

## Contemporary Accounts of Raja Shiva Chhatrapati and His Successors from 17<sup>th</sup> Century French and Dutch Print Media, Part – 1<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

Newspapers are one of the few surviving records types documenting an event's history. In the process of historical writings, newspaper articles are always considered as a secondary or tertiary source of information. However, newspaper can be considered as primary source when limited contemporary sources are available for studying history. While newspapers are valuable as sources, issues arise when people rely only on them while reconstructing history. History is generally written based on new perspectives and interpretations of sources already in existence. Using newspapers alone can lead one to be misinformed about the time period being researched. Newspaper articles may include errors and discrepancies due to misreported events, unreliable sources, or political slants and biases. On the other hand, newspapers are intended to be a reliable source of information, especially when they are published 'By Authority' and the contents are meant to be regarded as official information. It is in this context that government used this medium to crush rumors and provide the readership with authoritative information.<sup>2</sup>

### 'La Gazette':

During the sixteenth century, '*relations*' or eyewitness reports - veritable and false - were commonly printed and circulated all over Europe as a nascent form of news, competing with manuscript *nouvelles à main* (news sheets). They talked about politics and royal policies. For the most part, they were pure narrative accounts of events, with no analysis.<sup>3</sup> Under Chief Minister Cardinal Richelieu (1624-1642), the French crown had taken steps to wrest control of official information and news management away from the Parliament.<sup>4</sup> According to the '*Dictionnaire des journaux*', the decade of the 1680s saw the birth of thirty French periodicals against seventeen in the 1670s (twenty six in the 1690s).<sup>5</sup> In 1680s, the European information market included French newspapers viz. *la Gazette de Renaudot* (1631-1792), *les Relations véritables* (Anvers, 1652-1741), *les gazettes d'Amsterdam* (1663-1795), *la Gazette de Londres* (1666-1705), *la Gazette de Toulouse* (1673-1752), *la Gazette de Leyde* (1677-1811), *la Connaissance des temps* (1679-1789), *les Nouvelles solides et choisies* (1683-1689), *l'Histoire abrégée de l'Europe* (1686-1688), *le Mercure historique et politique* (1686-1782), *les Affaires du temps* (1688-1689), *les Considérations politiques* (1688-1690), *les Lettres sur les matières du temps* (1688-1690), *la Gazette de Liège* (1688-1794), *la Quintessence des Nouvelles* (1689-1730), *la Gazette de Berne* (1689-1787), *la Gazette d'Utrecht* (1689-1787)<sup>6</sup>

The controversial physician, philanthropist and publisher Théophraste Renaudot (1586–1653) was the first in France to market relations. Beginning in 1631, he published *'La Gazette'* (*la Gazette de Renaudot*), where he printed relations, government reports, treaties, and other official documents. Printing relations turned them into the news; *'La Gazette'* was the documentary ancestor to the newspaper.<sup>7</sup> It immediately became a propaganda tool for Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu, always edited under high official surveillance. Its audience was mainly the sword and robe nobility.<sup>8</sup> Cardinal Richelieu supported Renaudot's publication and used it as an arm of propaganda. *'La Gazette'*, as proto-newspaper comprised of *'relations'* supported the positions of the crown.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, the Paris Parliament, however, saw a threat in Renaudot, who practiced free medicine for the poor as well as publishing state information. After the death of Richelieu, Renaudot was put on trial, and his operations were closed down. The Paris Parliament and, later, Colbert made it clear that they did not like state documents being published unless it was to directly support their own political authority.<sup>10</sup> After Théophraste Renaudot, Jacques Renaudot owned the state monopoly to publish *'La Gazette'*.<sup>11</sup> After Jacques, the periodical went in the hands of Father Eusebius III Renaudot, grand-son of the founder and an expert in close communication of the Court.



**Fig. 1: Monograms of the newspaper *La Gazette*<sup>12</sup> and *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*.**

*'La Gazette'* became France's, and Europe's, first continuing newspaper, published till 1792.<sup>13</sup> In 1680 it was reprinted in six cities viz. Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Tours.<sup>14</sup> This newspaper appeared weekly, often accompanied (until the mid-1670s) by special supplements called *'relations'* and *'extraordinaires'*. *'La Gazette'* was composed mainly of political and military news dispatches from correspondents in capitals all over the world and gave scant attention to the arts.<sup>15</sup> This was an epoch of international competition in the market of information and the rise of the Dutch newspapers. That's why to satisfy the curiosity of readers for world affairs; *'La Gazette'* started publishing international news.

### News Reports Associated With Raja Shiva Chhatrapati

The first reference to the prospect of news regarding Chhatrapati Shivaji in the British newspaper was predicted by Mehendale in his magnum opus '*Shri Raja Shiva Chhatrapati*'.<sup>16</sup> Based on these guidelines, one news report citing the name of Chhatrapati Shivaji published in English newspaper '*London Gazette*' was discovered by Palande-Datar.<sup>17</sup>

In 2011, I also came across two news articles published in French newspaper '*La Gazette*'. These news articles not only talk about Raja Shiva Chhatrapati, but also add some new information which can be verified by examining other historical records. These news articles, its transliteration, English translations were not published earlier and are now published here along with brief discussions and footnotes.

(1)

**La Gazette (n° 50, pp. 298-299, A Paris du Bureau d'Adresse, aux Galleries du Louvre devant la rue S. Thomas) le 22 Juin 1680 :** [p. 298] *De Surate Port de Mer dans les Etats du grand Mogol, le 4 Novembre 1679: Apres qu'Aureng Zebe en témoignant un grand zèle pour la Religion Mahométane, eut mit son père Chah Ihan (Jahan) dans une prison où il est mort, eut défait Dara & Sujah ses Frères aisnez, eut fait couper le col à Dara à caule qu'il beuvoit du vin contre la Loi de Mahomet, eut fait arrester Morad Bakche son Frère cadet, & se fut empire par ces Moens, de l'Empire des Indes, il songea à rendre ses Peuples heureux. Il commença à decharger les Mahométans de toutes forte d'imposts, & les Payens de la plus grande partie de ce qu'ils payoient. Il envoya des Commissaires dans de Provinces qu'il a voit gouvernées avant que de parvenir à la Couronne, & dans celics où il avoit paslé avec son Armée pour réparer tous les dommages qu'on avoit faits sous son nom, & fit payer à un Marchand d' Aureng-abad cent vingt cinq mill cécus qu'on lui avoit rabatus autrefois sur un compare d'estoffes qu'il lui avoit fournies: & parce que les Mahométans sont persuadez que si la nourriture qu'on prend est achetée d'un argent malacquis cette nourriture se changeant en la subs-*  
[p. 299] *-tance de l'homme le rend desagréable à Dieu, il ne mangeoit & ne beuvoit précisément que ce qu'il gaignoit par son travail journaliar en faisant des copies de l'Alcoran qu'il faisoit vendre en secret, de peur que les Omras ou Grandes Seigneurs Mahométans ne les acherasfent trop cher pour lui faire leur cour. Il avoit si grand peur que ses Sujets ne fussent tiranisez qu'il remplisoit les villes & les Provinces, d'Intendants, de Commissaires & de Controlleurs quis' accordoient ensemble pour pillar le Peuple, & payoit tribut aux Rois ses voisins, qui auparavant estoient tous ses tributaires, a fin d'empescher qu'il ne fislent des courses sur les Frontières de ses Etats, & ne ruinassent quelques pauvres Gens. Il n'entre plus dans le Haran où ses Femmes sont enfermées. Il continue tous jours de vivre avec la mis sur les Indiens qui sont Violâtres, un Impost dont il tirera des sommes immenses. Il*

*se lèvera sur tous les masles depuis l'aage de douze ans. Les pauvres payeront chacun cinq livres par an. Ceux qui ont cinq cens livres de bien payeront dix neuf fransparan (sic. frans par an). La plupart de Rajas ou Princes Indiens ne le veulent point souffrir, & sont prests à se révolter. Il y en a de jà plusieurs qui se sont donnez à Sevagi qui depuis quelques années a fait de grandes Conquestes dans l'Indoustan : & les autres menassent de suivre le parti de Sultan Mazum second Fils d'Aureng zébe qui a quitte la Cour & s'est retire dans une Province éloignée. Le Grand Mogol en paroist fort estonné depuis la mort de Sultan Mahmoud son Fils aisé qui este empoisonné, & qui l'auroit pû secourir avec les Forces du Roi de Golkonde dont il avoit épouse la Fille unique.*

**[English Translation: La Gazette (No. 50, pp. 298-299) 22 June 1680:** Surat, Sea Port in the Kingdom of Great Mogul, The 4th November 1679.<sup>18</sup> [p. 298] After witnessing a 'great zeal' for Mohammedan Religion, Aureng Zebe (Aurangzeb) put his father Chah Ihan (Shah Jahan) in prison, where he died; he defeated his elder Brothers Dara and Sujah, having Dara beheaded on the ground he had consumed wine in contravention of the law of Muhammad; he arrested his younger Brother Morad Bakche (Murad Bakhsh), and by these means he was then Emperor of India, and dreamt of making his People happy.<sup>19</sup> He began by exempting the Mohammedans from all taxes and the majority of tributes they owed. He sent Commissioners to the Provinces he had ruled before ascending the throne, and to those who had suffered the passage of his Army, in order to remedy all the damages which had occurred in his name, and he paid to a Merchant of Aurangabad 25,000 *cécus* (sic. *écus*?)<sup>20</sup> with whom he had formerly disputed for a case of fabrics, which he had formerly discounted to him for a case of fabrics that he (the Merchant) had supplied him.<sup>21</sup> And in order to persuade the Mohammedans that if the food they purchase is acquired with illicit money, this food turns into the same substance of human beings and becomes disagreeable to God, he only ate and drank precisely what he gained from his daily work by making copies of the Quran which were then sold secretly, fearing that the Omras or the Great Lords Mohammedans might offer too high a price to cajole him.<sup>22</sup> He feared so greatly that his Subjects might be tyrannized that he filled cities and Provinces with Agents, Commissioners and Inspectors who acted by mutual consent to tax the Population, and used to pay tributes to his neighbours Kings, who all seemed to be his tributaries, in order to prevent turmoil's on the borders of his States and thus the ruin of poor People. He no longer enters the Harem where his Women are enclosed. He continues to live on the [taxation] imposed over the Idolatrous Indians, a Duty from which immense sums must derive. It must be collected from all males above the age of twelve. The poor shall pay five livres every year. Those who possess five hundred livres of goods shall pay nineteen frans (livres ?) per year.<sup>23</sup> The majority of Rajas and Indian Princes do not want to suffer any longer, and are prepared to revolt. There are already several who

devoted themselves to Sevagi (Raja Shivaji), who obtained in few years considerable conquests within the Industan (Hindustan); and others are threatening to follow the party of Mazum Sultan (Qutb ud-Din Muhammad Muazzam later titled as Shah Alam), Aurangzeb's second Son who left the court and retired in a remote province. The Great Mogol appeared deeply touched by the death of his eldest Son Sultan Mahmoud, who was poisoned, and he might have been of help with the forces of the King of Golkonda whose daughter he had married.<sup>24]</sup>

In Europe, and particularly in England, a substantial amount of public attention was focused on the Mughals. An “*India Craze*” developed in the last generation of the century. In England, as elsewhere in Europe, the public was furnished with a substantial reading matter on Aurangzeb's realm written by first hand, acute, and well-informed observers. Many books and articles were written by English voyagers to India which quickly appeared in print.<sup>25</sup> We have a little information as regards how the news and other forms of information were transmitted to India from Europe and vice versa.<sup>26</sup>

This news report helps us to understand contemporary impression of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb from perspectives of Europeans. In the decade of 1680s, travel accounts from Mughal empire by French explorer(s): Jean-Baptiste Tavernier,<sup>27</sup> François Bernier,<sup>28</sup> Jean de Thévenot<sup>29</sup> became very popular in Europe. Louis Moréri's well-liked French Encyclopaedia, “*Le grand Dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*” (The Great Historical Dictionary, or Anthology of Sacred and Secular History) in its 1683 edition added biographical article on ‘Great Mughals’, which was also entirely based on the accounts of Thévenot and Bernier.<sup>30</sup> On 21<sup>st</sup> February 1671, Dutch newspaper ‘*Oprechte Haerlemsche Saterdagse Courant*’ had published a news announcing the release of new French book authored by Doctor François Bernier “*Histoire & Evenemens particuliers pendant la dernière Revolution, & ce qui s'est passé quelque temps après, dans les Etats du grand Mogol* ” in its edition<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 2: ‘Augustus representation’ of Aurangzeb, copper-plate engraving published by Nicolas De L’armessin in the year 1690 (Private collection).

Throughout Mughal India the succession struggle was high public drama. Rumour and gossip darted across the bazaars of every town and city. European traders collated and sent back reports to Europe on the crisis.<sup>32</sup> Well known English poet, literary critic, translator, and playwright John Dryden had written a popular drama ‘*Aurengzebe, a tragedy*’ in 1676, which was reprinted in 1685, 1694, 1732, 1735. It is loosely based on the characters of Aurangzeb (Aureng-zebe), the then-reigning Mughal Emperor of India; his brother, Murad Baksh (Morat); and their father, Shah Jahan (Emperor). The piece is the last drama that Dryden wrote in rhymed verse. It is considered his best heroic work. This play is entirely fictional and based on Bernier’s account of the Mughal court in the final days of Emperor Shah Jahan. Dryden had invented fictional character ‘Melisinda’, devoted wife of fickle, womanising Prince Murad. After the death of Murad in battle, she announces her intention to join Murad on the funeral pyre (i.e. Sati), which formed climax in this play. The play was first performed 17<sup>th</sup> November 1675 by the King’s Company at the Theatre Royal<sup>33</sup>.

However, this news report clearly cites Aurangzeb’s ‘blind zeal’, fanaticism and intolerance against Hindus. From the beginning of his reign, Aurangzeb had demonstrated bigotry by persecuting Hindus in various ways. Aurangzeb started exempting Mohammedans from all taxes they owed and imposed Jaziya on idolatrous Indians (Hindus).<sup>34</sup> English records depict the miserable condition of Hindus, “*This kings (Aurangzeb) daies (days) more precizenes (preciseness) in his Mahometen religion hath greatly distributed the whole kingdom.....not to all minding any thing of his kingdome, but gives himselfe wholly upon the converting, or rather perverting the Baniyas etc. and pulling downe the places of their idolitrous worship, erecting muskeets (mosques) in their roome*”. Aurangzeb issued an order on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1669 to the governors of all provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and strongly put down their teachings and religious practices. This ‘blind zeal’ for wanton iconoclasm and religious persecution was challenged by none of the Hindu princes except Shivaji who had taken upon himself the sacred duty of protecting the Hindu religion against Moslem and Christian onslaughts. A letter by Englishman Gary implies that Shivaji declared war against Aurangzeb when he began to persecute the Hindus and that this war was expected to last long, “*The archrebel Sevagee is againe engaged in armes against nature of Orangsha, who, out of a ‘blinde zeale’ for reformation, hath demolished many of the Gentues (Hindu) temples and forceth many to turne Musselemins....Decan is like to bee (be) seat of waree (war)...*”.<sup>35</sup>

This news report also reminds me of a copper-plate engraving depicting ‘Augustus representation’ of Aurangzeb along with some information in French, which was included by Nicolas De L’armessin in his ‘*Les Augustes représentations de tous les rois de France*’ compiled in 1690 (fig.2). This engraving was printed at Pomme d’or Press, S<sup>t</sup> Severin, Paris<sup>36</sup> after it was privileged by

the emperor.<sup>37</sup> The French writing available on this engraving gives very similar information as available in the first news report which we have already seen. It talks about, “murder of brothers and imprisonment of father by Aurangzeb; imposition of commutation-money or Jaziya on idolatrous Indians; most of the Rajas or Great Lords are ready to revolt and some want to follow the party of the rebel Seva-Gi (Raja Shivaji), who has for a few years devastated much land in Indostan (“ *ta pluspart des Rajas, ou Grands seigneurs sont prest à se revolter les uns veulent suivre le party du rebelle Seva-Gi, qui a depuis quelques annees ravage beaucoup de terres dans l’Indostan*”); rebel of Aurangzeb’s son Mu’azzam and death of Aurangzeb’s favorite son Mohammad Sultan”.<sup>38</sup> It is also possible that information printed on the engraving and the details available in the news report are based on the same source (dated 4<sup>th</sup> September 1679 ?).<sup>39</sup>

## (2)

**La Gazette (n° 88, pp. 549-550, A Paris du Bureau d’Adresse, aux Galleries du Louvre devant la rue S. Thomas) le 19 Octobre 1680:** [549] *D’Hispanan Capitale de Perse, le 1<sup>r</sup> Mars 1680 : Le Soleil d’Orient vaisseau de la Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales arriva le 1 de Fevrier au port de Gamron pres de l’isle d’Ormus. Il n’en estoit jamais venu un si grand dans cette mer. Il est de 1200 tonneaux: & monté de 200 hommes, avec 70 pièces de cannon. Il a sait une Carguaison fort avantageuse, à caufe que les Anglois ont esté obligez d’envoyer tous leurs vaifleaux à Bombayn, pour defendre cette place contre le Raja Sévagi ; qui, après avoir pillé la ville de Danga qui n’en est pas loin, menace de l’assiéger. Bombayn a este cédé aux Anglois avec Tanger, par les Portugais en faveur du mariage de l’Infante Catherine aprésent Reyne d’Angleterre. Le Prince Sévagi continüe ses conquests avec un grand succes. Il a depuis deux ans, défait Cercan Loudy Prince dépendant du Roy de Visiapour: & s’est emparé de toutes ses terres sitiées sur la coste de Coromandel au Sud de Méliapour, entre les Estats de Tanjaor & ceux du Roy de Golconde. Il a presque rüiné le Roy de Visiapour dont il estoit sujet autrefois, & s’est rendu maistre de tous les pays depuis Sourat jusqu’au dela de Goa, à la réserve de fix ou sept places sur la coste : de forte que les terres qu’il a conquis s’étendent depuis Sourat jusqu’aupres de Négapatan, & ont pres de 250 lieües de longueur. Le 23 du mois de Ianvier (Janvier) dernier, la ville de Masulipatan, où se faisoit la plus grande partie du commerce du Royaume de Golconde, fut sumergeé par les eaux de la mer, & par vne plüie extraordinaire Durant un furieux Houragan. On asteure qu’il y eut 25 mille personnes noyées & que la perte des marchandises est de 20 millions. Il est tombé une plüie de sang Durant deux heures, dans le village de Sohon pres de Dely: où de Grand Mogol fait sa résidence. Une partie de la de Sougen pres d’Agra a esté abymée par un tremblement de terre. Le Calife de Mascate en Arabie est mort & a laislé deux fils qui se font la guerre pour cette Principauté. Les deux fils de Cheravaskan en Prince de*

*Georgie sont aussi en guerre pour les Estats de leur père. L'Aîné avec 30 mille homes, s'est emparé de Teflis qui en est la capitale : & a obligé son frère, quoy qu'appüyé par le Roy de Perse, à s'enfermer dans une forteresse. Le 21 de Ianvier (Janvier), ce Roy fit arracher les yeux à son Chancelier parce qu'il l'avoit regardé trop familièrement : & il a fait couper la main à un autre de ses principaux Ministres pour un sujet encore plus leger.*

**[English Translation: La Gazette (No. 88, pp. 549-550, 19 October 1680):** Hispahan (Ispahan), The Capital of Perse (Persia), The 1<sup>st</sup> March 1680.<sup>40</sup> (549) 'Soleil d'Orient' (The Sun of Orient)<sup>41</sup>, sailing ship of the French East India Company, arrived at the port of Gamron on the Island of Hormuz on February 1st. No one had ever seen such a large vessel in this sea. It is of 1,200 tons weight; equipped with 200 men and 70 pieces of cannons. It had got a superior loading capacity. The English to send all their sailing ships to Bombay (Mumbai), to defend this place from Raja Sévagi (Shivaji), who reached the city of Danga (sic. Danda), which is not far away, and he threatened to put it under siege. Bombay together with Tangier was ceded to the English by the Portuguese in exchange for the marriage of the Infanta Catherine later Queen of England.<sup>42</sup> The Prince Sévagi (Raja Shivaji) continued his conquests with great success. In two years he managed to defeat the Prince Cercan Loudy (Sherkhan Lodhi), vassal of the King of Visiapour (Bijapur), and he seized all his lands located on the Coromandel Coast in South Meliapour, between the States of Tanjor (Tanjore) and those of the King of Golconde (Golkonda). He almost ruined the King of Visiapour to whom he was formerly subjected, and was made the ruler of all the countries from Surat to Goa with the exception of six or seven places along the coast. The wide lands he conquered extend from Surat to the vicinity of Negapatan for nearly 250 lieües<sup>43</sup> of length. On the 23rd of the last month of January the city of Masulipatan, the major trading centre of the Kingdom of Golkonde, was flooded by the waters of the sea and the extraordinary rains during a furious Hurricane. We heard of 25 thousand people drowned and of 20 million commercial losses<sup>44</sup> and a shower of blood fell for two hours in the village of Sohon near Delhi, where the Great Mogul has his residence. A part of Sougen nearby Agra was shipwrecked following an earthquake. The caliph (Imam) of Muscate (Muscat) died and left 2 children who are at war for his Principality. The 2 children of Cheravaskan, Prince of Georgia, are also at war with the claim of the states of their father. The eldest, heading 30,000 men, seized Teflis (Tiflis) which is the capital, and forced his brother who was supported by the King of Persia to retreat into a fortress. On the 21st of January, the King did tear his eyes to his Chancellor's since he had looked at him with too familiar a glance; he did cut his hand to another one of his senior ministers for a reason even more trivial].<sup>45</sup>

This news report recounts two very important events from the biography of Raja Shivaji:

1. First, it discusses conflict of Raja Shivaji with Council of Mumbai. We know that, from August 1679, Raja Shivaji began fortifying Khanderi Island. The Mumbai council was fully aware of the importance of this Island so they decided to intervene and made several attempts to stop the construction by sending blockading squadrons. In October 1679, Council of Mumbai learnt that Raja Shivaji's 4000 Maratha soldiers were assembled at Kalyan-Bhiwandi with the intention of descending upon Mumbai by way of Thane, and had sent four messengers to the Portuguese Captain General at Vasai asking for a passage through his territory. The Portuguese Captain refused to grant it whereupon the Maratha threatened to force a passage and marched to Panvel in their own territory opposite Turbhe. On 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 1679, Mumbai Council feared that their intention was to embark in seven large *Gurabs* that they had in readiness and descent upon Mumbai. Therefore Mumbai council instructed Keigwin to send back two *Shibads* for the defence of Mumbai as soon as he heard or saw the guns of Mumbai firing. In this news 'Danda' (Danda-Rajpuri), name of a town in the Siddi's territory is misspelt as 'Danga'. On 10th November 1679 Siddi's flotilla reached Mumbai and soon they arrived off Khanderi. Siddi occupied Underi Island and several skirmishes and battles were fought and gunfire was continuously exchanged between the two warring parties. According to dispatch dated 8th April 1680, Surat Council had reported the conclusion of the treaty with Raja Shivaji.<sup>46</sup>
2. The second important event noted in the news report is a complete defeat of Sher Khan Lodhi. This episode was witnessed by François Martin and same is narrated in his *Mémoires*. After his surrender Sher Khan with only 20 troops, went to the forests of Ariyalur and promised to leave Ariyalur reached to Madura or Mysore. Sher Khan then took refuge with Nayaka of Maravar tribe (Setupati of Ramanad) and very little is known about him thereafter.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting to note that there are very few contemporary sources which note the extent of Raja Shivaji's kingdom. The present news report notes, the extent of Raja Shivaji's kingdom of nearly 250 *lieües* from Surat to Negapatnam, which covers distance of approximately 895 kilometres.

### **First News Reports Regarding Loot of Surat in Other French and Dutch Newspapers**

During the reign of Louis XIV, several French Protestants (Huguenots) fled to the Netherlands, several of them started publishing newspapers in French which was the '*lingua franca*' of Europe, these papers were known as '*Gazettes étrangères*' (foreign gazettes) in France. The Gazette d'Amsterdam, known in France as '*Gazette d'Hollande*', was an outstanding newspaper of its time and had long been considered the principal European journal of political information. Another newspaper '*Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*' was a Dutch weekly initially published by Abraham

Casteleyn<sup>48</sup>, beginning in 1656 under the title ‘*Weeckelycke Courante van Europa*’ (Weekly Newspaper of Europe). In 1664, when the authorities took steps to protect the weekly from its imitators, it became known as ‘*De Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*’ (The genuine newspaper of Haarlem). There are some news records which don’t mention the name of Raja Shivaji but these are related to him.

(1)

Dutch newspaper *Oprechte Haerlemsche Saterdagse Courant* (No. 26, 26 June 1671, Page 2) records first report of plunder of Surat by Raja Shivaji: “*Londen den 23 Juny. Hier zijn weder twee Schepen uyt Oost Indien gearriveert, te weten, her Casteel van Barkelaey, komt van Suratte, eude de Constantinopelsse Coopman, kolendre van Bantem ; met dat van Suratte heeft men Tydinge, hoe dat seecker Rebel aldaer de Stadt Suratte had in brandt gensteecken; sulckx dat meer als de helft van gemelde stadt was afgebrandt:dese Indiaensse Rebel was genaemt Hemnibol: d’Engelsse en Duytse Logie en waren door dese brandt niet beschadight*”.

[**English Translation:** *London, the 23rd June. Two ships from the East Indies have again arrived here, namely, the ‘Castle of Barkelaey’ (Casteel van Barkelaey), comes from Surat, and the ‘Constantinople Merchant’ (Constantinopelsse Coopman), arrived from Bantam. With the one from Surat, tidings were received how a certain rebel there had put on fire the city Surat, such that more than half of the mentioned city was burned down. This Indian rebel was named Hemnibol (Hannibal?). The English and Dutch lodges were not damaged by this fire*”.]

The date of this news is earlier than the report published in English newspaper *London Gazette* (No. 589, From Thursday, July, 6 to Munday, July 10, 1671, p.1) which was discovered earlier by Palande-Datar.<sup>49</sup> Based on same event a news report account was published in Dutch newspaper *Oprechte Haerlemsche Saterdagse Courant* (No. 34, 22 Augusti 1671, Page 1): “*VRANCKRYCK: Marsielja den 4 Augusti. Het Schip de St. Pieter in Compagnie van noch een ander, zijn hier van Aleppogearriveert, mancqueren van daer 70 Dagen; met deselve heeft men Tydingeuyt Indien over Bassora, wegens de Stadt Suratte, dat deselve door den Rebel met 15000 Paerden en eenighVoetvolck is overvallen ende uytgeplondert, hebben aldaer een grooten Roof gehaelt, en zijn doen weer deur gegaan ; indien den Grooten Mogol hier tegen niet en kan versien, is het met den Handel aldaergedaan*”.

[**English Translation:** “*FRANCE: Marseille the 4 of August. The ship St. Peter, in accompany of still another, have arrived here in 70 days from Aleppo; with these ships news from India arrived from Bassora (Basra, Iraq), about the city of Surat, that this city had been attacked by the Rebel with*”]

*15000 horses and some foot-soldiers and plundered and that they had left with a large booty; if the Great Mughal can't do anything against it, the trade here will be finished.”].*

Though the name Raja Shivaji is not directly mentioned in Dutch news reports, based on contemporary accounts, there is no doubt these reports talk about the plunder of Surat by Raja Shivaji in 1670. Here Raja Shivaji is styled ‘Hemnibol (Hannibal?)’, we know that, by virtue of his extraordinary qualities Raja Shivaji is several times revealed as “*Hanibal / Hanniball/ Haniball*” in contemporary European records. He is even called (or compared with) “*Hercules*”, “*Alexander the great*”, “*Atilla*”, “*Sertorius*”, “*Ceaser / Alexander*”, “*Gustave Adolfe*” (of Sweden) and “*King David*”.<sup>50</sup>

(2)

The news reporting a rumour regarding rebel Mughal Prince (supported by Raja Shivaji), against his father Aurangzeb is mentioned in French newspaper ‘*La gazette d’Amsterdam*’ (No.2, 31 Décembre 1670, page 4): “*.....la compagnie royale y a receu des lettres de Surate par la voye d’Alop, par lesquelles l’on en donne avis que le fils du Grand Mogol se voyant déshérite de son père, il s’est joint a un de ses sujets qui s’estoit soulève contre ce Prince, & avoit une armée de 30000 hommes sur pied, avec laquelle il avoit déjà pris plusieurs forteresses de ce pais la.*”.

[**English Translation:** *La gazette d’Amsterdam, 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1670, “..... The Royal company received a letters of Surat from Alop (Aleppo) which give us the news that the son of the Great Mogul, seeing that his father disinherited him, he has joined one of his subjects who had revolted against the Prince, and had an army of 30,000 men on foot, with which he had already taken several of this country’s fortresses”].* The same news item was also appeared in Dutch newspaper ‘*Oprechte Haerlemsche Dingsdaegse Courant*’ (No. 52, 29 December 1670, page 1)<sup>51</sup>

Actually, after Raja Shivaji had launched his offensive against the Mughals, Aurangzeb had ordered Dilir Khan to join Prince Muazzam, the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan against Raja Shivaji. A quarrel started between the Khan and the Prince by due to some mischief by Iftikhar Khan. Meanwhile, in Deccan there were wild rumours of civil war among the imperialists and it was even thought that Sultan Muazzam the Mughal’s son who resides at Aurangabad being assisted by Shivaji and other princes has raised a vast army and is intended against his father. This rumour is reflected in despatches of English East India Company.<sup>52</sup>

(To be continued.....)

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### Notes and References

1. Brief details of these News reports were included in my presentations during the fortnightly meeting at Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Pune on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2014 and 07<sup>th</sup> July 2015.
2. Harris, 'The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries', P. 33; In the year 1666 a reader from Lyme had praised the rational account of the fire (of London) given by London Gazette, after a diversity of reports. Ibid, P. 33; also refer online article by Jennifer M. Newby and Sarah B. Hardy on the following URL: [http://centuryofaction.org/index.php/main\\_site/document\\_project/using\\_newspapers\\_as\\_primary\\_sources](http://centuryofaction.org/index.php/main_site/document_project/using_newspapers_as_primary_sources). (Last accessed on 12/07/2015)
3. Soll, 'Publishing The Prince - History, Reading, and the Birth of Political Criticism', P. 67.
4. Soll, 'Information Master - Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System', P. 32.
5. "D'après le Dictionnaire des journaux, la décennie voit la naissance de trente périodiques francophones contre dix-sept dans les années 1670 (vingt-six dans les années 1690)". Haffemayer, "Le système d'information de la Gazette dans les années 1680", online article in French, no pagination. This article is revised version of his earlier article "La Gazette en 1683-1685-1689 : analyse d'un système d'information", published in Le Temps des médias, n° 20, 2013, P. 32-46. URL: <http://www.unicaen.fr/gazette/presentation.php> (Last accessed on 20/08/2015).
6. "Dans les années 1680, le marché européen de l'information comprend une vingtaine de gazettes francophones : la Gazette de Renaudot (1631-1792), les Relations véritables (Anvers, 1652-1741), les gazettes d'Amsterdam (1663-1795), la Gazette de Londres (1666-1705), la Gazette de Toulouse (1673-1752), la Gazette de Leyde (1677-1811), la Connaissance des temps (1679-1789), les Nouvelles solides et choisies (1683-1689), l'Histoire abrégée de l'Europe (1686-1688), le Mercure historique et politique (1686-1782), les Affaires du temps (1688-1689), les Considérations politiques (1688-1690), les Lettres sur les matières du temps (1688-1690), la Gazette de Liège (1688-1794), la Quintessence des Nouvelles (1689-1730), la Gazette de Berne (1689-1787), la Gazette d'Utrecht (1689-1787)". Haffemayer, Ibid.

7. Soll, 'Publishing The Prince', P. 67.
8. Soll, 'Information Master', P. 136.
9. Soll, 'Publishing The Prince', P. 67.
10. Soll, Ibid, P. 67.
11. Soll, 'Information Master', P. 136.
12. The monogram of this newspaper contains the motto "*Guide du ciel, j'adresse et par mer et par terre*". In the beginning (in May 1648) its editorial office was at the Louvre gallery in Paris.
13. "*La Gazette*" became "*La Gazette de France*" in 1762, with the subtitle "*Organe officiel du Government royal*" (Official organ of the royal Government).
14. "*En 1680, la Gazette n'est réimprimée que dans six villes (Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Bordeaux, Tours et Toulouse)*". Haffemayer, Ibid, online article in French, no pagination.
15. Berger, 'Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800', P. 92.
16. Mehendale, 'Shri Raja Shiva Chhatrapati', Vol. 1, P. 838-839, fn. 892.
17. London Gazette (No.757 From Munday February, 17 to Thursday February 20, 1672) : *Extract of a Letter written from Aleppo; November 19, 1672 : Two day since we received Letters from India, written by the English President residing at Surratte, who acquaints us with the daily fears they have there, from Sevagee the Rebel, who having beaten the Mogul in several Battels, remains almost Master of Countrey, and takes the boldness to write to all the European Ministers in Suratte, that if they refuse to send him such and such immediate presents of Money by way of Contribution, he will return and ruine that City; That he exacts the like from the Inhabitants, who certainly would comply with his Demands, but that the Officers of the Mogul, being there hinder them. Which puts them into an extream Streight, and causes others daily to convey away their richesss; many also embarking and transporting themselves into other parts, to avoid the storm they fear will fall upon them. 'Tis probable that the Island of Bombay, belonging to the English, will reap no small benefit by these Broyles; to which place many Bannians flock with their Families and Estates. 'Tis reported that that Island is now made one of the richest and pleasantest places in all India. 'Tis said, they want nothing but some industrious English hands, and that it is intended to engage what numbers may be, to come and Inhabit there, with a promise of many considerable advantages, especially that of Trade in all Asia, and to Affrica, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and to the Gulfe of Persia, and several Islands in those parts.* URL:

- <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/757/page/1> (Last accessed on 10/05/2015). The corresponding Gregorian date for this news is 29<sup>th</sup> November 1672.
18. The corresponding Gregorian date for this news is 4<sup>th</sup> November 1679.
  19. Shah Jahan's illness, pent-up tensions between the mature Mughal princes exploded into a four-sided war of succession. Dara Shukoh was arrested by Aurangzeb's army and on the night of August 30, 1659, he was killed along with his youngest son Sipihr Shukoh, when the official *ulema* condemned Dara to death on grounds of apostasy from Islam and idolatry. Prince Shuja was defeated by the imperial army under Mir Jumla. Shuja left Dacca by boat with his family and taken refuge with the raiding king of Arakan, where he died. Murad Bakhsh remained alive as a captive of Aurangzeb. But, he was convicted guilty for murdering *diwan* of Gujarat and was executed on December 4, 1661. Richards, 'The Mughal Empire', P. 161-162.
  20. One "écu" was equal to 3 Livres. The Livres was an imaginary French unit of value used for accounting purposes. 1 Rupee = 1.5 Livre, Hence 1 écu = 2 Rupees. Mehendale '*Shivaji: his life and times*', P. 718.
  21. I am unable to find reference to this event in the other sources published so far.
  22. Two copies of the Quran written by Aurangzeb with his own hand were presented to Medina 'Maasir-I-Alamgiri' notes: "Two copies of the Holy Quran transcribed with his own hand on the tablet (lawh), marginal lines in gold and silver, and binding of which 7,000 rupees had been spent, he had presented to Medina". Sarkar, 'Maasir-I-Alamgiri'. P. 313, 318..
  23. The French word '*fransparan*' is same as '*frans par an*'. I had found that instead of writing '*frans par an*' separately, its combined form '*fransparan*' was popular in 16<sup>th</sup> to 18 century French works.
  24. Abdullah Qutb Shah had three daughters and no sons. His eldest daughter was married to Muhammad Sultan, eldest son of Aurangzeb. At the time of this marriage Aurengzeb exacted a promise from Qutb Shah that Mohammad Sultan would be made heir to the throne of Golkonda. But Muhammad Sultan broke away from his father during the was of succession and sided with his uncle Shuja. Soon afterwards, he was induced to come back and was imprisoned at Gwalior. He was released in 1672, given a *mansab in 1674*, but after a couple of years he died in 1676 · Mehendale '*Shivaji: his life and times*', P. 527.
  25. Lach, '*Asia in the making of Europe*', Vol 3, Book 2, P. 707.
  26. Monsieur Chapelain had sent political news to Bernier from Europe. Apart from the News, the Parisian group also sent packets of books to India via Marseilles, Aleppo, Baghdad, Basra

and Surat. Bernier had heard about the edition of Gassendi that appeared in Lyons in 1658 under Montmor's patronage, and asked for a copy to be sent. Sending such packages always involved great uncertainty. The route from Marseilles via Aleppo, Baghdad, Basra, and Surat was long enough for Chapelain to have to write four letters without having heard any reply, Even if a package reached its destination, Chapelain could not be sure that Bernier would still be there when it did. Dew, *'Orientalism in Louis XIV's France'*, P. 156.

27. Tavernier, 'Les Six Voyages...en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, Pendant l'espace de quarante ans'; Tavernier, 'Recueil de plusieurs Relations & Traitez singuliers et curieux de J. B. Tavernier'. English translation by Ball, 'Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier'.
28. Bernier, *'The history of the late revolution of the empire of the great Mogol'*; Bernier, *'Histoire de la derniere Revolution des Estats du Grand Mogol'*; Bernier, *'Suite des Memoires du Sieur Bernier sur l'Empire du Grand Mogol'*; Bernier, *'Voyages de François Bernier'*. English translation by Irving, *'Travels in the Mogul empire by Francis Bernier'*,
29. Thévenot, 'Troisieme partie des Voyages de M. de Thévenot, contenant la Relation de l'Indostan, des Nouveaux Mogols & pays des Indes' ; Thévenot, 'Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant. Dans laquelle il est curieusement traité des Estats sujets au Grand Seigneur...' ; Thévenot, 'Suite du Voyage de Levant'. English translation by Sen, 'Foreign Biographies of Shivaji', P. 135-146.
30. Moréri, 'Le grand Dictionaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane', Vol.2. P. 660-661.
31. Here is complete News: "*In's Gravenhage werdt gedrukt ende fal met den eersten uytgegeven werden: Histoire & Evenemens particuliers pendant la derniere Revolution, & ce qui s'est passé quelque temps après, dans les Estats du grand Mogol, par le Sieur F. Bernier Medecin. In 12*", Published in *Oprechte Haerlemsche Saterdagse Courant*, No. 8, 21<sup>st</sup> Ferbruary 1671, P. 2.
32. Richards, Ibid, P. 161-162.
33. This premiere production (1675) featured Charles Hart in the title role, Michael Mohun as the Old Emperor, Edward Kynaston as Morat, William Wintershall as Arimant, Rebecca Marshall as the Empress Nourmahal, Elizabeth Cox as Indamora, and Mary Corbet as Melesinda. Downes, *'Roscius Anglicanus, Or an Historical Review of the Stage'*, p.10-11. Also see URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aureng-zebe> (Last accessed on 10/05/2015).
34. *Maasir-I-Alamgiri* notes Aurangzeb imposed commutation-money or Jaziya on Hindus: "*As all the aims of the religious Emperor were directed to the spreading of the law of Islam and*

*the overthrow of the practices of the infidels, he issued orders to the high diwani officers that from Wednesday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1679/ 1<sup>st</sup> Rabi. A., in obedience to the Quranic injunction 'till they pay commutation money (jazia) with the hand in humility' and in agreement with the canonical traditions, jazia should be collected from the infidels (zimmi) of the capital and the provinces. Many of the honest scholars of the time were appointed to discharge the work (of collecting jazia). May God actuate him to do that which He loves and is pleased with, and make his future life better than the present". Sarkar, 'Maasir-i-Alamgiri', p.108. The same text further records "By one stroke of the pen, the Hindu clerks (writers) were dismissed from the public employment. Large numbers of the places of worship of the infidels and great temples of these wicked people have been thrown down and desolated. Men who can see only the outside of things are filled with wonder at the 'successful accomplishment of such a seemingly difficult task. And on the sites of the temples, lofty mosques have been built. His Majesty personally taught the credo to many of the infidels who came to him, guided by their good fortune, with a view to being converted to Islam, and he bestowed on them robes of honour and other favours. About the middle of his reign he decided to levy the jaziya tax on the Hindus, as ordained by the Shara' and it was enforced throughout his empire". Sarkar, 'Maasir-i-Alamgiri', P. 314-315.*

35. Balkrishna, 'Shivaji the great', Vol.2, pp. 277-278. For nature of Raja Shivaji's religious policies refer: Mehendale 'Shivaji: his life and times', P. 405-413.
36. The **Rue Saint-Jacques** is a old street in the Latin Quarter of Paris which lies along the cardo of Roman Lutetia. *Saint-Séverin* is a Roman Catholic Church in the Latin Quarter of Paris, located on the lively tourist street now known as *Rue Saint-Séverin*.
37. "Paris chez N de L'armessin Rue St Jacqs, a la Pomme d'or Pres St Severin, Avec Privil. Du Roy". Same engraving (p.155) is included in De l'Armessin's "Les Augustes représentations de tous les rois de France...".
38. The French text on this engraving can be read as: "AURENG-ZEBE ROY DES INDES orientales, apres la mort de Scha-Jeha son pere quil avoit fait metre en prison par **un zele de la Religion Mahometane** dont il fait austere profession ayant d'effait ses freres ais nez Dara, & Siyach, fait arrester Morad-Backch son cadet fait couper le cot a Dara, a cause quil beuuoit du vin contre la loy de Mahomet s'est empare par ces moyens de l'empire des Indes, s'appliquant à rendre ses peuples heureux, d'echarge les Mahometans de toutes sortes d'imposts, rend justice luy mesme a toutes les heures du jour mais il commence à persecuter les Indiens idolastres les chargeans de grands imposts dont il pretend tirer de grandes

*sommes, ta plupart des Rajas, ou Grands seigneurs sont prest à se revolter les uns veulent suivre le party du rebelle Seva-Gi, qui a depuis quelques annees ravage beaucoup de terres dans l'Indostan, les aves le party de Sultan Mazum, second fils d'Aureng-Zebe, qui a quite la cour, et cest retirè dans une province esloignée, ces rebellions estonne extremement le Grand Aureng-Zebe, et regrette fort le Sultan Mahmoud, son fils aîsnè qui a estè empoisonnè et qui lauroit peu se courir ave les forces du Roy de Golkonde dont il avoit espouse la fille unique, comme les Mahometans se persuade quel a nourriture qu'on prend estant achatteé d'un argent mal acquis, cette Nouriture se changeant en la substance de l'homme le rend d'esagreable a Dieu, ce Prince ne vit que de son travail journalier en fais, des copies de l'alcoran quil fais vendre en secret, peur q'les grands ne les achettent trop po<sup>r</sup> lui faire leur cour, voila l'estat auq<sup>l</sup>, est apres sent ce Grand Mogor, Suivant la Relation du 4<sup>e</sup>, 9<sup>bre</sup> 1679”..*

39. Here, the date is written as “ 4e, 9bre 1679 ”, possibly “ 9bre ” is abbreviation of French Month “ *septembre*”.
40. Corresponding Gregorian date for this news is 1<sup>st</sup> March 1680.
41. ‘*Soleil d’Orinet*’ was a first vessel built in the naval yards set up by Minister Colbertat Faouedic in 1671. At 1000 tons and armed with 60 cannons it was the one of the largest vessels ever built for the French East India Company. This ship wrecked somewhere northeast of Itapère. Van den Boogaerde, ‘*Shipwrecks of Madagascar*’, pp.131-134. The ‘*Soleil d’Orient*’ set sail in 1681 with gifts from the King of Siam (Thailand) to King Louis XIV of France, the Pope, wife of the eldest son of Louis XIV, Duke of Burgundy, Duke of Anjou, Marquis of Croissy, Marquis of Sergnelay, Abbot of Choisy; three ambassadors and 20 valets accompanied the gifts including 60 crates of royal magnificent presents; major gifts from M. Constance and King of Bantam (including ‘hundreds of diamonds’) were also part of the cargo. Most accounts say she hit land and broke up near the south-east tip of Madagascar, so the wreckage may be in shallow water. Inside, the first to find it will discover a 1,000-piece gold dinner set (a gift from the Emperor of Japan), as well as silver, and porcelain. Some of the porcelain was a gift from the Chinese emperor, so the historical value is enormous. URL: <http://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?140138> (Last accessed on 10/05/2015)
42. The cession of seven islands of Bombay and Tangier to England occurred on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1661 as dowry for Portuguese King Alfonse-VI’s sister, Catherine of Braganza, who married King Charles-II of England. Carrington, ‘*The British Overseas: Exploits of a Nation of Shopkeepers*’, Vol. 1, P. 46.

43. 'lieue' is French standard for a measure of distance. (Its anglicised form is 'league'). One 'lieue' equals 2,000 toises or 3.89 kilometers or 2.42 English miles. See McClellan, 'Colonialism and Science', p. xix; 'lieue' = old French measure for distance, of variable length. The old 'lieue de poste' of France was equal to 2 miles 743 yards, (Tavernier, Tome I, p. 334) c.f. Indrani Ray, 'The French East India Company and the Trade of the Indian Ocean', endnote 27, P. 61.
44. The cyclone and floods of October 1679 destroyed a large part of Masulipatanam, especially its lower side and damaged coastal shipping. Three ships were lost at sea and it is not known how much of the city-based shipping lost in this manner was. Arasaratnam et al, 'Masulipatanam and Cambay', P. 63.
45. Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy (1650-51 – 4 January 1705), also known as Countess d'Aulnoy, was a French writer known for her fairy tales. She had authored twelve books including three pseudo-memoirs viz. "Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne" ('Memories of the Court of Spain', 1690), "Relation du voyage d'Espagne" ('Account of the Voyage to Spain', 1691), "Mémoires de la cour d'Angleterre" ('Memories of the Court of England', 1695). She gained the reputation as a historian and was elected as a member of *Paduan Accademia dei Ricovatri*. Her fictional accounts were considered as historical sources; however, the later researchers had proved her accounts being 'fraudulent'. Foulché-Delbosc had already noted, Madame d'Aulnoy never went to Spain. Her "Memoires de Cour d'Espagne" and her "Relation du Voyage d'Espagne" thus contain no direct information and no personal observation. The two works are mere compilations and were composed partly by reproducing more or less lengthy passages from printed works which were available at that time. The work of compilation has been done intelligently and adroitly. Up to 1865, these works were treated as 'Real memoirs' and 'An original work'. The account of Madame d'Aulnoy is mainly based on most celebrated books on Spain and Newspaper "La Gazette". This lady had used this News record published in Gazette, n° 88 and created a quasi-historical record in her French book "Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne". As this account is fully fictional and it has no historical value, same not discussed here in detail. See Madame D'Aulnoy (2014), 'Travels into Spain', Routledge, see Introductory note by Foulché-Delbosc.
46. See Mehendale, 'Shiva Chhatrapatinche Aarmar' P. 97-155; Mehendale 'Shivaji: his life and times', P. 556-593.
47. See Martin, p. 88-104; Mehendale 'Shivaji: his life and times', P. 534-537, Mehendale, 'Shri Raja Shiva Chhatrapati', Vol. 2, P. 288-292.

48. Couvée, *International Communication Gazette*, February 1958, vol. 4 no. 1, P. 97.
49. London Gazette [No. 589, From Thursday, July, 6 to Munday (sic. Monday), July 10, 1671]: Paris, July 9 (1671): “.....Our East India Company have lately received Letters dated in December last, from their Director at Surat, telling them, of their having been forced, together with those of other Nations residing there, to leave the place, and retire some Leagues off, upon the approach of a great Body of Indians, in Rebellion against the Great Mogol, who plundered the place, and so returned again; that there was in that Bay lading, two French Ships, which might be ready to sayl in January or February following”. This News record was first discovered by Mrs Saili Palande-Datar in 2008 and presented during her press conference at Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Pune. URL: <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/589/page/1> (Last accessed on 10/05/2015). Corresponding Gregorian date for this news is 19<sup>th</sup> July 1671.
50. Raja Shivaji is several times called (or compared with) “*Hanibal*” (E.R.S., Part 2, No. 279), “*Come not short of Hanniball for Stratagems*” (Balkrishna, Ibid, Vol. 4, P. 204), “*Haniball*” (Balkrishna, Ibid, Vol. 3, P. 195). He is also called “*greater than Hercules*” (Balkrishna, Ibid, Vol. 2, P. 102), “*Not less dexterous than Alexander the great*”, “*New Atilla of India*”, “*Second Sertorius*” (Balkrishna, Ibid, Vol. 4, p. 204), “*Ceaser / Alexander*” (E.R.S., Part 2, No. 270; E.R.S., Part 1, No. 150), “*Suede Gustave Adolfe*” (Carré, “*Voyage des Indes orientales, mêlé de plusieurs histoires curieuses*”, Tome 1. P.49) and “*King David*” (E.R.S., Part 2, No. 539).
51. “*Londen den 23 December. Die van de Osst-Indisse Compagnie alhier hebben Brieyen uyt Zuratte (Suratte) over Aleppo bekomen, met welcke geadvisert was, hoe dat een grooten Rebel, by hem hebbende wel 30000 man, tegens den Grooten Mogol was opgestaen, en dat ousten Soon van gedachten Mogol (zijnde van sijn Vader uyt de Ersfenis gestooten) sigh by geseyde Rebel hadde vervoeght, ende reets verscheyde Casteelen, den Mogol toebehoorende, hadde ingenomen*”. ‘Oprechte Haerlemsche Dingsdaegse Courant’ (No. 52, 29 December 1670, P. 1.
52. An English letter dated 5<sup>th</sup> September shed light on this event, “*There are invoyced to us 10 bailes Broad Cloth; which being all greens, are not proper for this place if in regard the warr between the Mogull, his sone, and Sevagee all trade is stopt on the maine.....There are in a continuall feare of the princes army coming against Surat*”. E.R.S. No. 217, P. 16. Also refer Balkrishna, Ibid, Vol.2, P. 279-282. A letter from Bombay to Surat, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1670 records, “*The dissettled condition of the affairs in these parts hat almost put a stop to all*

*trade. Sultan Maazum (sic.) the Mogulls son who resides at Orungabaud being assisted with Sevagy and other Princes, hath raised a vast army and is intended against his Father. What the event will be of this war is yet uncertaine; neither can we gather any true news. Some say he is already set out against his Father and is now near Agra. Others say that he took the field but is returned againe, the Mogull for peace sake having granted him the Kingdom of Decan and Province of Guzzerat, which he hath accepted of Balkrishna, Ibid, Vol.2, P. 279-282.*

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2. E.R.S. - English Records on Shivaji (1659-1682).

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8. LA GAZETTE, N<sup>o</sup>. 88, Page 549-550, 19 October 1680 (French).
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