick wives, from Bombay.

1669. Savagee is ravaging the country all round Surat (Fryer p. 412).

1679. Savagee in the month of May posts 700 men on the island of Henry Kenery in order to prevent the Syddee's men from going out (from whence is not said). Bombay sends seven praws (which I suppose to be gallivats) and a pink (which by her prow I suppose to be a grab) to block up the avenues (approaches) before the rock, which seen by the barbarians on shore (the main land), they man out 40 galleys, on which all our prows but one fled; but the pink stood it out, was boarded and blew up the enemy after which she sunk four of their gallees





and put the rest to flight. A month after the enemy appeared again, and the English being recruited with another small ship, engaged them and drubbed them into their harbours, particularly into the river Tull (which I don't know), and in the mean time the Siddee came before Henry Kenery, where he was lying with his fleet, at the end of December. Fryer says should he get footing there, he would be as bad a thorne as Sevagee (Fryer, page 413, 414).

1680. Dies June 1st of this year. He is succeed by his son Sambajee (Fryer, page 415).

The traveller, Jerome Carre\* gives a more detailed account of the life of Sevagi than that with which I have set out at the beginning of this head.

1666. He says that Sevagi after his return or escape from the service of Aurengzebe, which happened in 1666, meditated conquests against the dominions of the King of Vizapour, and really committed ravages in the countries belonging to the Mogul, which must have been either towards Ahmedabad, Aurungabad or Hamednagar.

1669. In 1669 he a second time ransacked Surat. Mr. Baron the French Agent, had then been at Surat for one year. There is a very particular description of this second pillage (V[ide] page [49] to page [100]).

It is not clear at what time Carre means to say that Sevagi took possession of the places on the sea coast belonging to the King of Vizapour, which became an easy conquest to Sevagi, because the King had withdrawn his forces from these garrisons and countries, in order to defend himself against the army of the Moguls.

1668. But Carre says that in 1668 he was passing down the coast with two vessels of the French Company, and the officers of the sea ports belonging to Sevagi sent off refreshments to the ships, testifying great desire to be in amity with Europeans, and more especially with the French. About this time likewise, I think it was that he (Sevagi) took the island Bardez, near Goa, from the Portuguese.

---

\* See the translation of the whole of this account included in the 'Foreign Biographies of Shivaji' pp. 187-217.





1672. Sevagi continuing the war against the King of Vizapour, bribes off the General that was sent against him, whose name was, according to Carre, Ramton Jamain [Rustum Jemah] whom the King afterwards beheaded, but gave his government of Donguerry to the son of Ramton Jamain. Carre says that he passed by Donguerry in 1672 and received civilities from this young man; so that this Ramton Jamain must have been dead at least in 1672, if not before. The King of Vizapour then sent Abdul Caun against Sevagi, who assassinated him in a conference on the open plain and then instantly fell upon the King of Vizapour's army, which he beat off.

Sevagi then formed two armies. He sent one, under the command of his son, towards Ahmedabad, and another, under the command of an old General, to reduce the country from the river of Surat to Choul. This General sent a deputation to the Portuguese at Daman, who agreed to pay the same revenues for their out lands as they used to pay to the Prince of the country before he was conquered by Sevagi. This seems to have happened in 1672. (See Carre Vol. II p. 32). After this he attack'd the places in the Decan belonging to the Mogul which had been given to the government of Jesseing, who being dead, had devolved to his son, and his Generals having conquered the country from Daman to Choul, Sevagi himself went and conquered all from Choul to Goa. He took the old town of Choul which stands some two miles above the other, and drove the Portuguese out of it. Carre was at old Choul in 1673 and talked much with Sevagi's Governor there.

In 1673 the King of Golcondah besieged the French in St Thome, on the coast of Coromandel, which was defended by the French, during which Sevagi marched to Golcondah and levied a sum of money from him and obliged him to order the siege of St Thome to be razed.

In 1673 the Great Mogul sent a splendid Embassy to Vizapour in order to combine their forces against Sevagi.

1674. It appears by Fryer, p. 76, that Sevagi was at this time, and had been for some time before, at war with the Siddee; that he had taken his country and was trying hard to get his fort at Dundee Rajapour, I suppose the fort in the sea called Gingerah.

1674. In September 1674 an Embassy was sent from Bombay to Sevagi at Rairee, who endeavoured to persuade him





to desist from his war against the Sciddee, but he would not saying it had already cost him too much blood and treasure.

1674. Whilst the Bombay Embassadors were at Raimeo, Sevagi ascended the throne in ceremony, as Maha Rajah, or the great King.

1679. Sevagi marches towards Surat.

1675. Fryer's Letter the 4th which was written after September 22d 1675 and not after [blank], makes the following mentions concerning Sevagi.

Curiosity tempted Fryer to go from Bombay with the Chief of Carwar that he might see Goa.

[Here follow extracts from Fryer, pp. 145, 146, 155, 158]

1666. Thevenot, Vol. 5, page 85, says the possessions of Sevagi (in 1666) are principally in the mountains between Bassein and Chaul. Compare this with what Anquetil de Perron says of the fort of Pannela in his journey from Surat to Bassein.

Dow, Vol. 3, page [blank] seems to say that Chaest Khan took Chagna, Joinagur, from Sevagi in the year 1661. I think it should be 1662.

[ Here follow further extracts taken from Fryer's *Travels*.]

*Orme MSS. Vol. 174, pp. 1ff.*

( 534 )

1658-1687

## History of Sevagi and of his Successor, Recent Conquerors in India

BY

Father Pierre Joseph d'Orleans

[ Bound with History of the two Tartar conquerors who have subjugated China ]

( Translation )

PREFACE.

Some time ago one of my friends having communicated to me an account that he had received from Goa I found the history of these two Conquerors so clearly substantiated in it that I resolved to publish it. I had already read the beginnings in the works of the late M. Thevenot and in the accounts of M. Bernier and though I had found nothing in these accounts of a con-





tradictory nature, there appeared to me to be many details difficult to understand without further light thrown on them. This new account has cleared up those points and has unravelled for me the threads of a history that I have thought worthy of the attention of readers. It must not be wondered at if all the events recorded by the two authors mentioned above do not here find a place. One historian ignores or passes over lightly facts with which another is better acquainted or considers more important. But in the greater part of this narrative there is such close relation with that of the two illustrious travellers referred to, that there can be no doubt of its truth and that in itself lends weight to what is said of Sambagi, the successor of Sivaji.

In that part of Asia which from North to South lie between the Indus and the Ganges and borders the sea as far as Cape Comorin there reigned for many years various monarchs governing by virtue of the vast extent of their territory, large Kingdoms. The Great Mogul is master of all those lying between the two rivers and has besides extended his powers over these situated between the two seas, being the actual possessor of Surat, one of the most considerable towns and finest ports of the East. During the whole of the last century the Portuguese made themselves feared in this region from the time that the renowned Albuquerque took Goa from the infidels and established a settlement rivalling in extent and surpassing in feats of arms those of the vicinity.

But as dominance by land is transitory, the Dutch in recent years have prevailed over the Portuguese in India and have wrested from them the greater portion of their conquests. During the wars waged in this part of Asia, some of the Princes of the country succeeded in acquiring lands considerable enough to give them the title of King. Among this number was the ruler of Visapour (whom Mafee calls Idalcan) at the time when Sivaji, his subject, and Captain of his horse founded from what he usurped from his master the new monarchy whose history I am about to write.

Sivaji was a little lively, restless man, but with all his impatience he wanted neither decision nor manly bearing. He was intractable and could not brook discipline. In consequence he was ill at ease at Court where he was looked upon as ripe for revolt. Having decided on this course, he collected a troop of

Portrait of Sivaji.  
His revolt against  
the King of Visapour.





vagabonds, as discontented as himself, and with them retired to the mountains, which lie between Malabar and the Coromandel Coast, whence making continual inroads on the flat country, he laid waste the whole of Visapour and became in a short time so powerful, that he dared to oppose his own King and form a little state out of the lands he had wrested from him. It was lucky for Sivaji that this King died just as he was making a great effort to subdue his rebellious subject.

The widowed queen for some time pursued her husband's methods against Sivaji with more courage than might have been expected from a woman, but, as she had no children and was desirous of securing the throne to a young man adopted by herself and the late King, she was easily induced to consent to a peace proposed by Sivaji, by which he remained master of all his conquests.

Sivaji was too much habituated to war to remain long in peace. He had only granted it to the Queen of Visapour so as to be free to harass other states and render himself feared by all the neighbouring princes. He had even the audacity to make inroads of the territory of the Great Mogul and to enlarge his own estates by that means a piece of hardihood which was all the greater since Aurangzeb, a Prince who lacked nothing to make him one of the greatest monarchs of the world and who had gained his Empire by less violent means, was already seated on the throne.

Aurangzeb did not at first look upon Shivaji as a redoubtable enemy and took no steps to resist him, but as he continued to insult him and to advance on his territories, he eventually realised that he was not an enemy whom it was wise to disregard. In order to crush the invader the more quickly, he ordered his uncle, Shaista Khan who commanded a powerful army in that part of India called Deccan, to march against Sivaji with his whole force. Shaista Khan, who was a wise and experienced man, having reconnoitred [?recognized] the position of the enemy, took measures which greatly embarrassed Sivaji. Knowing that the rebel could not hold the field, with the few followers at his disposal, against so large a force as his own, he blockaded him in his mountain fastnesses and without fatiguing his own troops by a regular siege, wore out the enemy by his patience and coolness, for his troops could easily subsist on the open country, while those of Sivaji were consuming his stores. In this difficulty, Sivaji, who was not of a





nature to wait for the worst to happen before risking a decisive blow, made his arrangements, and having ascertained by means of a reliable spy, the situation of the enemy's camp, he planned, with a few of his most resolute soldiers, to make his way there and carry off the General. Having arrived at this determination, he set out and made such a successful march, that he reached the camp, being favoured by a dark night, without being perceived, and as no one suspected his intentions, he was inside the General's tent before anyone had time to recognise him.

Terror, which on these unforeseen occasions, lays hold on even the bravest of the brave produced the effect that Sivaji had foreseen. Each one thought of himself and his own safety. The General had scarcely time to arm himself. He was surrounded, one of his sons killed at his side and himself left for dead from a severe wound. One of his daughters was carried off, but the rest of his family escaped owing to the general disorder and the darkness of the night. Sivaji therefore remained master of the situation, enriched himself with the spoils of the vanquished and retired into his mountain fastnesses laden with booty.

The army of Shaista Khan however, having been routed by surprise rather than weakened by its defeat, which was by no means decisive, the General easily rallied his forces and prepared them, as soon as his wound was healed, to take vengeance on his enemy. Sivaji, who lost no opportunity of securing his fortune (when he was not compelled to risk it either for defence or gain) seeing that he was likely to be placed in an embarrassing situation, attempted to enter into negotiations with the Mogul prince. The capture of his daughter afforded a fitting opportunity for, far from treating her with insult, he had paid her all the honour due to her rank. Sivaji, then desirous of taking advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for treating with Shaista Khan, offered to restore the princess in return for a ransom. At the same time he wrote to the General advising him neither to seek open combat with himself, nor to attempt to destroy him in his hiding places, declaring that by such actions so great a Captain would only lose time, that could be employed more profitably, in pursuing an enterprise that could never redound to his glory. By so doing, he urged, the General would lose both life and reputation for the recent scheme which had cost the Mogul Army so dear was one of the minor plots that had been prepared against him, and that he would never be able to escape from the many traps laid for him.





It is uncertain whether it was the effect of this letter, or some important affair of state which caused the Mogul prince to induce the Emperor to leave Sivaji in peace. However that may be, Shaista Khan had no sooner ransomed his daughter, than he retired, and under pretext of carrying out a more important enterprise, left the field open to the energy of Sivaji. It was not long before the neighbourhood realised his presence. Sivaji no sooner found himself free, than he began to harass others. He was anxious to evince to the world that Aurangzeb had withdrawn his soldiers, not because he despised the weakness of the enemy's forces, but because he despaired of vanquishing them. He therefore resolved to undertake a fresh and brilliant enterprise against him, and wishing to unite advantage with honour, he conceived that an attack on Surat would afford him both. Having taken this resolution, he informed his troops, who inspired by the hope of so rich a booty, promised to back up their leader and faithfully kept their word. Surat was not dreaming of an attack when Sivaji entered the town at the head of his little army. Two thousand of his soldiers, disguised as sailors and merchants, had already prepared the way for him, so that without any difficulty, he seized whatever he desired, with the exception of the fortress, in which the Governor shut himself up with the few soldiers he had been able to collect. The remainder were left to the mercy of the conqueror. The pillage lasted three days, after which, Sivaji and his followers, having laden themselves with the immense riches which they found in the shops and warehouses of this great town, set out to regain their hiding places and secure their booty. It is said that in the sack of Surat, Sivaji spared the following - a Capuchin missionary on account of his virtue and the Europeans, as a measure of prudence, for finding them entrenched in their own quarter and knowing them to be courageous, was not desirous of wasting time in fighting them, when such time could be more profitably employed.

The Mogul ruler, irritated by this insult, as can well be imagined, sent a formidable army against Sivaji under the command of a general named Jai Singh, who had orders to crush him. This new general did indeed pursue him so rapidly, that, having besieged him in his strongest fort, he kept him so closely invested as to give him no hope of escape, except by one of those fortunate attempts effected by cunning or despair. Jai Singh, however, who did not consider his position too sure, proposed an

Sivaji harassed by the Mogul troops, comes to terms with the Emperor.





advantageous composition and believing that he would be rendering a double service to his master, by first re-establishing the reputation of his army and then by attaching such a brave man to his service, he assured Sivaji that, if he would join the Mogul against another Indian King with whom he was at war, he would obtain favourable terms for him, and even lucrative positions which would give him reason for satisfaction. Sivaji, who felt himself in danger and who considered that to participate in the campaigns of a conquering enemy, was by no means unpleasant, accepted the proffered terms and having thus allied himself to the most powerful monarch in India, found himself relieved from his most pressing danger and in a better position than ever.

To augment his reputation, it happened that the Mogul, having declared war on the Soff, invited Sivaji to take an important post in his army and wrote to him in so honourable and flattering a manner, that Sivaji could not refuse. He repaired to the army with his troops and the King received him so favourably, that he believed his fortune made, but a mischance of which he had no suspicion brought him to the verge of ruin. Sivaji's appearance in the Indian Army was universally welcomed. Aurangzeb himself, who esteemed his valour, so far as one can judge, was favourably disposed towards him. It was a woman who could not bear the sight of him, who forced him to leave the army after having, by her machinations, endangered his life. This was the wife of Shaista Khan, commander of the troops that Sivaji had first attacked. She remembering the insult to her husband and the death of her son, so excited against him all the ladies of the Court, that by dint of tears and importunities, they obtained from Aurangzeb (with whom, in spite of his wisdom, their sex was not without influence) an order to arrest the murderer of a Prince of the blood royal of the Moguls.

This outcry had been loud enough to come to the ears of a man as alert as Sivaji. Some said that he was warned of it by Jai Singh's son, who had induced him to come over to the side of the Mogul. It was apparently at this juncture that

Sivaji in danger at the Mogul Court, flees from it.

M. Thevenot says that Sivaji believed himself ruined and while indignantly complaining to the King that he had violated his promises, he attempted to kill himself. He was restrained from his purpose and the king soothed him, assuring him that he had never compassed his death. The same author nevertheless adds that if the monarch had not feared a rising of





SL

the nobles, who were attached to Sivaji and who were openly murmuring at the ill treatment accorded to him, he would easily have consented to the death of this uneasy spirit.

When he came to the Court, Sivaji had not been wholly imprudent, he had reserved for his own use in his fortresses men, munitions and money capable of supporting him and as he was never without either guile or determination, he now made use of both, disguised himself and escaped without detection. The memorandum from Goa relates that he twice sacked Surat. I do not know if the second occasion was at this particullar time. The hatred that he must have nourished against the Mogul and his Court at the time was a fitting incentive to inspire such a design.

If, however, M. Bernier's story is true that many people thought Sivaji's flight was connived at by Aurangzeb, who had neither the strength to oppose the demands of the Court ladies, nor the perfidy to cause the death of a man whom he had summoned to his side, it is not likely that Sivaji would have so soon forgotten the kindness of the Mogul. What makes the story of the King's attitude the more likely, is that Bernier adds that Jai Singh's son, being publicly accused of aiding Sivaji's flight, Aurangzeb only banished him for a time from the Court, and on his father's death, sent for him and continued him in his parent's offices. A futher confirmation to Bernier's story is that Sivaji next turned his attention to the Portuguese and against Goa. He had already pillaged Bardez, a peninsula under the rule of the Portuguese at the gates of their capital and he was preparing for still greater conquests when a violent attack of colic put an end to his life and projects.

Sivaji left two sons, heirs to his lands and fourtune. The elder named Sambaji inherited his father's position and his father's valour. The surrounding nations quickly learnt that they had not benefited by the change. After having seized and imprisoned his brother (who, so he was informed by some of the nobles at his Court, was aiming at his place), he followed in his father's footsteps. He harried the Indian princes and enriched himself with their spoils. He became so powerful, that he was able to have himself nominated guardian of the young King of Bijapur. His greatest attacks were carried on against the Mogul and the Portuguese. This is what was written about him in a letter dated from Goa in January 1685.

Sambaji, Sivaji's  
successor.





Sultan Akbar, third son of the Great Mogul Aurangzeb, having taken umbrage at some occurrence at Court, retired suddenly to the territories of Sambaji with about 400 horsemen. Sambaji, who was quite ready to profit by the quarrels of others, thought this occasion a good one, and, in order to make the most of it, received Akbar and treated him with every possible consideration.

Aurangzeb who, as a third son, had succeed to the Empire by the imprisonment of Shah Jahan, his father, and the death of Dara his brother realised that his own example was a bad one to follow, and feared least Akbar was about to imitate him. In order to deprive him of the means, if not of the will, to do so, he considered it best to lose no time and sent a considerable army in pursuit of him. Akbar fared better with the stratagems and money of Sambaji than did the Mogul with his vast band of soldiers for their Generals allowed themselves to be bribed and retired without accomplishing anything.

The counterblast of this affaire fell on the Portuguese, for Sambaji, irritated that they had allowed free passage to the Mogul troops through the lands possessed in the Deccan, attacked one of their fortresses close to Chaul, when they were least expecting it, and not being able to carry it by assault, he besieged Chaul itself.

Dom Francisco de Tavora, Viceroy of India, not being able to relieve Chaul, since he was too far off, decided to make a diversion by besieging Ponda, one of Sambaji's fortresses, a place only a league from Goa inland. Sambaji, to whose interest it was to retain a place so close to Goa, raised the siege of Chaul and marched to the relief of Ponda, which was already partially destroyed. He compelled the Portuguese, who had not enough troops to confront him in open battle, to retire into their town. He pursued them closely and having invaded the islands which surround those on which Goa, is situated, he attacked the fortresses they contained and pillaged all the surrounding villages. Salsette, Bardez and the island of St. Etienne, which are contiguous to Goa, were simultaneously attacked. The Viceroy, who had only a small force found himself unable to succour so many important positions all attacked at the same time. Of regular troops he had barely 300 Portuguese, with about 1000 Indians, who are indifferent soldiers. He was reduced to employing, as a town-guard, the clergy and the monks, men more fitted to fight with their tongue, like Moses, than with their hands, like Joshua.





In this extremity the Governor showed how sometimes a brave man can accomplish much with poor material. He manoeuvred his troops so cleverly and himself fought at their head with so much resolution, that the most important posts held out against Sambaji for a whole month and only those unnecessary for the preservation of the place were allowed to fall into his hands.

In spite of this stout resistance, the continuance of a close siege against a large town deprived of its garrison and without hope of relief threw the inhabitants of Goa into a state of consternation. Fatigue alone was enough to weaken the courage of the strongest. Thus, this city filled with superb buildings, notable by its conquests and revered by all Christian nations as having been for a long period a religious sanctuary in the midst of a barbarous people, was ready to fall into the hands of Gentiles and Muhammadans, had not divine providence, worked a miracle to succour it.

Goa was in the position just described when, from above the ramparts was suddenly perceived advancing from inland an army crops that appeared immense. Sambaji's movements, at the sight of this redoubtable force, showed how much he feared it, and it was soon discovered that it was the Mogul army, which was endeavouring to force the besieger to battle. Sambaji, however, did not consider himself strong enough to resist such a number and thought only of securing his safety by a masterly retreat which he effected so cleverly, that he retired to his fastnesses before the Mogul army could engage him in combat.

The delight of the inhabitants of Goa, when they found themselves delivered from so formidable an enemy can be easily conjectured. The Viceroy immediately sent one of his principal officers to pay his respects to the General of this succouring army who, he learned, was Sultan Mu'azan, the eldest son of the Great Mogul sent by his father in pursuit of the young Akbar, who was still in Sambaji's country and under his protection.

It was at the end of 1685, about Christmas time, that the town of Goa was delivered from the peril of Sambaji. The Viceroy attributed the deliverance, not to his own courage and determination, but to special intervention from on high, and especially to the protection of S. Francis Xavier, at whose tomb he had been cured of a dangerous wound he had received in a sortie. The gratitude that he evinced was especially marked for he solemnly laid on the tomb of the Saint all his signs of office





declaring that for the future he would only govern in India under the authority of St. Francis who had so often shown himself the Patron and Protector of the place.

My memorandum gives no details of the war between Sambaji and Sultan Mu'azan. It seems that the contest ended in some sort of arrangement for a short time after Mu'azan made war upon the King, his father, and Sambaji, the same as ever, retraced his steps, until last year when some of the chief men in his Court having revolted against him, assassinated him and put another in his place.

Tract, pp. 1-37 bound with,  
*Histoire des deux Conquérens*  
*Tartares qui ont subjugué la*  
*Chine par le R. P.*  
Pierre Joseph d'Orleans, de la  
Compagnie de Jesus. Paris 1688.

( 535 )

1660

### Alexander Hamilton's account of the Sundah Rajah's Dominions

( EXTRACT )

About the Year 1660. Aurengzeb came into Visapore with an Army of 3 or 400000 Men, and soon conquered the open Country, but the Metropolis, called the city of Visapore, took him seven or eight years to reduce it, for being built on a flat mountain of difficult access, and room enough to sow corn on it, obliged Aurengzeb to surround it with his army, and make a Blockade, but at last it yielded, and Aurengzeb put the King in Chains of Silver, and carried him in triumph along with his victorious army, near the space of thirty years, and then he died an inglorious captive. He was reckoned a good simple peaceable Prince while he reigned, but was in no way related to the God Mars.

Alexander Hamilton: *A New*  
*Account of the East Indies,*  
Vol. I p. 259.





( 536 )

1664

**Volquard Iversen's Account of the Sack of Surat**

( TRANSLATION )

In the year 1664, on the 15th January\* about 9. 0 a. m., the Mogul's Governor "Enachat Chan" [Ināyat Khān] received tidings in the town [Surat] from one of his sergeants who was quartered about two miles off, that a great army was on the march, the leader of which refused to give his name except as a servant of the Great Mogul, and that he intended to go to the town of Ahmadabad with 10,000 men. The sergeant, however found out from the troops that their General was said to be the freebooter, Shivaji, though many of them refused to believe it. The Governor was not a little alarmed and ordered the bridges to be demolished. However, most of them were in bad repair and very dry and there were nowhere any guns for defence. He sent to the Dutch and English to entreat them to give him a helping hand in this danger. It appeared strange to us that a governor whose duty it was to preserve a town and protect the foreigners in it should himself ask help from foreigners. However, since our factories had only a force of 40 men, each factory took 70 or 80 Moors into its service for purposes of defence. When, next day, news came that the army was at the village of Utena, a mile and a half from Surat, the Governor sent one of his most important Ministers to Shivaji to beg him, since he was a King's servant and, as he said, sent by "Amoran" or Duke "Mober Chan" to put down the tumult arisen in "Patan", not to approach this town, because the inhabitants having evil suspicions [of his intentions], were taking to flight, a fact which the Great Mogul would take ill. Shivaji takes no heed, keeps prisoner the Minister who had met him on the way and suffers no answer to be returned. The Dutch also sent two servants in order to learn the condition of the army. These, too, were captured but released in the evening. They returned to the factory without their weapons and brought word that the leader was certainly the freebooter, Shivaji. Towards noon a fire was seen to break out in the midst

\* All the dates in this account are evidently noted according to the new style, and have to be properly converted on allowing the difference of 10 days, in every case.





of the town and it extended further and further. Shivaji's men marched in companies into the town, meeting with no opposition and made for the King's Custom House, where they obtained their first booty. They might, however have been easily kept back.

The Governor, for whom 1,000 horse were maintained by the Mogul, hurried with all his cavalry to the Castle and left the horses standing under the guns. He was followed by all the royal officials who lived in the town, abandoning everything there to be plundered and devastated. Then began unhindered looting and devastation until nightfall. Moreover, the fire gained ground because there was no one to put it out or to make a stand against the robbers. The enemy became so bold that they actually came right up under the Castle and examined the horses. The men in the Castle wishing to make their manly courage heard from behind the walls, fired the whole night through down into the town and caused more damage to the houses than harm to the enemy. It was lamentable to hear how they broke in doors and windows and chests, to the accompaniment of terrible cries of murder from women and children. Although on this night the flames diminished somewhat, they broke out again on the following day, viz. the 17th, and in several places.

Shivaji sent a Greek merchant, Nicolaus Kolostra by name, an inhabitant of Surat, whom he had fetched from his house, to our factory and also to that of the English with orders to inform us that the town of Surat had been presented to him by the Mogul's youngest brother, Prince Chasousa [Shāh sujā] who was with him; that he was now in need of money to maintain his army and that a considerable sum must be advanced to him. Failing this, he would set fire to the whole town. But it was well known that the statement about Prince Chasousa was an invention, for we had absolutely certain news that he had fled from his brother's pursuit three years before to the town of Arakan and had there met his end. The Dutch and English therefore gave Shivaji this answer; that they were only traders and not accustomed to let their money lie long in the cashbox, for the demands of trade occasioned its being laid out at once; they could not therefore help him on this occasion.

The looting and burning continued till nightfall again, since new and fierce fires arose in the East and North, so that it was as piteous a sight as one pictures Sodom or Troy to have been.





On the 18th the secretary of the Court of Justice sent a letter in Persian from the Castle to the Dutch asking them to rescue a chest from his house and take it into the Factory for safety, but the following answer was sent to him; he must defend it himself so that no claim might be made in the case of harm coming to it. At night once again there was heard beating of drums, blowing of pipes, firing, burning and screaming. In the morning many disconsolate women and children were seen miserably wandering in the streets, their homes having been burnt and their menfolk killed. The enemy adopted the following device to increase the fire. They ran into the houses where distilled and other oils were on sale, took these, poured them over doors, windows and walls and hung flasks full of oil on the floors, so that they took fire the more readily. Two rich traders took refuge in the Castle abandoning their homes and goods. The most magnificent house of a very rich Banyan merchant, Virji Vora by name, was also reduced to ashes and with it six barrels of gold, money, pearls, gems and other precious wares. Shivaji had demanded the surrender of this merchant and another from the Governor, two days before, and was willing to let them suffice as ransom for the whole town.

Two other rich Banyan merchants, when the tumult increased, wished to cross the river with their valuables and goods, so as to escape the looting and the fire; but the Governor refused to allow it, and in consequence they lost, in Dutch reckoning, about 30 casks of gold, thanks to the Governor. That afternoon, when half the town was already reduced to ashes, Shivaji with his army withdrew two marches off and encamped. In order to learn whether he had fixed his camp there or intended to proceed further, a peon (that is, a lackey) informed the Dutch that he intended to go to the enemy as a fakir or mendicant monk. He actually passed through the whole camp without being suspected. Shivaji had not had a tent pitched but only a cloth hung from a tree for protection against the heat of the sun. The booty in oxen and horses had been brought in and laid before him. The money, gold, silver and pearls, as also the valuable stuffs he had kept for himself and the rest he had distributed among the poor people standing by. His followers had obtained enough plunder for themselves.

A week before an Ethiopian ambassador sent to the Great Mogul had arrived and was staying in an old *sarai* in Surat, awaiting orders as to how he should be received by the Mogul and sent on further. This man Shivaji had taken to his camp and demanded from him the presents that he had brought for the Mogul. If



he refused Shivaji threatened to make him prisoner and carry him off. The good man was confounded, and because he had no protector was obliged to allow Shivaji's servants to seize the presents, although the Governor might have rescued them by taking them into the Castle.

With this immense booty Shivaji took his departure saying: I have long wished to pull Aurangzeb's beard and now my wish is fulfilled, for the rich and beautiful town of Surat has been called by the Moors the King's or Mogul's beard, by reason of its charm and grace.\*

Extracted from Adam Olearius,  
*Reisebeschreibungen: Orientalische  
Reise-beschreibung*, p. 167.

( 537 )

1669-1671

### Dr. Dellon's remarks concerning Shivaji.

When I arrived [in 1669] near the city [Surat], the gates were not shut up; the inhabitants were obliged for their security to a neighbouring prince called Sevagi, who by his frequent incursions has caused them to surround their city with a good wall, and to be constantly upon their guard.

\* \* \* \* \*

We set sail from the Port of Sonaly [?Swally] the 6th of January [1670], with a very favourable wind, which thus continued till our arrival at Rajapour. ...

It is situate in the territories of Sevagi, a famous rebel, who for a considerable time has been in wars with the Great Mogul, and the King of Visapour his Liege Lord. It lies exactly under

---

\* The last paragraph is so coarse as to be untranslatable. It has therefore been paraphrased.

Iberson adds: I was myself a witness of his [Shivaji's] conduct towards the town of Surat and have extracted the account of the event from our Dutch Assistenten Journal.





the 17th degree of North latitude, on the coast of Malabar, about 20 leagues north from Goa; and you come to it by a river, which runs with a very gentle current. Near the mouth of it on the right side of the shoar, you see a small village, inhabited only by fisher-men, and 4 leagues beyond it is the city of Rajapour, which has communicated its name to the said river. You may go up with a vessel of 100 tons, as far as to a small island, which is about half way betwixt the city and the mouth of the river; afterwards you make use of Chaloups and barges, to carry the merchandice to the city, where the river is so shallow that at low water it is fordable in some places.

The English had here formerly a factory, but the Indians have dislodged them from thence. The French Company has not many years ago got a Settlement there, where they have a fine house and garden, near a great cistern, from whence, arises a spring of hot-water, not inferiour in vertue to any in Europe. The adjacent mountains and forests are full of apes, which are much revered by the Pagans, inhabiting the territories of Sevagi, no body being permitted to kill them, without running the hazard of his life. The chief commodities at Rajapour, are saltpeter and callicoes, but especially pepper, which grows thereabouts in great quantity.

This Sevagi is a very potent prince, who has managed his affairs with so much prudence as to have establish'd himself, in spite of his potent enemies, in all the territories, situate betwixt Suratte and Goa, unless it be some few sea-ports, belonging to the Portuguese. He has made himself so dreadful to his neighbours, as to have made the city of Goa itself tremble at his approach, and has several times made those of Suratte feel the direful effects of his fury, by plundering all the country round about, and carrying away great riches, without sparing either Mosques or the Pagan temples. But it has been observed of him, that he always used a great deal of moderation towards the Europeans, perhaps for fear of being called to a severe account by their principals, which motive might induce him to shew himself favourable to them, without which, it would have been no difficult matter for him to have plundered their houses, like those of the Indians. In the year 1671, he made such an inroad into the Territories of Suratte, when he made so terrible a havock in the circumjacent places, that the damage could not be repair'd for many years after. All his strongholds are built among the mountains; his subjects are Pagans, like himself. But he





tolerates all religions, and is look'd upon as one of the most politick princes in those parts.

Dellon, Mr., M. D.; *A. Voyage  
to the East Indies,*  
pp. 37, 55-57.

( 538 )

1670

### Nicholas de Graaf's note on Sivaji

( TRANSLATION )

Three days after we left Monghyr we met the troops of an idolatrous Prince called Amarting. They consisted of 1200 well equipped cavalry, 40 camels, 6 elephants, a number of oxen and a large body of infantry. Besides this, there were on the river a number of boats of all kinds to transport men and provisions. These troops came from the mountains of Assam and were going to Delhi and Agra to join the army of the Mogul in order to march against the rebel Sivaji.

*Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf  
aux Indes Orientales, p. 61.*

( 539 )

1676-1686

### Sevajie-Dutch

EXTRACTS FROM A NARATIVE IN FRENCH QUOTED BY ORME.  
THE AUTHOR'S NAME NOT GIVEN

( TRANSLATION )

At our arrival here our affairs were flourishing, which we had scarcely expected, in spite of every effort we could make to encourage the sales necessary to place our new factory in a flourishing condition.





However, between 1680 and 1686, at Porto Novo alone we have made about nine tons of gold (a ton of gold is equal to 100,000 florins) out of the 13,000 bales of different kinds of cloth that we have sold.

I find that from 1686 to 1687 9,800 bales, valued at  $21\frac{1}{2}$  tons of gold, were bought and despatched.

It was in 1688 that the period of failure in trade began, caused by the war which devastated the whole of this country and kept the inhabitants in a state of continual alarm, so that the benefits already gained rapidly declined, for the Muhammadans and Marathas (who are subjects of the brigand *Sieuwagie*) made every effort to spread confusion, being firmly persuaded of the advantage of fishing in troubled waters. They caused considerable injury, pillaged villages and destroyed roads so that trade was almost entirely stopped. It was neither possible to buy nor to sell, not even so many as a hundred bales, whereas formerly we had dealt in thousands. Later it became necessary to be constantly on the alert against the subjects of *Sieuwagie* so that this factory has only enjoyed for a very few years the prosperity it seemed likely to experience.

\* \* \* \* \*

I had the honour several times of speaking with the great ruler who governs Golconda, for instance, in 1676 when the notable brigand, *Sieuwagie*, with 12,000 foot and 24,000 horse, was encamped three leagues from the town, threatening to reduce it to ashes if the King refused to grant him a large sum of money. This threat caused general consternation. We trembled for our own safety and for our factory lest the precious goods it contained should become the prey of this redoubtable brigand. To avoid such a catastrophe Jan van Nyendaal, acting for Heer Hartsink went to the rebel's camp to conciliate him, and offered (as formerly did Abigail to King David) a present of almonds, dates, grapes and pistachio nuts, the whole worth about 1000 florins. He received the gift very graciously in his tent which had been erected for the occasion. The messengers were refreshed with coffee, garlanded with flowers, presented with robes of honour and granted a safe conduct guaranteeing their persons and the effects of the Company against the danger which threatened them.

These savages intended to attack the palace of the King as well as that of his principal nobles knowing that great treasures





were there concealed. The whole town in consequence was in a state of alarm and confusion. However, the Governor Madana realised that the only means of closing the mouths of these infuriated dogs of war was to shower money on them. Every day was poured out to them 1000 to 2000 ducats and finally Sienwagie retired in a litter, embellished on every side with sheets of massive gold accompanied by 8 outriders and 30 chaise-bearers.

It was in the month of August 1676 that I saw the departure of this Marauder with his retinue after he had dismissed his troops of whose fidelity, especially of that of his bodyguard, he had no doubt. I thanked him for the safeguard granted to us and wished him a prosperous journey.

He was sent for to speak to the King, and as it is the custom in this country for rulers not to pass in front of subjects, for this reason there are always several entrances to the Audience Chamber. Prince Sienwagie entered by one door and those who were permitted to attend the audience entered by another. This fierce destroyer, then, having been admitted to the King's presence came in by the door pointed out to him and the King came in by another. Both then sat down on seats prepared for them, and entered into conversation. Whilst they were thus talking, the Palace was surrounded by 6,000 cavalry, who approached so silently that the buzzing of a fly could have been heard. I do not speak from hearsay, for I was **an eyewitness of the affair**, having seen it all from a window. It was thus that the brigand made known to the world that like a second Masaniello he was as much beloved as respected by his subjects. ...

*Orme MSS. Vol. 268*  
pp. 1-11

( 540 )

1669

### **R. Orme's note on Surat.**

1669. Sevajee or his people are plundering up to the walls of Surat, the Governor is taxing the inhabitants, and his musters are not half compleat for the defence of the place. Moradbegue Aurenzebe's armour bearer in all his wars arrives with a force in the beginning of May takes the Government, and before the end





of the month beats Sevajee's plunderers of whom some cart loads were brought to Surat to be buried.

*Orme Mss. Vol. 174, p. 35.*

(541)

1671

**Nicolas de Graaf's account of Sivaji's  
Second Sack of Surat.**

(TRANSLATION)

The letters that we received at that time [January 1671] from Surat by way of Agra informed us of the pillaging of Prince Sivaji, the sums that he exacted and the ravages made by him on Surat and its environs. He demanded a large sum from the Dutch Factory, but it was refused.

*Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf  
Aux Indes Orientales, p. 68*





## APPENDIX

(I)

### A SHORT NOTE ON THE PHOTOGRAPHS INSERTED IN THE BOOK.

No. 1. **Shivaji's Seals and Coins:** is a plain design including two seals, one gold coin and seven copper pieces ascribed to Shivaji.

No. 1 Is the principal seal used long before his coronation, from his very childhood and continued even after that significant ceremony. The inscription, thus, is devoid of any royal insignia. Dignified in its plain majesty, the couplet, freely rendered, reads—'This seal of Shiva, the son of Shāha, waxing (daily) like the crescent of the moon and adored by the universe, shines with benevolent splendour'.

No. 2 Is the closing seal and reads 'here, the limit.'

No. 3 Represents the obverse and reverse of a gold 'Mohur' of Shivaji, and bears the usual legend 'Shri Rajā Shiva' on one side and 'Chhatrapati' on the other.

Nos. 4 to 8 are the usual copper pieces called 'Shivarāi,' with similar legends imprinted. No. 5 bears the whole legend in full. Others carry it only partially, Nos. 4 and 8 showing only one letter each. No. 4 including nothing of regal significance is considered to have been struck before the Coronation.

Nos. 9 & 10 are tokens of lighter weight and were known as a *Ruka* and *Dam* respectively.

No. 2 A Page from the Factory Records—This is inserted to give the readers some idea of the nature of the original material





from which the extracts are made. Carefully studied, the photograph affords a considerable knowledge of the spelling, calligraphy and similar other things in which a student is interested.

No. 3 Ray Gad. This is the only photograph so far available of the majesty that is Ray Gad. It represents only the northern front of the impregnable fortress, the top extending over a considerable plateau, behind it. It gives some idea of the great fort, upon which so much praise has been bestowed by all the visitors without exception.

No. 4 The Memorial Chhatra of Shivaji. This is again a plain memorial raised to the revered memory of the great national hero. A beautiful superstructure has only lately been raised over this plinth. Shivaji passed away on Ray Gad.

---



**A note on the English Records on Shivaji.****THE METHOD ADOPTED IN MAKING THE EXTRACTS.**

This is what Miss. L. M. Anstey, has to say about what she calls, the Shivaji Collection :—

The extracts forming this collection have been copied from the Mss. in the India Office verbatim, excepting that

- (1) Contractions have been written out in full.
- (2) Unnecessary capital letters have been disregarded.
- (3) Punctuation marks have been added where absolutely necessary for the sense or disregarded in the originals where they serve to confuse the text.

No other alterations have been made and the spelling, however inconsistent, together with "then" for "than" etc. has been retained.

The section copied from Orme Mss. Vol. 114 was that selected for the foundation of the series and was the first to be copied. This volume was compiled by Orme from extracts taken from Factory Records, Bombay, regarding Shivaji, the Sidi, etc. The Bombay Records were subsequently examined and any notable omissions supplied from the originals. The Contents of Vol. 114 given in Mr. Hill's Catalogue are—

pp. 1-369. Bombay Letters to Factories from Nov. 24th 1671 to Dec. 18th 1678. Copied extracts from official letters.

pp. 375-389. Appendix to the same, consisting of a letter dated 9th May 1674 to the "Siddee Sambole," the Mughal's Admiral, regarding his wish to "winter in the Island of Bombay, and ( pp. 377-389 ) a letter dated Bombay, 11th May 1674, to Mr. Henry Oxenden giving him instructions as to the treaty to be made with "Sevaji."

To the best of my belief every reference both in Factory Records, Original Correspondence ( and the Orme Mss. ) has been extracted regarding Shivaji.

Sd. L. M. ANSTEY





Dr. Sen's remarks may also be subjoined here :—

"The Factory Records are usually written in very good hand and are in fairly good state of preservation; but it does not appear that the scribes of those days were very particular about their spelling of English words and transliteration of Indian place and personal names. Thus you will often find the same English words differently spelt in different places, and the name of Shivaji transliterated in half a dozen different ways; at one place, it is written as 'Savage.' Then certain common forms of abbreviation were frequently used e. g. w<sup>ch</sup> for which, y<sup>s</sup> for this, y<sup>t</sup> for that, w<sup>t</sup> for what, in<sup>ca</sup> for in circa, Gover for Governor or as it was then written Gouvernor, and so on."

".....It is necessary to add a few words about the method usually adopted while referring to the Factory Records. The ... date—will supply a surer means of locating the extracts than the page or folio number, as each copyist seems to have numbered his own pages according to his own convenience. To avoid confusion the number of the particular part of a volume is sometimes given. But it should be noted that in the original volumes, the different parts have not been separately numbered."

---





## GENERAL INDEX.

Both volumes are indexed together. The Roman figures indicate the volume, the Arabic the serial number of extracts. References under particular headings are arranged serially instead of alphabetically. The chronological order adopted in the primary arrangement would thus naturally develop a chronological sequence in the Index. Ordinary Brackets enclose the original spelling in the text where necessary. Rectangular brackets are conveniently used to offer explanations.

## A

- Abaji Pandit, I-486.  
Abigail, II-539.  
Abdul Karim [Raj. Gov.] I-6, 10, 11, 21.  
Abdullakhan [Kalyan Gov.] I-147.  
Abdul Razak [Carwar Gov.] I-270.  
Abu Khan [Abboe K] Rustum Jemah,  
at Carwar I-461; recalled II-39;  
succors Punda II-82, II-89.  
Acheen (Atcheen), I-181, 423.  
Achra II-509.  
Aekalanayak (nagnes) wood II-234.  
Adall the Modi I-451.  
Adam Olearius (quoted), II-536.  
Adams, James—see James Adams.  
Adams, Richard—see Richard Adams.  
Adams, S.—see S. Adams, Capt.  
Adderton Stephen, see Stephen  
Adderton.  
Aden, I-170, 174; II-327.  
Adil Shah (Edell Shaw), I-142, 399,  
473, 481, 484, also under Bijapur.  
Adoni (Addone) II-292.  
Adrian Roothass, I-19.  
*Advance*, I-291.  
*Advice*, II-384.  
*African*, I-75, 86.  
Afgan Party [Bija.] II-250.  
Afzal Khan (Abdile ckaune)—stabbed  
I-1 (p. 3)—killed I-67—assassinated  
II-533 (p. 332).—junks of  
I-3 (pp. 5-7).  
Aga Dnood (Dowd), I-234.  
Agra, I-26, 79, 188, 217, 251, 414;  
II-63, 538, 541.  
Aguada [Goa], I-139.  
Ahmadabad (Amdavad etc.)  
I-78, 85, 196, 263, 331;  
II-63, 254, 460, 533, 536.  
Ahmadnagar, (Amdanewgar, Hamedanagar),—Sh. Plunders I-91,  
II-533 (p. 331).  
Albuquerque [Goa] II-534 (p. 334).  
Alarms, genesis, I-275.  
Alexander the Great, Sh. compared,  
II-272.  
Alherin [?], I-370.  
Ali Adilshah (Eddul Shaw), II-226.  
Ali Raja [Billiapatam] II-184, 353.  
Ali, Sect of.—II-531 (p. 324).  
Ali Vorah, II-354.  
Alley, Charles—see Charles Alley.  
Amarsing, II-538.  
Ananda Rao (Amand Roy), succeeds  
Prataprao, I-451 (p. 329).  
Ancola (Anchola, Hancola, Oncletah)  
—Gov. I-90; castle I-311, 344, 365,  
461; —taken by Sh. II-88, 89, 94,  
114, 444.  
Andrews, Mathews—see Mathew Andrews.  
Aniscorah, I-11.  
Annaji Pandit (-gy, -gee, Aimgoe)  
I-357, 474, 476 (p. 357); references  
*passim* in II;—present at making  
Articles II-37, —indifferent to  
Engl. II-60, —favourite with Sh.  
II-60, —goes to Punda II-60 (p.  
33); —absent at reception II-66;  
—not friendly to Engl. II-81 (pp.  
42, 44); —ought to be humoured  
II-86; —in charge of Punda II-94,  
—proposals of peace (Hendry  
Kendry) II-476, —March to Junnar  
II-122, —represents Sh. II-243, —  
beheaded II-508, —at Rajapur II-  
265—in Chains II-511, —at Pan-  
hala, II-285. —proposes ambassador  
to Bombay. II-453.  
Anne, II-439, 529.  
Anquentil de Perron (refer.) II-533  
(p. 333).  
Antaji Pandit (Antue)—Sh. envoy  
at Surat I-228, —Gov. of Hubli  
II-296.  
Anthony Smith, —released for ran-  
some I-78 (p. 66)—Sh. prisoner  
I-79 (p. 76), I-83, —Character,  
I-110.





Antonio de Mello de Castro, Goa Gov. I-162.  
 Araba, I-329, 445;—II-273, 347, 363;  
 —fleet I-155, II-442-443 *passim*;  
 —and the Portugues I-155, 159;  
 —plunder Port. Country I-442, 443,  
 445;—negotiate Mogal alliance I-443;  
 —Engl. assure friendship I-443.  
 Arakan town, II-536 (p. 344).  
 Armada—see Fleet.  
 Armenians (traders at Surat) I-73,  
 79, 237.  
 Arni, and Sh. II-246.  
 Arrack Renter, II-530.  
 Arlinton, Lord (secretary of state)  
 —letters to I-104, 105, 108, 141, 178.  
 Art of War—see War.  
 Articles of Peace;—between Sh.  
 and Company, I-474, 475, 486;  
 —references *passim* in II-1, 5, 11,  
 12, 58, 100.  
 Ashtamee,  
 —Sh. at I-151, Oxinden at I-486,  
 Asia II-534.  
 Assam II-538.  
 Athani (Hottanee, Hattande, Hont-  
 tanee);—Mr. Child to settle trade  
 II-99;—alarmed I-269;—looted by  
 Sh. II-150, 152, 159, 293;—taken  
 from Sh. II-303;—letter from II  
 —324;—robbed by Sambhaji and  
 others II-393, 467;—reparations  
 for II-487, 488.  
 Auga Jellol, II-363.  
 Aungier, Gerald—see Gerald Aungier  
 Aurangabad (Orungabad) refer-  
 ences *passim*;—Sh. March I-187,  
 —News from I-202, II-3;—Prince  
 Muazzam I-208, 212, 213, 217, 251,  
 262; II-352;—Mahabat Khan I-256;  
 —trade I-210, 354, 361, 372, 430,  
 II-77, 202;—Jewels I-479;—Kutub-  
 khan routed II-49, 55;—plundered  
 II-459, 477.  
 Aurangzeb,  
 references *passim*, also II-533 (p.  
 328), 534 (p. 335), 535 (p. 342).  
 —Sh. visit to I-115—Sh. appears  
 in Court I-127, 129, —Starts on a  
 Deccan war I-134, War against  
 Sh. I-141, 178, 179, —Compromise  
 with Sh. I-139, 143, —growing or-  
 thodoxy, I-139, —army against Bi-  
 japur, I-139, 143, —eldest son, I-  
 334, II-352, —second son, I-334,  
 —sends fleet to assist siddi, I-336  
 (p. 234)—envoy from Muscat, I-443.  
 —peace with Sh. discredited II-72,  
 —alliance with Bijapur, II-110  
 (p. 63)—new taxes II-518.

Austin Samuel—see Samuel Austin.  
 Austin Edward—see Edward Austin.  
 Auxiliary forces in Bombay I-420.  
 Azizkhan, poisoned by Sh. I-90.

## B

Babba Saheb, left at Trivady, II-234  
 Bagdad (—) I-81.

Bahadur Khan (Bedar, Bhadar, Bhe-  
 dar Bader, Badder, Badur, Bander)  
 Ahmadabad Gov.—comes to Surat  
 I-195, 196, 236, 262, 263—advance  
 against Sh. I-262, 330, 338, 410, 411,  
 —in Poona, I-288—leaves attack-  
 ing concan I-451 (p. 328)—angry  
 with Siddi Samhole, I-479—King's  
 displeasure with I-481, 483, —Mogal  
 Gen. II-118, 240, 243, II-45—camp  
 destroyed by Shivaji II-3, 11, —  
 prohibits provisions, II-29, 32, 65, 69  
 —a trick of hate, II-32, —alarmed  
 by Sh. army, II-43—connivance at  
 Sh. II-77—victim to Sh. policy  
 peace, II-78, 107, 196—munsub rais-  
 ed for Sh. peace II-107, —alliance  
 with Bijapur, II-121, —orders sup-  
 plies to Siddi II-118—matrimonial  
 alliance with Khavāskhān II-131,  
 —invades Bijapur (?) II-159—near  
 Gulburga, II-236, takes Gulburga  
 II-248, 250, —and Siddi, II-118, 243,  
 —bribed by Golconda, II-250 (p.  
 137)—recalled and humiliated, II-  
 254, 272, —beseiges Hanmanta Gad  
 II-512, —battle with Sambhaji, II-  
 514, 522, 523.

Bahiropan (Bahropant) Chaul Sar-  
 subedar—letter from, II-340.

Bahlol Khan I (Bulla, Bussall, Bullul)  
 [Bijapuri], I-103, —owner of Bun-  
 capur, I-107, 114—refuses homage  
 to the bastard king, I-1 (p. 3)—  
 —mother denies entrance in Bun-  
 capur to King, I-58, 67—in irons,  
 I-67, —and Siddi Johar's death,  
 I-67—Sent against Biddrure, I-82  
 —his death, I-114.

Bahalol Khan II (Balla Balla Khan  
 sometimes referred to as Nabob)  
 [Bijapuri]—general against Sh.  
 I-365 (p. 263, 265), 394—presses  
 hard upon Sh. I-381, 392, II-83, —  
 sick at Miraj, I-393 Sh. maintains  
 frontiers against I-394, 407, —over-  
 throws Sh. I-407; at (Buncapur)  
 I-431.—farman from II-24, 37, mar-  
 ches against Punda II-83—prevent-  
 ed from relieving Punda, II-91, 95,  
 —retires to Bijapur, II-94—bribed by





- Sh. II-95,96--alliance with Mogals against Sh. II-121,245--supremacy in Bijapur, II-137,162,--alliance with Sh. II-159,--agrees with Sh. to partition Carnatak, II-235--defeated by Deccan Party, II-161,162, 272, (p. 150)--alliance with Mogals against Golconda II-236,248,250, 261,264--peace with Deccans II-268,--death II-266, 273, 274, 279--cowl of deceased II-296--ships of deceased II-323.
- Bahlokhhan (Buloh) [Mogal]--slain by Sh. I-293.
- Balaghat--I-451, I-476 (p. 358),479, 486--Sh. March II-186
- Ballasore, I-299, II-392
- Balloone, II-122.
- Balead (Balsarr, Brassall), II-34, 223, 356.
- Bal Shenvi (Balcinie) I-193.
- Bancapur (Buncapore).  
I-56, 58, 62, 67, 107, 431, 451.  
II-186, 262, 272, (twin forts) 322, 343;--besieged by Sh. forces II-262.
- Banda--Sh. comes to I-65,--taken by Rustum Jemah I-126.
- Bandish, Mr. [Carwar] II-28.
- Bandra I-153, II-144,  
--excessive excise duty II-202.
- Banian, *passim*.  
--burden of the taxes, I-308.  
--freedom of religious worship, I-391;--paper I-26 (p. 26).  
--unsuitable as an envoy, I-355.
- Bantam I-78, 84, 397. II-264.
- Bantan I-74, 145, 219, 233, 237.
- Bantan Merchant I-157.
- Bardeah (Bardeis, Bardez).  
--I-1 (p. 1),--island II-533, 534.  
--assaulted by Moors I-1 (p. 2),  
--invaded by Sh. I-138, 142.
- Baron, Mr. the French agent (1669) II-533 (p. 331).
- Barsilore (Bazalore, Basselore) I-81n.  
--Port. possession I-95.  
--plundered by Sh. I-107.  
--Sh. march against II-185.  
--Baholkhans ships II-323.
- Bas, Capt. [Admiral] letter to I-379, 380.
- Basseine (Bacaim, Basseene, Bacaum Bussim, Busseen, etc.) [Port.] reference *passim* I-3, 329, II-533 (p. 33).--Sh. about I-26 (p. 32).--Capt. of & Customs I-182, 189, 192,196, 205, II-202--Sh. vessels left in I-249  
--Shipbuilding I-301,--threatened by Moro Pandit I-306, II-11,--Arabs assault upon I-442, 443, 445,448.  
--CAPT. GENERAL and orphans II-131,--a rent holder II-202,--and defence against Sh. forces II-312, 409, 415, 421, 423, 437.
- Batavia I-246.
- Bazar I-365--pattamar I-199.
- Bednur (Briddraree Bidnore),--War with Bija. I-70, 82.--Sh. intends conquest II-247--War with Sunda II-362, also see Canara.
- Belgaum (Billgom).  
--Bija. march against I-365.  
--Sh. approaches II-39, 198, (p. 106).  
castle besieged by Sh. II-186.
- Bengal, letters to I-86, 94, II-260.
- Bengala [=Ballasore]--Company interests in I-336, 409; the Dutch talk at II-264.
- Bengalla Merchant II-439, 447, 529.
- Benjamin Little,--robbed by King's Umbrao I-251 (p. 186).
- Bennidas,--ship at Rajapur I-12, 13.
- Berkeley Castle I-218, II-45,135,219, 237,254.
- Bernier, quoted II-533 (p. 327), 534 (p. 333).
- Berrar, plundered by Sh. I-251.
- Betelnut, Sh. Country, season II-2.
- Bettavad,--trade route II-459.
- Bezoar (beazar)--Sh. wants, II-226.
- Bhaganager [Golconda] also see Golconda--Sh. plunders adjacent towns II-82--alliance with Sh. II-283.
- Bhandaris (Banderines) refuse to pay duty I-202.
- Bhatkal (Batticola) I-118, 157, 365, 426, 462--Rustum Jemah to march against I-82--Sh. sends vessels to I-96--rice cheap II-200.
- Bhatti (Batty,--ttee) [Chan] I-349, 358, II-121, 122, 235, 469.
- Bhawany [Pratp Gad] Sh. gift of umbrella I-479, 486.
- Bhills--of Ramnagar, hinder Shivaji II-34.
- Bhima River (Bimra) II-63.
- Bhimgad Bingur?--Sh. at I-107.
- Bhimji Parrakh (Chief Broker)--I-176, 225, 239, 266, 391, 412, 494--requests a printer I-253, 450,--designs about Printing II-148,--printing and Casting II-200 (p. 109).
- Bhimaji Pandit (Beema, Bimmagee)  
--Sh. envoy to Bombay I-358,370, 399,401,454,455,476.
- Bhivdy (Buinde, Brimurly) I-182, 198,205,210,212, II-202,214,--Sunder punished for failure II-324.
- Richolim I-67, II-531.





Bijapur--invasion by Shahaji I-1 (r. 4)--ports limits I-31--country destroyed by Sh. I-98,362,429,--Sh. forces retire from I-14,19,24--no silver currency II-9--distractions in II-39--fort taken by strategem II-292--Chief Vazirs in the Kingdom II-226,362--besieged by Dilikhan II-473--King of I-62,63,70, 72, 93, 150, 429--brother Christian, I-1 (p. 1)--a bastard I-1 (p. 3), 26 (p. 27), 106--to be deposed I-102--poisoned Sberkhan I-114--death rumoured I-315,317--death of I-426--rebels against I-116,277,365--appeal for Engl. prisoners I-40--war with Shivaji I-11,46,67,89,91,117,26,288, 398,436, II-4,5,79,131,150,325,352,--peace with Shivaji I-53 (p. 46),146, 206,393,394,479, II-5, II, 175, 198 (p. 106)--friendship with Shivaji, supply of money I-393 II-78,--Sh. bulwark against Mogals I-411--politic war with Shivaji I-401--took Rajapur after Sh. I-399(p. 291)--War the Mogals I-33,56,103,111,114,118, 120,121,122, 123, II-272--peace with Mogals I-114,115,117,146,152--and Engl. Trade II-81 (p.47)--in nonage II-323. see Vijapur and Deccan.

Billiapatam I-197,237,271,388 II-184, 353.

Blessing I-237.

Boats--creeping II-234--clever escape of Sh. boats II-449.

Bodleian Library (oxford) II-532.

Bombass [? Mombassa] I-445.

Bombay, *passim*--port limits II-123, 494--and the Portuguese I-50,100, 104,306--and religious liberty I-140,428,--an English School I-149. --timber from Sh. I-182, 223, 282 --Customs I-161,--Siddi of Danda Rajapur I-173--shipping and trade I-175, 213, 273,--prosperity I-442, 483, II-123, 202--Sh. Check II-364--free trade declaration II-491--a great burden II-529; alarmed I-230, 238, 240, 309, II-423,--fortifications and security I-253, 313,--auxiliary forces I-420, 422,--weak condition I-437,II-146, 211, 390, 391, 402, 410, 428--mint and currency II-51, 140, 208--the seat of Chief Govt. I-291--and the Dutch I-345--Island, importance of I-40 (p. 303)--a public granary II-13, 200, 201--political needs of II-529.

Bombay and Siddi, Mogal Admiral--abuses I--356, II--482 fleet defend-

ed I--367,--vows revenge against I-409, 404--orders against recruitment by II-19--and the Bay I-409 (p. 301).

Bombay and Shivaji I-154, 161, 163, 184, 283 (p. 207), 322 Sh. ports indispensable I-429 (p. 315)--labourers from Nagothna I-430--present to Sh. II-115--request from Sh. subjects II-120; surveying Sh. country II-120 guns for Sh. II-135,--Sh. vessels II-138--utmost against Sh. II-410--Country to be protected II-460 Bombay Council--dissents from Surat I-392, II-437--policy of peace II-50, --dissatisfied with conduct of war (Hendry kendry) II-430, 437, 446--proposals of peace (Hendry Kendry) II-471, 476,

Bonagudry [Buvanagiri] patam II--234, 240.

Bottomary II-272.

Brahman--influential I-17--instigate a war in canara II--80; a patta-mar [courier] II-234,240--help the Siddi II-235--spies II-394;--fed II-453. --repair to Bombay II-202.

Brass Guns I-428, II-193,195,208,275, 294,298.

Bribe resented by Sh. I-268.

Brigantines, II-364.

Bronch, I-78,79,177,238,307,407,490, II-29,32,42,65,151,288.

Browne Capt. Arnold, I-47.

Browne, Sir Thomas letter to I-79.

Bucksiss II-198 (p. 105), 295, 887.

Buffaloes and cows, duties on (Rajapur) II-116,117

Bugrooks, profit from I-368.

Burbulle, I-365, Sh. watch at II-114, Sh. customs station at II-108.

Burgora [?] II-353.

Burhanpur (Brampore) *passim* I-103, --alarm from I-202,--Sh. passes by for 3 lakhs I-250,--merchants agree with Sh. I-261--trade route II-202, 254,--plundered by Sh. II-77,143--army at II-459,460,477,485,522.

Bussra (Bussorah) I-81,89,144,177,245 349, II-350.

C

Cabull City, I-251,388,463--report of Sh. being sent to I-127.

Caesar Chamberlane (Carwar) I-431.

Caesar, Sh. compared with II-272.

Cairo I-240.

Calastry II-222.

Caldera Point (Fort st. George) II-225,232.





- Cale Velho [Kāyāl] I-3.  
 Calicut I-157, 197, 237, 388; II-184, 353, 361—disturbed by Zamorin II-287;—factory II-116, 287. letter from I-148.  
 Cambaya I-331; II-151, 288, 363—river [Sabarmati] I-89.  
 Canara I-182, 247; or cavack I-429; Country, Sh. march towards II-185; forces, carwar fears I-344; Raja I-90, 299, 344, 420; II-80;—Shares piracy I-299; Shivaji invades I-429; treaties with Goa I-81 et. seq.; war with Bij. I-93, also see Bijapur and Raja of.  
 Cape comorin II-263, 534.  
 Captain,—General of the North (Port.) II-437;—of the Guards (Shivaji) II-531 (p. 323);—Hilder II-314, 455;—Shaxton I-279;—Snow I-43;—Taylor II-532; (p. 326)—Tinker I-55;—Young and Siddi of Danda I-199.  
 Capuchin missionary [in Surat]—not molested by Sh. II-533 (p. 329), 534 (p. 337).  
 Caranja (Berrars) I-331;—plundered by Shivaji I-250, 251.  
 Caranja (near Bombay) I-189, II-402, 461;—Portuguese Possession I-409;—bay, Siddy fortifies an island I-410;—river, Siddy blocks up I-402, 404, 410;—passage I-50, 123, 478; Capt. Gen. at II-437.  
 Carnalla castle (Sh.) I-199;—Sh. army besieges I-182;—not yet taken I-199.  
 Carnatak (—natic, Carnatte —natie) II-232, 248, 325; king I-334; Bijapur war I-114, 317;—Sh. conquest I-414; II-96, 235, 243, 249,—expedition described II-272; Golconda war II-232; Rajas, alliance with Sh. II-245.  
 Carwar I-42, 211, 271, 275, 420, 445; II-6, 115, 232, 323, 533;—under Rustum Jemah I-26 (p. 28), 114;—and shivaji I-54, 68, 69, 80, 427; II-55, 88 et. seq.; 100, 117, 444;—burnt by Sh. 85;—Sh. came to Carwar I-107;—Sh. takes carwar.—II-88, 89;—Sh. cowl II-130;—Sh. takes guns II-444;—damages demanded II-460; factory I-114, 115, 150, 384, 392, 409, 415, 448; II-24, 55, 81, 116, 159, 186, 190, 198, 350, 477;—to be withdrawn I-130, 131, II-190, 300, 319, 429;—power to continue desired II-518;—troubles I-269, 352, 388, 407, 426, II-87, 102, 184, 235, 262, 305; 439, 515; resettlement by Engl. I-270; customs I-270; Measatib I-431; surrenders to Abukhan R. J. I-461; and rupee circulation II-9;—complaints against Rajapur trade II-323.  
 Casakar or Tartar King I-233, 234, 237.  
 Casting of letters [types] II-200 (p. 109).  
 Cauvery River (Cooladow = coleroon) II-264.  
 Cavack or Canara I-429.  
 Cavalry (Sh.) nights march II-222.  
 Cawasji Modi (Caus Mody) I-462; II-145, 156, 165, 227, 229.  
 Ced Kishnogy I-26.  
 Ceylon (Zellon) I-59, 388, 435.  
 Chair of state, presented to Sh. I-480.  
 Chakana (Chagna, chauckna) II-533;—taken by Dillirkhan I-287.  
 Chamber, letters from I-27, 29.  
 Chamberlain, Mr. Caesar I-376;—(Hubli) I-128; (carwar) I-270, 366, 431.  
 Chandgurra I-431.  
 Charles I-157, 192, 277—to destroy Sh. vessels in Rajapur I-148.  
 Charles Alley Mr. II-487.  
 Charles James II-257;—letter from I-266.  
 Charles, King of England, instructions I-39.  
 Charles's Point II-255.  
 Chaul (Shaule etc) also see Upper Chaul I-3, 46, 49, 87, 287, 394, 406; II-434, 481, 533;—described I-358; destroyed by fire II-13;—Desy of II-193.  
 Captain of I-26, 189, 358; and Engl. I-122, 123, 194; II-366, 379, 422;—send bugrooks I-423;—propose seizure of vessels II-203;—prisoners freed II-235;—Narayan Shenvi sent to reside in II-308, 310;—cowards run to II-399;—Mogals I-108, 115;—and Portuguese II-155, 478;—threatened by Moro Pandit I-306;—River I-486;—and Shivaji I-1 (p. 3), 275, II-409;—old town Sh.'s I-358;—materials for Hendry Kendry II-364 et. seq.—and Subedar I-473, II-194, 195, 235; 481, 486, 511;—Vallab Metha debts II-317, 324, 333, 334, 340; retribution II-337; subedar in the right II-339;—complaints against Engl. II-340;—revengeful I-342;—penitent II-344;—Hendry Kendry II-369, 423;—empowered to treat with Engl. II-465;—reply to Bombay





- proposals II-476; own proposals II-476.
- Chauth, from Surat I-96; from the Portuguese I-306; demand upon Surat I-307; for army the King forced him to keep I-310.
- Chartanapalle, see Trichenapalli.
- Chickli (Chickeley) I-245, 307, 310, 327 II-34, 223.
- Chikaricody II-253.
- Child, John [Rajapur] references *passim* II-27, 52, 58, 66, 71, 81, 99, 131, 136, 144, 147, 214;—meets Sh. envoy I-343;—to examine Sh. accounts (Raj.) I-393;—to discuss with Sh. envoy I-395;—in deputation to Siddi I-467;—to put the presents in order I-470, 474;—Chief of Rajapur I-347;—reception at Rajapur II-60 (p. 30); going to Raybag Athani II-99; stopped by force at Rajapur II-193; at Surat II-197; baffled by Sh. ministers II-166; again at Rajapur II-204, 214; recalled to Bombay II-190; hopes of Rajapur II-200, 204, 205. —complains against Narayan Shenvi II-206;—and Sh.—debt II-207;—detained II-210;—Sh. farman II-336;—late Chief of Rajapur II-350;—Deputy Governor of Bombay II-377, 529, 490;—proposals of peace with Sh. II-471, 476;—makes peace with Shivaji II-499.
- China I-445; II-534 (p. 333).
- Chinapatam [Madras] II-251.
- Chiploon (Chiploon, chepalooone)-Raoji Pandit goes to I-56;—given to Fazel Khan I-67;—Sh. returns from I-486 (p. 70);—Havaldar cross with Engl. II-33.
- Cholinbys, Mr. I-251.
- Chopda (Chupra) plundered by Sh. II-454, 460; trade route II-459, 477, letters from II-485, 512, 514, 522.
- Christians, whole masters of Swally I-241; to wear garments of Engl. manufacture I-409; criticised I-428.
- Christian Nations,—a league to defend Swally I-241, 244, 246; Suspected league with Shivaji I-252.
- Christianity, spread in Bombay I-428.
- Chumpanayak (Chumpnek), Raja, robs Caphilas on Agra Burhanpur way II-63.
- Cochin, I-63, 388; taken by the Dutch I-59.
- Cocoanuts (Sh.) season II-2.
- Coleroon River (Goloron, Coalladon), II-240, 246. see cauvery.
- Colle Khan, II-89.
- Commerce, —Shivaji to advance after coronation I-479 (p. 361).
- Comet (blazing star) I-99.
- Company (also East India Company) I-3, 346; debtor I-13, 26 (p. 28); disowns debts I-35; need of own place I-32;—letters from I-37, 92, 124, 140, 257, 264, II-149, 208, 209, 211, 236; exempted from customs I-111, fairness with Shivaji I-124, passes to Sh. ships I-137; Arms Act I-140 (p. 121 lines 2, 3)—and war I-202, fairness to all I-257; laws of robbery not severe enough I-265, 390; insurance I-335; vessels I-363, 377;—best service I-438. in salt II-17; mean opinion of power I-365 (p. 260); sovereign power I-392 (p. 284-85)—treaty with Shivaji I-399, 473, 475, II-2, —approves treaty II-73; risk in goods II-24, policy in India II-73; urge defensive policy II-448.
- Concan see Konkan.
- Conde da Sargida I-376; entertained by Shivaji I-387.
- Cong I-3, 109, 155, 445, II-272.
- Conjiwaram II-222.
- Consultation II-225.
- Convertine I-52, 54, 57.
- Cooke, Capt. James, letter from I-404; to stay in Bombay II-423; —commission to II-428.
- Cooly—Raja, country see under Ramnagar.
- Coopers Bay I-297, II-492.
- Coorg, (George) King of II-240.
- Copull Castle II-496.
- Copybook of letters II-200 (p. 108).
- Coromandel coast I-103, II-533.
- Cotcona, letter from I-397.
- Cotta II-353.
- Courteens Association I-365.
- Crooke Sir Willam (edit. Taver) II-531.
- Cucullee [Portuguese], robbed by Sh. II-82.
- Cuddera (cuddora, eudera) castle I-311;—Governor turned out I-90, —Shivaji—comes to I-431;—beseiges II-88;—Abu Kan at I-461, under Shivaji I-515.
- Cullian etc. see Kalyan.
- Culwah II-312.
- Cuttaek II-392.
- Customs—free grant to Engl. by Aurangzeb I-85, 86, 88, 88n, 111;—on firewood I-357 (p. 250);—abolished I-358;—Valuation of I-





173;—Sh. exempted in Bombay I-474.

Cuttarees I-237.

D

Dabhol (Dabul) I-42,—under Shivaji I-1,3,54, II-139,203,—vessels convoy II-277,281,282;—D. offered to Engl. I-26 (p. 30); Sh. fleet returns to Dabhol I-249, Sh. fleet goes from D. to Bombay I-275;—port indispensable to Bombay I-429;—liberty to Engl. to settle factory I-473; Bombay Vakeel at II-11,—salt for II-23; subedar friendly to Engl. II-33;—Governor, goes to Rajapur I-3,5;—and Bijapur,—given to Fazalkhan I-67, —D. taken by Bijapur I-115;—D. a very good port under Bija. II-531. Dadaji Pandit, [Subedar of Kalyan] has orders from Shiv. I-462.

Dalwees, conquered by Sh. I-26, (p. 28).

Daman (Portuguese) II-156,—Sh. fleet passes by I-249;—Sh. has liberty to settle people at II-164;—Port. Cap. Gen. arrives II-356;—agrees to pay Chauth to Sh. II-533 (p. 332).

Daman [near Rajapur?] I-12 (p. 14 line 39).

Dancing women,—Siddy minds nothing but them II-314—fled to Bombay from Sh. country II-160.

Danda Rajapur I-208,211,213,268, 271,273,275,282,283,299,318,328,336 345,351,361,385,418,459,466,533—Qazi of II-302,—town, taken by Sh. I-1 (p. 4);—the Chief Siddi's Castle I-351, Siddi's Port town I-385;—Castle (fort) I-208,211,271, 299, II-310,—Engl. proposal to take I-1 (p. 4 line 9-10); 171,172;—Engl. desire to take I-1 (p. 4 line 33); 172,—R. J. promise to assist in taking I-1 (p. 4 lines 10 and 30).—Sh. has a great mind to take I-3 (p. 7)—English promise to Sh. to act against D. R. I-4,53 (p. 48).—Sh. the only helper in taking it I-26 (p. 23);—Engl. propose negotiations with Sh. I-26 (p. 24);—Engl. own proposition to take I-26 (p. 25).—Business about I-26 (p. 29);—respective claims of Engl. and Shivaji I-26 (p. 33);—Company's commission to take I-28;—prospective settlement of Engl. Presidency I-37;—and Siddi (Mogals) II-

218,256,289,427,432;—and Siddis (Danda R.) proposal to deliver to Mogals I-171; Siddi goes against Sh. vessels II-131,—threatened by Sh. I-171,199,202; (his heart upon it), 268 (Sh. Chief design): 282 (underhand assistance of Engl. sought), 345 (Dutch help), 475 (will have it in rains);—Engl. refuse Siddi's overtures I-202;—stop supplies I-211;—not besieged by Sh. I-205; besieged and threatened by Sh. I-211;—Mongal relief against Shivaji I-318,328, II-123,125, 167,—English propose peace between Siddi Fattekhan and Shivaji I-476 (p. 357), 479—besieged by Sh. II-72,348,—Sh. army against II-113,119,151,177 (Moro Pandit), 324 (personally assaulted by Sh.); 342 (Chaul Subedar promises to take in 4 months);—Siddy Cassum made Governor II-168,238.

Danes I-435.

Daniel Hughes, Ensign II-309,365, 369,379,430,431,439;—letters from (Hendry Kendry) II-370,371,—letters to (H. K.) II-366,372,374.

Dara II-534 (p. 340).

Darvesji [a moorman] II-491.

Darya Sarung (Durreall Sarungas) pass for I-137; Ventaji Sarung I-238; takes a Broach vessel I-431; decides to burn Siddi's Mazgaon fleet II-310; imprisoned by Sh. II-341.

Dattaji Pandit (Deatajee) Sh. commander of Kolhapur forces II-60 (p. 33);—loots Hubli II-266, 274.

Dattaji Pandit (Datagy) Vacanavis I-486 (p. 373).

Daud Khan, siddis assistant II-476 (p. 286).

Daud Khan (Mogal commander) I-256.

Daulatabad (Dulland) Sh. will venture to I-91.

Daullat Khan [Sh. Admiral] present at Rajpur II-60; intends surprising Siddi's fleet in Bombay II-308, 310, obstructed by the Portuguese II-311, 312; desists from attempt on Bombay II-324; relieves Hendry Kendry II-396, 404; fleet damaged by *Revenge* II-399, 409, 427; a skirmish with II-432; a runaway from II-446; Engl. order to do utmost to destroy fleet II-456; going out to sea II-458;—fleet to come from Rajapur north wards, II-521.





- Day, Mr. II-513.
- Debts, from Rajapur merchants I—399 (pp. 291, 294); from Sh. to be paid up in plate II-191; to be made up from prize of vessels II-202; from Darya sarang II-341; from Shivaji and Ali Vora II-354;
- Deccan, I—480, II—249, 533, 534
- Queen of [Bijapur], mercenary I-1 (p. 1);—King of [Bija] I-475; II-283; forces repulsed by Shivaji I-95; II-114, (army) civil war I-96, 388;—Rajas I—245;—and mogals I-251; II-101 (Sh. Desai of all Mogal countries in Deccan), II-272, 355 (Prince in Deccan), Currency I-337; Shivaji intends a Sharp war I-366;—trade opening of ways I-476 (p. 358); II-17, 77, 319, 262;—(trade-destroyed); 329 (trade customs); Umbrave II—235, 293;—English Factories in distress II-350.
- Deccan Party [of Bijapur Umbraves]. II-266;—and Golconda II-292; fight with Nabob Bahlol Khan II-161, 279;—Siddi Masaud, Chief II-250;—defeats Mogal allies of Nabob Bahlol Khan II-272 (p. 150);—better soldiers II—272 (p. 150); approach Bijapur II-273; army against Shivaji II-283, 296; take Bijapur II—276; 285; 292, 322;—besseige Panhala II-360;—peace with Bahlol Khan II-268;—peace with Shivaji II-393, 467;—Sh. intends to given Conkan II-444.
- Delhi II-202, 272, 459, II-533, 538.
- Delikhan (Dilleele, Dillil, Dillir) opposes peace with Bijapur I-116;—massacres Poona people I-287;—and Shivaji I-126, 256, 262, 288, 310, 322, 388, II-299;—Sh. beats off D. from Salher I-293, rout by Shivaji I-441, II-59; comes to Nasik II-283; routs Shivaji II-447;—and Muazzam I-251;—recalled to court I-479, 481, 483;—and English—Comes to Surat I-263, 361, 410;—and Bijapur;—Succours Bahlol Khan I-451;—at Gulburga II-236;—takes Gulburga II-248; defeated II-266, 274, 285; alliance with siddi Masaud II-279; besseiges Bijapur II-473;—and Bahadur Khan II-250, —and Bahlol Khan II-261, 272;—and Siddi II-302;—and Sambhaji II-352 362;—robbes Athani II-393, 467.
- Dellon, Dr., remarks II-537.
- Dharangaon (Dungunn, Dungom) trade I-331, 459;—letters to I-483, II-523;—letters from II-49, 459;—Austens narrative of embassy for, II-122. Factory, destroyed II-56, 77, 143 (p. 70); 454, 460, 471;—Circumstances discussed II-122-p. 70; satisfaction demanded II-75, 76, 103, carthire at II-215.
- Dharwad.—Engl. to retire to II-323; Engl. remove copper to II-496.
- Dhopeswar II-453.
- Diamond I-3.
- Diamond merchants invited to settle in Bombay II-349.
- Dicholi [see Bicholim] retaken by Rustum Jeman I-126.
- Dieu (Dill, Dio) [Port.] Armada defeated by Arabs I-442;—Armada embargoes Engl. vessels II-74.
- Dispatch I-240.
- Divali II-110 (p. 64), 113.
- Donguerry II-533.
- Doolshaws II-250.
- Dorogy [Sh. Commander, Rajapur] I-4, 7;—Engl. propose taking of Danda Rajapur to I-26 (p. 25).
- Dove [gurab] II-421, 422, 448;—lost II-421;—loss a weakening II-437; damages for II-486;—declaration re seizure of II-489.
- Dow, quoted II-(533 p. 330).
- Drum, use of I-290.
- Dulam Port I-421.
- Dungom see Dharangaon.
- Durbar Journal I-321.
- Durmapatam II-353.
- Durvice, heir to Bija. Crown, I-26 (p. 28)
- Dutch, enimical to Port. I-1 (p. 2) I-388—Chief in Vengurla I-3; R. J. wants to entertain I-11;—agent to Bija against the Port. I-17.—East India Coy. I-24,—populating Cochin I-59;—factories I-61, II-541;—riches from Cochin I-63;—in surat (first sack) I-73 (p. 61), 76.—war with Engl. I-114, 144, 360, 375, 382, 392, 409, 425 II-50, 123;—intend to settle at Rajapur I-115;—fall out with Bija. (in Vengurla) I-121.—House in surat (second sack) I-233, 237;—defend Swally I-244;—give presents I-263.—Bombay alarmed by I-343, 357;—difference with Shivaji I-324, 344;—agreement with Sh. to take Bombay I-345;—hamper Bombay trade I-385, 445.—Sh. letter to I-300—estimate of trade I-435;—affronted by surat Gov. II-46.—supply of rice II-200.—Customs revived II-518—help sought by Surat Gov. II-536 (p. 343)





## E.

*Eagle* I-25.  
*East India Company, Kings Charter* to, I-34.  
*East Indies, trade* I-34, 39.  
*Eastern Princes, grave proceedings* in disputes, I-159.  
*Edward Austin [Carwar] visits Sh.* II-89, 90.  
*Edward Herrys [Fort St. George]* II-225.  
*Edward Winter, Sir [Fort St. George]* II-255.  
*Ekoji [Sh. brother] (Eecogee, Yeekogee)* already at Bijapur, I 103—intends to descend upon Carnatak I-334—sets up himself II-162—Sh. pillages Timmery in country of II-232—comes to Trimalwadi to visit Shivaji II-241.—Janardan Pant marches against II-241—alliance with Nayaks II-246.—fight with Santoji II-264—firm peace with Shivaji II-299.  
*Elephants of war* II-261.  
*England, I-200, 202, II-386, —to enlarge dominions in India* I-39—S. master returns to I-221—Sh. to be given everything that E. affords I-271—market for manufactures of I-349, 409 (p. 302)—fleet for or from I-438, 459, II-392, 529—goods for II-443—Keigwins experience in sea-fights, II-386.  
*English, the* I-1, 357, II-211, 518—fleet I-403, 481; Success against the Dutch I-481—merchants character I-53 (p. 45, 46)—hopes of accommodation with Sh. I-59.—defence arrangements in Surat (1664) I-73—free customs I-85, 86, 88—leave Hubli I-107,—negotiations for Pen I-147—Women from England I-140—reprisals against Sh. I-69, 144, 145, 148—(*Surat*) policy with Sh. I-163, 165, 167, 187, 191, 227, 298 (Conciliatory), 268 (secret help for Danda R. II-86 (Raj), II-67 (Carwar)—(Bombay) plans about Danda Rajapur I-171—(*Surat*) policy about Danda Rajapur I-173; policy of friendship for all I-191, 377 (must bear insults), 382, 384 (of dissembling), II-105, 339 (amicable overtures), 351, (forbear-assisting either).—and Prince Muazzam I-209, 210—policy about presents I-210—Caphilas II-24.—envoy at Sh. Court II-172—passes

II-184, 353—without allies (Hendry Kendry) II-427—to stand on the defensive against Siddi II-441—requested for help (Surat) II-536 (p. 343)—pious fraud in religion I-149—recontre with Sh. vessels I-153—demand of ready money for Rajapur I-156—fire at the French in Rajapur I-157—powerless against Sh. I-167—factors' plans against Sh. I-167—weight to public interests I-336 (p. 235), 392 (p. 284)—hard and ticklish game of politics I-336 (p. 234)—trade inspection of country I-347, 349—the only nation compensated for loss by Sh. I-429 (p. 316), I-399 (p. 292)—Sh. has Kindness for I-407 (p. 299), Sh. much a friend I-449 (p. 315)—Shivaji undervalues assistance I-399 (p. 292)—prefer Bombay Island to Surat trade I-410 (p. 303), 420,—popular idea of the wealth of I-451 (p. 330)—letter to Surat Gov. I-466.—hoy bought by Alheri Havaladar I-370 (p. 271)—asked away from Sh. Camp II-241—a disservice to Sh. II-340.  
*English Arms, terrible* II-337.  
*English Coinage* I-337, 423—free circulation in Sh. Country I-481.  
*English Commerce—compared with others* I-435;—confined to Ports I-473.  
*English Factories, Sh. cauls for* I-122, 127.  
*English King orders to recover Engl. loss at Rajapur* I-370 (p. 270).—regarded only a Desai or Jamindar II-310.  
*English language,—to be taught* I-149  
*English Laws, proclaimed in Bombay* I-313, 342  
*English nation, respected at Raj.* II-61 (pp. 42-43).  
*English vessel, made prize by Port.* I-397.  
*Ensign Adderton, I-294, 297, 299.*  
*Ensign Daniel Hughes—see Daniel Hughes.*  
*Ensign John Flemming* II-403.  
*Escalot, Rev. John* I-25,—letter from I-79.  
*Essaji Raja, I-165, 193—beginning of Engl. correspondence* I-162.  
*Etgerre [Yadgiri] Sh. plunders* II-82  
*Ethiopia* I-79;—ambassador from II-536 (p. 345).  
*Etiquette of negotiations—presents customary* I-55 (p. 49).





Europe I-237, 373, 382, 435, II-537.—  
goods I-347, 349, II-202—iron  
esteemed I-428—Ships II-4, 87,  
318, 369, 409, 433, 439, 515, 524.  
Europeans II-533 (p. 331), 534 (p.  
337).—any nation may cooperate  
with Sh. against Bombay II-342—  
factories II-533 (p. 329).  
Everaji (Rajapur) II-480.  
Experiment I-233, 237, 375.

## F.

Factors at Rajapur, letters from I-11,  
14, 15, 16, 17.

Farman, reception of II-253.

Farrand, Mr. I-77, 81.

Farren, Mr. I-57.

Fatte Khan, (Futty C.), I-245.

Fatte Khan,—see Siddi Fatte Khan.  
*Falcon* II-23.

Fazal Khan (Fazell, Fosell)—joins  
forces with Rustum Jemah I-3—  
letters to I-5—junks I-6—inter-  
view with Henry Revrington I-14  
—gets Dabhol and Chiptun from  
Adilshah I-67—comes against Sh.  
I-91, 288; inveterate enemy of Sh.  
I-288.

Fighting, prolonged between Mogals  
and Bijapur I-125.

Finch, Sir John,—letter to I-134.

Fisher, Capt. Robert, commission to  
II-184.

Fisher's point II-225, 255.

Fleet [English]—makes ready I-403  
—strength of II-396.—ordered back  
from Hendry Kendry to Bombay  
II-479.

Fleet [French] makes ready I-403.

Fleet [Mogal] II-125—against Shi-  
vaji I-312, 340—from Goga I-318  
—for Danda Rajapur I-328.

Fleet [Shivaji] II-119, 131—pitiful  
things I-96 (p. 93)—in Bombay I-  
230.—at Nagaon I-235—bound for  
Surat I-238—recalled by Shivaji  
I-242—rides in Bombay I-243—re-  
turns to Dabhol I-249—from Da-  
bhol to Bombay I-275—brush with  
Mogal fleet I-329—out in sea I-416  
—friendly to English I-425—at Hen-  
dry Kendry II-373 *et. seq.*; 384, 385,  
—soundly banged II-416—assault  
on Hendry II-472.

Forster, Mr. I-1.

Foster, Sir William I-79.

Fort of Sibon II-134.

Fort St. George I-313, II-263, 264—  
letters from I-319, 334, II-20, 92, 93,

232, 233, 246, 252, 253, 259, 264,  
267, 299, 306—consultations II-222  
224, 225, 231, 255—medicines for  
Sh. II-224, 226—presents to Sh. II-  
231—new fortifications II-232—  
letter to Shivaji II-233—alarmed  
by Sh. II-252—policy with Sh.  
II-255.

*Fortune*,—II-405, 407, 408, 422, 431,  
432, 456.

France, I-434, II-531 (p. 323)—  
probable war with Engl II-211.

Francis Day, I-393, 395, 399.

Francis Manliverer, petition of II-  
490.

Francis Thorpe, Lieut II-309. also  
see Thorpe F.

Francis Xavier, St. II-534 (p. 341).

French, the I-233, 236, 237, 244, 263,  
294, 300; II-44, 45, 227, 449, 518,  
533 (pp. 331-2);—settle at Raja-  
pur and visit Shivaji I-156, 157;  
—ship fired at by Engl. I-157;—  
factory I-213;—King, slighted  
by Bahadur Khan I-236;—  
furnish powder and shot to Sh.  
I-233 (pp. 68-69), II-44, 45;—peace  
with Sh. I-233 (pp. 169-170);—lord  
I-376, 387;—Hoy I-370; pink II-  
15;—fleet I-403;—guns sent to  
Rajapur I-417;—affronted by Surat  
Gov. II-46;—cost of House at  
Rajapur II-60;—go to see Shivaji  
(Rajapur) II-81 (p. 46).

Fryer, Dr. II-15, 22, 23, 533 (p. 330)

## G

Gangavali I-486 (p. 370).

Ganges II-534.

Gape, John, II-386, 399, 485;—letter  
to II-487.

Garapa River [?] II-491.

Gary, Capt., negotiates for Penn I-  
147.

Gary, Henry I-59, 141, II-437; talks  
with the siddi re Hendry Kendry  
II-437; letter from I-76; (Goa)  
I-98; (Bombay) I-108, 178.

Garway, letter from I-18.

Gasalcoty Timmaya II-230, 236, 240.  
also see Timmanaya.

Gasty Khan [Surat Gov.], (Ghasty),  
I-152; II-127, 151, 168, 286, 414,  
419.

George I-180, 181, 183, 236.

George Bowcher, Mr. II-353.

George Cole II-380.

George Oxinden, sir, [President of  
surat] I-76, 79. also see Oxenden.





- George Robinson, Mr. I-470, 486; II-23, 27.
- George Wilcox, Mr; I-281, 213, 343.
- Gerugee Raja [?], I-358.
- Gerald Aungier, (Gerrurd), I-236, 486;—goes to Mahabat khan I-78 (p. 70);—sallies forth upon Sh. I-79 (p. 76);—letters from I-46, 137, 335, 435, 454; II-38;—Shivaji's letter to, I-455;—President of surat I-237 (p. 174), I-358;—prevented from embarking to Bombay I-253;—receives a deputation from agrieved Banians I-176;—friendly messages from Sh. I-185;—hopeful of Sh. Debt I-185;—narrative of treaties with Shivaji I-399;—in Bombay II-38, 43;—instructions to Gyfford II-123;—died II-260, 347;—debts due to II-354.
- Gerveas Lucas, sir, I-161.
- Ghodbundar (Gor-) I-309.
- Gingy, (Chingy, Chengy, Chindi)—treats with Golconda II-162;—Sh. marches against II-222, 232, 252;—taken by Sh. II-247, 263, 272;—santagi left in II-264;—Bijapur Viceroy at II-263.
- Giridhardas (Gerther, Girder) I-151, 268, 282, 283; II-2, 24, 141, 165, 169, 174, 317;—better respected II-169.
- Giviny [Bija. frontiers] II-261 (p. 144).
- Goa I-1, 26; II-113, 531, 532, 533, 534, 537;—letters from I-97, 99;—Engl. propose to occupy I-1 (pp. 2, 3);—limit of Bija. ports I-31;—Sh. intention to go to I-62; II-150;—threatened by Sh. I-81; II-79, 88;—Sh. plot discovered I-152, 156;—preparations against Sh. I-152; II-437;—Muazzam's embassy to I-199, 212;—Sh. takes a hill near Goa I-365;—a den of pirates I-433;—grain transported from Bombay II-201;—Sh. gets engineers from II-251.
- Goa Viceroy I-329, 448;—letters from II-100;—Sh. ambassador to I-81;—comes to the north I-329;—war with the Dutch I-388;—pursues Arabs I-448;—declares war against Sh. I-428;—Engl. treaty with II-50;—privately assits Punda against Sh. II-81.
- God Mars II-535 (p. 342).
- Goga (Gogo) I-318; II-3, 74.
- Goidron [Govindram?] II-89.
- Gokarna,—Sh. expected at I-103;—returns to I-107.
- Golbander I-204.
- Golconda, jewels I-479.
- Golconda,—also see Bhaganagar [King of] II-531; *et. seq.*—helps Bija. I-19, 143; allied with Bijapur II-240;—afraid of Mogals I-111;—peace with Mogals I-388; II-248;—furnishes money to Sh. I-393, 394, 407;—Sh. plunders cities II-82;—Sh. correspondent in II-141;—as mediator II-175;—intrigues with Sh. II-225 (p. 120), 232;—Sh. powerful in country II-231;—Sh. General of II-232;—assemblage of great persons II-230;—differences with Sh. II-232;—reconciles Sh. II-259;—biding time against Sh. II-246;—reduces tribute money II-250;—Victorious over Bija. II-250, 259;—fort furnished II-250;—letter to II-232;—war with Mogals, varying fortunes II-261;—retrieves defeat by Mogals II-261;—worsted II-264;—secret help to Bijapur II-473.
- Golden fleece II-51.
- Goldsborough, Capt. II-423, 460, 477—Commission to II-428.
- Gombroon I-26, 445; letters from I-155, 229.
- Gondelee II-459.
- Good Charulo II-250.
- Goods—in Sh. Country II-2; supply for Europe II-202.
- Goodyer, Mr. I-78.
- Goring, Mr., II-329.
- Govind Nayak I-344, 265, 461.
- Granadoc shells, I-14, 21 etc.;—agreement between Eng. and Bijapur Queen I-15—inquiry about II-73—how disposed of II-140—in Rajapur and Sh. I-399 (p. 291).
- Gray, Mathew, I-1, 26, 137, 237, 313, 406;—letter from [Bombay] I-190;—letter from [Swally] I-293, 416.
- Grigby (Grighie) I-197, 289, 326, 327.
- Grosse, Mr. I-84.
- Guddug, robbed by Sh. II-262, 304.
- Gulburga (Calubariga) II-236, 248, 273;—taken by Mogals II-250.
- Gundavee I-74, 80, 263, 307, 310, 326, 327; II-34, 223;—burnt by Sh. army II-40;—Sh. army garrisoned in II-227—229; Sh. army winters in, II-229.
- Guns—I-369, 370, 420, II-291—Engl. sell to Shivaji I-183 (p. 143 lines 28-29);—Sh. request to Bombay I-183, 268;—Shivaji and the French I-213, 417, 419;—French